ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

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SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,

VOLUME LX.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, PARLIAMENT MANSIONS, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

AND SOLD BY THE SOCIETY'S AGENT, BERNARD QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY.

M.DCCCCVI.

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Hist. & Eng.

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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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&c.

I.—*A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus.*

By ORMONDE M. DALTON, *Esq.*, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*

Read 30th March, 1905.

IN the early summer of 1902 a large and important discovery of Byzantine silver plate and gold jewellery was made at Karavás, a village close to the ancient Lapithos, about six miles west of Kyrenia on the north coast of Cyprus. The spot was not far from the monastery of Acheiropoietos, close to which another find of silver of a similar period had been made a few years previously, the objects being acquired by the British Museum and described in *Archaeologia*.[a]

The history of the second find, with part of which we are here concerned, is now sufficiently well known, and need only be summarised here. In order to evade the Cypriote law regulating the disposal of excavated antiquities, according to which all objects must be notified and one-third ceded to the Government, the peasants who made the discovery took the common course of concealing their treasure and entering into negotiations with private purchasers, in the present case certain dealers in works of art carrying on business in Paris. But news about buried treasure invariably leaks out, and before long the Government received information of what was going on. Through the energetic action of Mr. Ernest McDonald, then Acting Commissioner of Kyrenia, the houses of the suspects were suddenly surrounded and searched by the police, the result being the seizure of the objects described in the present paper. But the larger and more important part of the find could not be found. It had been placed somewhere beyond the reach of the official arm, if it had not already been smuggled out of the island, and ultimately arrived without let or hindrance at its destination in Paris. There it has been seen by the curators of several continental museums and by numerous private collectors, but so formidable is the price demanded (a sum running into five figures), that as late as the winter of 1905 it

[a] Vol. lvii. 159 ff.

was still without a purchaser. Although the Government of Cyprus had communicated the facts to the home authorities, it appeared that the dealer was in a position of complete security. It was, of course, perfectly well known that a third of the objects in his possession were claimed by the Cyprus Government; but as it could not be legally proved that he knew they were the result of excavations, and as he was neither a British nor a French subject, the efforts of the Colonial Office and the British Embassy in Paris were unavailing. Meanwhile the peasant discoverers and their friends had brought an action against the Government of Cyprus for illegal detention of the part of the treasure seized by Mr. McDonald, declaring that the objects had not been excavated at all, but were family heirlooms which had been in their possession for many years! They were successful; but the Government appealed, and finally obtained a reversal of the judgment. The seized treasure thus remains in the island, and will no doubt find a home in the Nicosia Museum. Before considering it in detail I will briefly enumerate the principal objects removed to Paris. These were:

Three silver dishes, each rather more than 10 inches in diameter, ornamented with figure-subjects in relief representing scenes from the life of David (his anointing, his introduction into Saul's presence, and his equipment in the king's armour); they belong to the same series as Plate II., from which a clear idea of their style and character may be obtained.

Two smaller dishes, each 5·4 inches in diameter, also with figures in relief. One represents David killing the lion, the other David and a warrior. These two dishes are uniform with those of Fig. 4.

A very large dish, with two scenes showing the combat of David and Goliath, now perhaps with the Paris part of the treasure, but up to the summer of 1905 concealed in Cyprus pending a favourable opportunity for removal.

(All these dishes had on the back Byzantine stamps or control-marks as described below, p. 13.)

A series of sixteen gold medallions, four of very large size, with effigies and inscriptions of Maurice Tiberius (12), Justin and Justinian (3), and Theodosius (1). These medallions were furnished with loops at the sides, and had evidently been linked together to form an ornamental collar or belt.

A necklace of cylindrical plasma beads alternating with pearls. The ends terminate in two openwork gold discs with birds and scrolls, fastening by a hook and loop.

A gold necklace of flat links of open scroll-work, having in the front ten long cylindrical openwork gold beads and a gold pectoral cross chased with conventional



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

BYZANTINE SILVER DISHES IN CYPRUS. (¼ linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.



BYZANTINE SILVER DISH IN CYPRUS. THE MARRIAGE OF DAVID.

(Diameter of original, 10⅛ inches.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

designs. On either side of this are ten gold pendants, eight in the form of amphoræ of different forms, two flat and pear-shaped.

A gold necklace of thin flat links in openwork scroll designs, from the middle of which hangs a chased gold pectoral cross depending from a small medallion chased with the figure of a bird. On either side of the cross is a pair of pear-shaped ornaments with openwork foliate designs, and an openwork disc or medallion, the design of which represents an amphora. At the back is an openwork disc with a floral ornament.

A pair of openwork gold bracelets, the front opening on a hinge. The designs are vine-scrolls with bunches of grapes.

A pair of gold earrings. Each has a sapphire drop hanging in the middle of a loop of gold wire; round this is a border of pearls alternating with small gold loops through which the threading wire is passed.

The share of the treasure falling to the Cyprus Government, and now to be described, also contains five silver dishes; but as two are devoid of figure subjects, the series is somewhat inferior in archæological interest. The jewellery is comparatively insignificant compared with that which has just been enumerated.

1. The largest of the silver dishes (Plate I. fig. 1) is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches (44 centimetres) in diameter, and stands upon a low foot. The rim is moulded, and in the centre is a cruciform monogram within a band ornamented with a floral scroll, both incised and filled with niello. The floral scroll is between two gilded bands, beyond which are enclosing circles turned and chased in low relief; on the bottom are the impressions of five stamps (see fig. 8 and p. 13), with monograms, names, and busts, closely resembling those upon the silver in the British Museum.[a] These stamps, together with those of the same character on the four following dishes, are described in detail below (p. 14).

2. The second dish (Plate I. fig. 2) is of almost equal diameter and in the same style. Instead of a monogram it has in the centre a cross, and the surrounding scroll is of different design.[b] The stamps on the back are similar in character to those of No. 1, but are not individually identical.

3. This dish (Plate II.) is $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches (27 centimetres) in diameter, and iconographically the most important, the scene upon it evidently representing the marriage of David. Before an architectural background, identical with that seen

[a] See *Archaeologia*, lvii. 166, and *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum*, p. 86.

[b] It may be compared with the dish shown in *Archaeologia*, lvii. plate xvi. fig. 2, and with similar dishes in the Stroganoff Collection (see the above-mentioned catalogue, p. 86, No. 397.)

in the other dishes of the same set in Paris, stands a bearded figure with nimbus, wearing a tunic with long sleeves embroidered on the shoulder and wrist, a chlamys with embroidered *tablion* fastened by a *fibula* with pendants, and embroidered shoes. He holds his right hand over his breast and stands upon a low footstool. To his right and left, joining their right hands across his body, stand the bridegroom and the bride, both of whom have the nimbus. The former, who is beardless and with curly hair, is dressed in the same manner as the central figure; the bride, who wears a fillet in her hair, has a long girded tunic with bands of embroidery round the bottom and the wrists, embroidered stripes on the breast, and two rosettes (*calliculæ*, *orbiculi*) on the lower part in front. Her long mantle is diapered with rosettes and dots in groups of three, and is fastened over the bosom with a circular brooch. In her left hand she either holds a part of her garment, or carries an object the nature of which it is difficult to determine. The central group is flanked by two beardless youths playing pipes. Each wears a short mantle with embroidered border fastened on the right shoulder, and a girded tunic with short sleeves embroidered borders and *orbiculi*. But while the figure on the right has closely-fitting trousers, diapered with ornament, and low boots, the legs of the other are bare, and he has high boots laced up the front.

In the exergue are a basket filled with fruit and two money-bags tied at the necks.

This scene represents the Christian equivalent for the ceremonial *dextrarum junctio*, which in the ancient Roman marriage preceded the nuptial sacrifice. It is the portion of the marriage-service most popular in Roman art,[a] where the central figure is usually either *Juno Pronuba*, or a married woman playing her part. But at a fairly early date, perhaps in the Antonine period, a male figure, the father or guardian of bride or groom, sometimes takes the place of the *pronuba*, and this substitution is found on a coin (fig. 1) of Theodosius II. (A.D. 437), where the Emperor, standing between Valentinian III. and Eudoxia, lays his hands upon their shoulders.[b] Soon after this a coin of Marcian and



Fig. 1. Coin of Theodosius II. (After Macdonald).

[a] On the Roman marriage in art see Rossbach, *Römische Hochzeits und Ehedenkmäler* (Leipsic, 1871), and Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, vii. 41 f. On representations of Early Christian Marriages see O. Pelka, *Altchristliche Ehedenkmäler* (Strasburg, 1901).

[b] *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xxi. pl. i. fig. 1; G. Macdonald, *Coin Types* (Glasgow, 1905), 234, and pl. ix. fig. 7.

Pulcheria[a] (A.D. 450-457) in the Glasgow Museum shows us Our Lord in the central position, as we see him upon Byzantine marriage rings[b] and upon a necklace figured by Garrucci.[c] The central figure on the dish represents Saul, who wears royal costume and has the nimbus like other kings and prominent persons in Early Christian and Byzantine art. In another example of the marriage of David upon the ivory casket in the Kircherian Museum at Rome, an object by some assigned to the close of the ninth century,[d] by others to a later period, Saul is also seen giving Michal to David, but there he stands to the left of the group, wearing the later Byzantine imperial costume: both as regards the costume and the grouping of the figures the scene upon the silver dish represents a far earlier period than that upon the casket. The marriage is apparently not included among the scenes from the life of David represented in the early Byzantine Psalters,[e] and it would appear not to have been regarded as an essential part of the cycle. The two flute-players would perhaps be more in place in a representation of the *deductio* of the bride, but there are other known examples of the presence of the *tibicen* at the sacrifice.[f] It may be noted that the bride does not wear the usual veil; the object in her left hand, if object it is, is not easy to determine, for it does not resemble the *volumen*, which, though commonly carried by the bridegroom, is sometimes seen in the bride's hands.[g]

The basket and bags in the exergue recur in a dish in the Paris part of the treasure representing the young David introduced into Saul's presence, and therefore have in all probability no particular connection with the ceremony; perhaps they are intended to convey the general idea of largesse or regal abundance, and so are in a certain measure appropriate to the scene. On the dish representing the equipment of David with Saul's armour, the objects in the base are a shield and bow, and are thus also generally suited to the subject above them, as are

[a] Macdonald, *as above*, pl ix. fig. 8; Pelka, 108.

[b] British Museum *Catalogue*, *as above*, Nos. 130 and 131.

[c] *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, vi. pl. 479, fig. 3.

[d] G. Schlumberger, *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (*Fondation Eugène Piot*), vol. vi. 1900; H. Graeven, Photographs of Early Christian and Mediæval ivory-carvings, 2nd Series, Italian collections, Nos. 57-61 (Rome, German Archæological Institute, 1900). The marriage scene is on Photo No. 61. See also *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, x. (1901), 566.

[e] Enumerated by Kondakoff, *Transactions of the Moscow Archæological Society*, vii. 179. I owe this reference to M. Gabriel Millet.

[f] Pelka, *as above*, 143.

[g] As on the Projecta casket in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, pl. xiv.).

weapons in similar position on the votive shield of Valentinian[a] at Geneva, and that of Justinian found at Kertch, and now at St. Petersburg (see p. 23). In the Anointing (see fig. 3), the objects in the exergue, being of sacrificial import, may have been considered not incongruous with a sacramental scene.



Fig. 2. Silver votive shield of Theodosius at Madrid. (After Odobesco.)

The triple portico of the background, though of feeble design and without the pediment, recalls the architectural scheme on the votive shield of Theodosius[b] at Madrid (fig. 2), which itself has a prototype of a purer style in the Roman silver dish in the National Library at Paris, representing the return of Briseis to Achilles.[c] The Kyrenia dishes, however, are certainly of a considerably later period than the shield at Madrid, and more nearly related to the silver dish in the Stroganoff collection, representing Ajax and Ulysses disputing the possession of the arms of Achilles, a work which may be about two centuries later than the time of Theodosius.[d]

[a] A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Pétrossa*, 154; convenient series of illustrations of other early silver dishes will be found in Odobesco, 148 ff, and A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, i. 493 ff.

[b] Very frequently published. From a photograph, by A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana* i. 497 (Milan, 1901). From Drawings, by A. Delgado, *El gran disco di Theodosio* (Madrid, 1849); J. Arneth, *Die antiken Gold-und Silber-Monumente des K. K. Münz-und Antiken Cabinettes* (Vienna, 1850); *Beilage*, pl. iv.; J. Didron, *Annales archéologiques*, xxi. (1861), 309; Ch. Cahier, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'archéologie*, i. (Paris, 1874), pl. vii.; J. Strzygowski and E. Pokrovsky *Materials for Russian Archæology* (continuation of the *Compte rendu* of the Imperial Archæological Commission), No. 8 (St. Petersburg, 1892), pl. v.; A. Odobesco, *Le trésor de Pétrossa*, 158, fig. 72. See also E. Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin, 1862), 213 ff.

[c] Obobesco, 121.

[d] *Ibid.* 149, fig. 63. The helmet on this dish is very like those of the Joshua rotulus and of the Paris portion of the Kyrenia treasure.

I am enabled to give a rough idea of one of the other dishes of the same series removed from Cyprus by fig. 3, drawn after a photographic reproduction on a pictorial postcard which has been on sale in the island. The scene there shown, the Anointing of David, was frequently represented in art. It is found for example on the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan (see p. 10), in the frescoes of Bawît (see p. 18), on the ivory casket at Rome (see p. 5), on the ivory book-cover of the Princess Melisenda in the British Museum,[a] in the Paris Psalter No. 139,[b] in the Pantocrator Psalter (No. 49) on Mount Athos (*Collection des Hautes Études*, Series C, No. 107), and the Psalter of Basil II. at Venice (Series C, No. 534), in the Vatican Bible of Queen Christina, which is allied to the group of Psalters represented by the Paris example, and in the Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, No. 510). Upon the silver dish, the group preserves the symmetrical and monumental character apparent in the case of the other scenes in which several figures are represented. Instead of the whole family of Jesse as we see it on the doors of St. Ambrose and in the MSS., we have only three figures, presumably Jesse and two of his sons. In the exergue are an altar and two victims, a club, and a sword, objects distinctly un-Christian in character and clearly survivals from antique tradition.



Fig. 3. Silver dish removed from Cyprus.

4. This and the following dish are of much smaller size, 5·5 inches (14·1 centimetres) in diameter. In the part of the treasure removed to Paris there are two more of these small dishes, both with episodes from the life of David.

[a] Ch. Cahier, *Nouveaux Mélanges d'archéologie*, ii. 1-14 ff.; H. Graeven, Photographs of Ivories, Series i. Nos. 51 and 52; Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, 72; Du Sommerard, *Les arts au Moyen Age*, Album, 2nd Series, chap. v. pl. xxix.

[b] Individual miniatures from this famous Psalter of the "aristocratic group" (see below, p. 19) have been frequently reproduced, among others by Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*; Ch. Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, 159, 161, and 162; H. Bordier, *Description des ornements, etc. des MSS. grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 111; G. Millet in A. Michel's *Histoire de l'art depuis les premiers temps chrétiens*, 222-3.

The present scene (fig. 4*b*) is the slaying of the bear. David, in girded tunic, mantle, and boots, grasps the beast by the forelock, supporting his left knee upon its back; in his right hand he holds a short weapon which may be intended for a knife. To the left is a tree, and in the foreground were probably grass and plants as in the following number and the other dishes of the same small series, but this part is concealed by oxidation. The slaying of the bear is naturally found in Byzantine Psalters, for example the Psalter of Basil II. in the Library of St. Mark, Venice.[a] (Fig. 5.) The companion picture, which is apparently more common, is the slaying of the lion; it occurs upon one of the two small dishes in the Paris series, as upon the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan, to which reference is made below.

On the bottom are five impressions of stamps (see below, p. 16).



a *b*

Fig. 4. Two small silver dishes in Cyprus.

5. Small dish of the same dimensions (fig. 4*a*): The messenger from Samuel coming to David among his flocks.

To right David beardless and with the nimbus is seated upon a rock or hillock (?) wearing a long tunic with short sleeves; the borders of the garments are ornamented with bands of punched dots. In his left hand he holds a lyre, while his right is raised, the fingers being held in what became the Greek attitude of benediction; here the gesture is used in its earlier sense to signify that a con-

[a] Photograph No. 535, Series C, in the Collection of the *Hautes Études*, G. Millet, *La collection Chrétienne et Byzantine des Hautes Études*, 1903, p. 45. Reproduced by Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*, 2nd ed. ii. (1873), pl. xlix.

versation is in progress. From the left approaches a youth in tunic, mantle, and boots, as worn by the flute-player to the left in the wedding scene, though here we have also the nimbus, signifying that the person represented is more than a mere subordinate. In his left hand is a staff or wand, with a knob at the top, of a kind carried by celestial messengers in early Byzantine art, notably by the Angel of the Annunciation; the right hand is extended, and the fingers form the Latin gesture of benediction, which here too is merely used as a conventional means of representing discourse. In the foreground are two sheep, one recumbent, the other grazing.



Fig. 5. David slaying the bear. From a MS. at Venice. (After Labarte.)

In the illuminated Byzantine Psalters of the "aristocratic" group, with which the subjects upon these dishes have evident affinities (see below, p. 19), David, seated with his lyre among his flocks, is commonly accompanied by the allegorical personification of Melody. The most conspicuous example of this is to be found in the famous Psalter (Greek, No. 139) in the National Library at Paris, of which mention has already been made (see p. 7, note [b]). But in the British Museum Psalter of A.D. 1066 (Add. MS. 19352), which belongs to the more popular "theological" group, there are miniatures (on folio 190) representing David the Shepherd being summoned by an angel,[a] who has been despatched from heaven for the purpose. David is there five times represented, twice among his flocks, once on his way to be anointed, and twice in company with the prophet, who carries the horn of oil. The message is brought to him while he is in the field, where he is seen playing not the lyre but the flute, while the angel carries a wand, and has wings. This later representation of the scene interprets in a more direct manner the divine initiative suggested by the verse of the psalm: "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-

[a] J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, i. 28. (Helsingfors, 1895.)

fold" (Ps. 78, v. 70); while the version upon our silver dish is more in accordance with the vague statement in the Book of Samuel: "and he sent and brought him in."[a] The youthful figure of the messenger, though it has the nimbus and the wand or staff, could not have been intended to represent an angel at the time when this silver treasure was made, for angels receive wings in Christian art as early as the fourth century.[b] We must rather suppose the messenger to be one of David's brothers sent to fetch him at the bidding of Samuel.

A very interesting parallel to the scene as here shown is found on the carved



Fig. 6. David receiving Samuel's message. From the carved wooden doors on the church of St. Ambrose at Milan. (After Goldschmidt.)

wooden doors of the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, now considered to date from Early Christian times.[c] Here David is seen amidst his flocks, while the lion and

[a] 1 Samuel xvi. 12. In the Septuagint the passage is: *καὶ ἀπέστειλε καὶ εἰσηγαγεν αὐτον.*

[b] On the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan, to which reference is made immediately below, the angel of victory is winged in the scene of the defeat of Goliath.

[c] A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchenthür des heiligen Ambrosius in Mailand.* Strasburg, 1902. Professor Goldschmidt believes the door to date from the close of the fourth century, and thinks that it was made in Italy to the special order of St. Ambrose. Professor Strzygowski (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1902, xi. 666), while accepting the early date, holds the work to be more probably of Syrian origin imported into Italy perhaps at the time of the Crusades. He argues that the removal of every head in the sculptured figures points to deliberate mutilation, and suggests that the doors must have at one time been in a country under Arab domination. But to this it has been replied that a monument so mutilated would not have been thought worth transporting to the West.

the bear, tamed and subdued, are symbolically placed beneath his feet. (Fig. 6.) As in the series of silver dishes, he wears a girded tunic, a short mantle knotted or twisted about the neck, and high boots. From the left there approaches a man in a long tunic and mantle, raising his hand as if in the act of delivering a message. There can be little doubt that here too the artist wished to depict the arrival of the message summoning the young shepherd to Samuel's presence. The substitution of an angel in the later version represented by the British Museum miniature would naturally result from the more theological character of the book compared with earlier Psalters, or perhaps rather from the general tendency of thought in a later age.[a]



Fig. 7. Jewellery, remaining in Cyprus.

The jewellery of the part of the treasure now in Cyprus is insignificant in comparison with that which was carried off to Paris. It comprised the following articles:

Four pairs of gold earrings like those shown in fig. 7, *a* and *b*, each consisting of a penannular wire with four pendent chains terminating in pearls, the type being well known from late Roman times and represented by numerous examples in museums.

A piece of gold chain having at one end a gold spatula and at the other a small loop (fig. 7 *c*). Perhaps the loop is intended to connect it with the coin of Justin II. and Tiberius II. (Constantinus) represented with it, and furnished with two similar loops on one side and one on the other. The hollow bar with three loops for attachment (fig. 7 *d*) may also have formed part of this chain.

In addition to the coin already mentioned there are four other gold coins, two of Constans II. (A.D. 642-668), one of Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 582-602), and one (probably) of Constantine IV. (Pogonatus) (A.D. 668-685). The coins and medals in the exported part of the treasure were of Maurice Tiberius, Justin and Justinian,

[a] On the substitution of the angel, see J. J. Tikkanen, *as above*, i. 116.

and Theodosius II. (A.D. 408-450). The numismatic evidence thus covers a period of more than two hundred and fifty years, and seems to show that the treasure must have been deposited toward the close of the seventh century, a time when the Byzantine Emperors and the Saracens were disputing the possession of Cyprus, and the island was taken and retaken by both sides.

The Kyrenia treasure has considerably increased our knowledge of Byzantine jewellery, examples of which have hitherto been comparatively rare. The specimens in the British Museum have been published in the *Catalogue* of 1901.[a] A treasure from Mersina (in Cilicia) in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, has been illustrated in a work of Professor N. Kondakoff,[b] and the objects composing it bear in several details a close resemblance to ornaments in the Paris part of the Kyrenia treasure, especially in the use of openwork designs, and in the pear-shaped form of certain pendants, which seem to suggest an oriental influence. They also have affinities with another small find of gold jewels, also from Kyrenia, now at Nicosia and described in the catalogue of the Cyprus Museum.[c]

There is a family likeness between gold ornaments of Byzantine origin or inspiration, and dating from the sixth-seventh centuries, found in various European countries, a very ubiquitous type being the openwork earrings with confronted birds,[d] which have occurred as far apart as Egypt and Hungary, one example from Cyprus being formerly in the possession of Cesnola.[e] The similarity suggests a common place of origin for all this work, and Mr. Smirnoff has pointed out that both Egypt and Cilicia may be provisionally regarded as likely centres.[f] Cyprus, lying as it did between Egypt and Asia Minor, would be equally open to influences from both countries. Dr. Arthur Evans, in connection with a gold collar found at Aesica, had already noted the wide influence exercised by Græco-Egyptian jewellery through Europe.[g]

[a] *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, section ii.

[b] *Russian Treasures*, i. 187-192, and pls. xviii. and xix.

[c] *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*, 1898, pp. 109-112: *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899, p. 140.

[d] *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, No. 276, pl. v.

[e] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. vi. For the Hungarian examples see J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, i. 371.

[f] *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society*, vol. xii.: *Transactions of the Classical, Byzantine, and W. European Section*, book v. 506-510.

[g] *Archaeologia*, lv. 180.

The earrings of the present treasure are very like examples found in Egypt, and it may be added that the portion taken to Paris contained a pair of bracelets of the same shape as the two in the British Museum[a] and in the Château de Goluchow[b] respectively; the British Museum example, formerly in the possession of Count Tyszkiewicz, is said to have been obtained in Cairo.

The stamps upon the bottom of these silver vessels are almost certainly control-marks applied by order of the official or officials responsible for maintaining the purity of the precious metals used in the industrial arts.[c] Exactly who these persons were is not known; it may be that, as in the case of the control of money standards,[d] they were eparchs, and that a clue may be furnished by some of the names which occasionally occur in the impressions. That the stamps relate to the quality of the metal, and not to the ownership of the objects, is shown by the fact that in two known pieces of Byzantine silver the completion of the work has damaged or distorted the impressions, and is therefore subsequent to their application. One is the censer in the British Museum,[e] the other a reliquary from the Chersonese with stamps on the inside of the cover.[f]

It would appear from a passage in a Byzantine text of the iconoclastic period published by Combefis,[g] to which Mr. Smirnoff draws attention, that silver of the finest quality was marked with five impressions; and in fact upon most of the examples of Early Byzantine silver preserved to us we find this number. It is never exceeded, though where only a smaller number of stamps were available, the total was made up by using one or other of them more than once.

These impressions of stamps are of considerable interest on account of the

[a] Catalogue, No. 279.

[b] W. Fröhner, *Le Château de Goluchow; L'orfèvrerie*, pl. xvii. p. 74. Paris, 1897. The bracelet was also formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection.

[c] The whole question is discussed by Mr. Smirnoff, of the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, in the *Journal of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society*, vol. xii; *Transactions of the Section for Classical, Byzantine, and West-European Archæology*, book v. pp. 506-510.

[d] As illustrated upon the glass money-weights. *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, Nos. 660-685.

[e] *Archaeologia*, lvii. pl. xvii.

[f] Smirnoff, *as above*, 507.

[g] *Græcolatinæ Patrum Bibliothecæ Novum Auctarium* (Paris, 1648), i. 644. The passage relates a miraculous transformation of tin into "ἄργυρον πρώτιστον τον καλούμενον πενταστράγιστον."

names and monograms which they contain. On three out of the five silver plates (Nos. 1, 2, and 4) five impressions are clearly visible; on the remaining two only four appear distinctly. These twenty-two impressions have been produced by twelve stamps, some of which have been used again. They are of six forms: (1) cruciform, (2) rectangular, (3) rectangular at the base and arched at the top, (4) circular, (5) oval, and (6) hexagonal. The cruciform and rectangular forms all have a cruciform monogram in the middle, and round the sides or extremities the letters of a name; the arched form has in addition a bust above the monogram; the hexagonal form has a bust and monogram with possibly a surrounding inscription; while the oval and circular types each have a bust and name without a monogram.

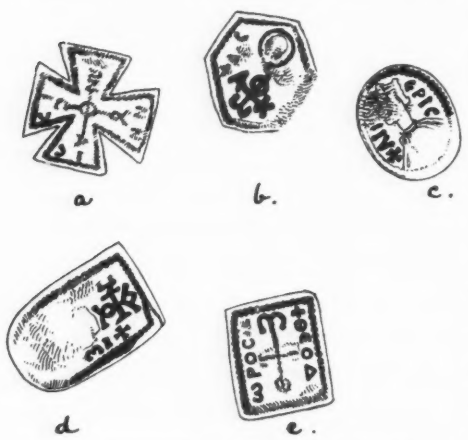


Fig. 8. Impressions of stamps on silver dish No. 1. (Plate I.)

The individual impressions are seldom perfect, and to decipher the characters it is necessary to collate the examples upon different objects, a process which has been rendered more complete and satisfactory by the fact that some also occur on the silver dishes taken to Paris, so that ten dishes in all are available as material for comparison. Of the impressions on the Cyprus dishes, I possess in addition to notes, rubbings and wax impressions, though these still leave me in doubt as to one or two letters; of the Paris dishes I have notes only. The general character of the stamps are identical with those on the Lampsacus and Kyrenia treasures in the British Museum, and on silver vessels in St. Petersburg, Vienna, and in the Stroganoff collection, all of which have been published. I therefore here illustrate in only a single case a drawing of the stamps as they actually appear (fig. 8); the rest are described and accompanied by monograms which they contain, presented in a schematized form.

I. *Cruciform Type.*

(*a*) Monogram: (*Θεοδώρου*?).
Name: +KOCM(AC).

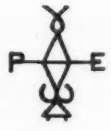


Fig. 9.

(*b*) Monogram: (*Ἀθανασίου*?).
Name: CI(CI)NNIC (Sisinnios). See Fig. 8*a*.
(This reading begins on the lower arm of the cross.)

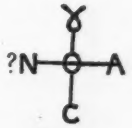


Fig. 10.

(*c*) Monogram: (?)
Name: ———OC.

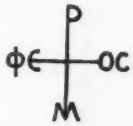


Fig. 11.

(*d*) Monogram: (*Βασιλίου*?).
Name: (CI)CIN(NIC) (Sisinnios).

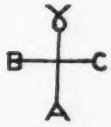


Fig. 12.

II. *Rectangular Type.*

(*e*) Monogram: (*Ηρακλίου*?).
Name: +KOMITAC (Komitas).



Fig. 13.

(*f*) Monogram: *Φωκα* (Phocas).
Name: +ΘEOΔωPOC.



Fig. 14.

III. *Arched Type.*

(*g*) Monogram, same as in (*a*).
Name: +CXOΛACTIKIC (on one example apparently CXOΛACTIC), Scholastikos?

(*h*) Monogram: (*Ιωάννου*? or *Ἀντωνίου*? Cf. monogram on silver dish, Plate I.)
Name: +Iω(ANNHC). (Fig. 8 *d*.)



Fig. 15.

(*i*) Monogram, same as in (*d*).
Name: *Scholastikos*, as in (*g*).

IV. *Oval Type.*

(*k*) Bust. An emperor (?), full face, with diadem and chlamys fastened on the right shoulder, above which rises the "tail" of a fibula or end of the garment.

Name: + A I " /// EPIC. (Fig. 8 *c*.)

V. *Circular Type.*

(*l*) Bust. An emperor, beardless, wearing a chlamys. Fibula with three pendants on the right shoulder. No nimbus.

Name: + ΘEOXAPICTOC.

VI. *Hexagonal Type.*

(*m*) Bust with nimbus (details not clear).

Monogram: as in (*f*) (Phocas). (Fig. 8 *b*.)

As to the distribution of the stamps among the five dishes, we find that:

Dish No. 1 has *b*, *f*, *h*, *k*, and *m*, all the impressions being different.
„ „ 2 „ *d* (twice), *i*, *e* (twice?).
„ „ 3 „ *c*, *e*, *g*, *l*.
„ „ 4 „ *a* (twice), *g* (twice) (part of another stamp indeterminate).
„ „ 5 „ *a*, *b*, *e*, *g*.

On the Paris part of the treasure, so far as I am aware, *b c d f h i k* and *m* are not found, the stamps there represented being *a e g* and *l* only.

Of the names given in full, Theocharistos, Kosmas, Theodoros, John, Sisinnios, Komitas, and Scholastikos may perhaps be regarded as certain. But it is to be feared that they furnish no useful historical evidence. Theocharistos is found in inscriptions,[a] the next four names are of too frequent occurrence to furnish a definite clue, though it may be noted that John and Sisinnius are found on the earlier Kyrenia treasure in the British Museum.[b] A Komitas, according to Pape-Benseler, is mentioned by Menander Protector as an ambassador to the Emperor Justin. A Scholastikos was a Comes in A.D. 422; another was a general of Justinian. The name also occurs in stamps impressed upon silver dishes found

[a] C. I. G. IV. 8644, 10; 9374. The first inscription is possibly as early as Justinian.

[b] See the catalogue previously referred to, where several references to Byzantine stamps will be found.

in Perm, and is probable in the case of a stamp on a silver vessel from Bukowina, now in Vienna. It is further found in an inscription.[a]

Among the monograms, Phocas is certain for *f* and *m*, (Plate I.); John is probable for *h*, and Theodore for *a*.

It will be noticed that the names Theodore and John seem to occur both in extended and monogrammatic form, the former accompanying the monogram of Phocas, the latter its own monogram. I do not feel confident that the monogram of *c* is correct, on account of the apparent duplication of the letter ϕ. Unfortunately the wax impression is damaged.

If from the technical point of view this silver work from Kyrenia has little that is new to teach us, being similar to other Byzantine plate already mentioned or described, its iconographical importance is perhaps greater than that of any other Byzantine treasure. Viewed on the one hand in relation to the doors of St. Ambrose, and on the other to the illuminated Psalters of the ninth to the twelfth centuries, especially to the "aristocratic" group (see below), with which it has obvious affinities, it confirms the belief that these Psalters owe their classical character less to a sudden renaissance in the ninth century than to the steady persistence of older artistic traditions. The fact that the same composition is used to illustrate the same subject in more than one of these manuscripts had already suggested that they may all have drawn upon an inherited scheme of illustration; but hitherto there had been wanting the visible link which should directly connect them across the intervening age of Justinian with Early Christian times. Now that the treasure has proved that in the sixth century there were in circulation pictures of the story of David closely similar in conception to those in favour in the tenth and eleventh centuries, we are brought a step nearer to the lost early Psalters of the fifth and fourth, the existence of which more than one circumstance had led us to infer.[b]

[a] For the stamps, see *Compte rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1878, pp. 148 and 157; L. Stephani, *Die Schlangenfütterung*, etc. p. 6, no. 17; J. Arneth, *Die antiken Gold-und Silber-Monumente*, etc. Vienna, 1850, *Beilage* pl. iv.; and *Archaeologia*, lvii. 166. For the inscription, C. I. G. IV. 8901.

[b] The classical book on Byzantine illuminated MSS. is Professor Kondakoff's *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris, 1886); but the most succinct account is to be found in the chapters on Byzantine art by M. Gabriel Millet in the new *Histoire générale de l'art*, edited by M. André Michel (see especially vol. i. pp. 207 ff.). Here due stress is laid upon the enduring influence exerted by the early illuminated MSS. in the form of rolls, which must have been in existence as early as the fourth century.

For though in the Catacombs, on early sarcophagi at Rheims and Marseilles, and on the fourth-century ivory casket at Brescia, we have only two Orpheus-like figures (which may or may not be intended for David), and the scene of the fight with Goliath in whole or in part,[a] yet on the threshold of the fifth century the doors of St. Ambrose at Milan[b] present a connected series of episodes; and as six of the nine subjects there chosen correspond with the series in the silver dishes, it would appear that a regular David cycle must have been already in use. That soon after this period the Psalms furnished matter for pictorial illustration we may gather from the choice of the psalm *Laudate dominum de coelis* for mural decoration by Bishop Neon of Ravenna.[c] In the interesting series of frescoes at Bawît in Egypt[d] there is also an extensive correspondence of subjects both to those on the doors and to those on the treasure; while in the case of the ivory casket in the Kircherian Museum at Rome,[e] the number of scenes has considerably increased, and the influence of later Byzantine iconography has become apparent. The six scenes on the ivory book cover of the Princess Melisenda in the British Museum (see above, p. 7) introduce yet further variations.

Arguing from these monuments, some of which are of such remarkable antiquity, we may fairly assume that the same subjects were also reproduced by the earliest Christian illuminators; for manuscripts, from their portability, have at all times inspired other branches of art, and are as likely to have led the way as to have followed in it. There appear therefore to be good grounds for assuming the existence of illuminated Psalters as early as the fourth century,[f] and

[a] A. Goldschmidt, *as above*, 20; F. X. Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der altchristlichen Kunst* s. v. David. For the sarcophagi see Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, v. pl. 307, figs. 3 and 4, and pl. 341, figs. 1 and 4. For the Brescia casket see H. Graeven's series of photographs, *Italian series*, No. 14, Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana*, i. 290, and Garrucci, *as above*, vi. pl. 442.

[b] See above, p. 10.

[c] Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis*, in Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus*, cvi. 517-8; see also F. Wickhoff in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1894.

[d] Published, as M. Millet has kindly reminded me, by Jean Clédat, *Le Monastère et le nécropole de Baouît, Mémoires . . . . de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, 1904, xii. pl. xii. ff. Here the Anointing, the Introduction to Saul, and the Fight with Goliath are in common with the treasure; while David and his brothers before Samuel, and David playing before Saul, are in common with the series on the doors.

[e] See above, p. 5. This casket has a series of thirteen scenes, only three of which correspond to those of the Kyrenia treasure.

[f] It has sometimes been assumed that because no existing illuminated Greek Psalter is earlier

it is probable that these, like several of the surviving illustrated manuscripts of slightly later date (for example, the Vienna Genesis[a] and the Codex Rossanensis[b]) were produced in the Syro-Egyptian or Anatolian artistic province. The influence of such lost books, which were probably in the form, not of codices, but of rolls, may be traced in later manuscripts not only of Byzantine but also of Western origin. The Ashburnham Pentateuch is held to have had an Alexandrine-Jewish model;[c] the Utrecht Psalter, with its obvious inheritance of late classical forms, is supposed to descend from a lost Psalter in the style of the Joshua rotulus of the Vatican;[d] the Joshua rotulus itself is thought to have had a prototype illuminated in the golden age of Early Christian art.[e] Should any such early Psalter ever be recovered, it would doubtless be found to offer points of contact with the carved doors, the Coptic frescoes, and the Kyrenia treasure. Meanwhile, interesting comparisons might be made between particular figures and groups upon the silver dishes and those in the Vienna Genesis, the Joshua roll, and the mosaics of St. Maria Maggiore, all of which are probably inspired by still earlier series of pictures; though to give such resemblances their full value it would be necessary to publish the whole of the treasure, and unfortunately that cannot at present be done.

It has already been indicated that as far as existing Psalters are concerned, the affinities of the treasure lie with the so-called aristocratic group, the relationship being evident in the case of the scene of the Anointing as represented on the dish in Paris (fig. 3) and in the Psalter in the library of St. Mark at Venice. (Fig. 16.) The members of this group, the most notable example of which is

than the ninth century, the period with which the surviving series begins, therefore the illustration of the Psalms in MSS. appeared at that time as something new. Such a view surely rests too exclusively upon negative evidence. (See the review of Tikkanen's book on the Psalter, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii. (1898), 253). Moreover internal evidence derived from the illustrated Psalters themselves points, like that of the monuments above described, to the existence of an early David cycle. On this subject *see* Millet, *as above*, p. 225.

[a] W. von Hartel and Franz Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis.* (Vienna, 1895.)

[b] A. Haseloff, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis.* (Berlin.)

[c] J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, 32. (Leipzig, 1901.)

[d] H. Graeven, *Die Vorlage des Utrechtpsalters*, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxi. (1898), 31.

[e] H. Graeven, *Il rotulo di Giosue in L'Arte*, i. (1898), 228. This MS. is shortly to be published in facsimile by the Vatican library.

the famous Greek MS. No. 139, in the National Library at Paris[a] usually have a limited number of full page miniatures, illustrating the story of David and the "Odes" accompanying the Psalms, each forming a separate composition, and devoid of special dogmatic significance. With this first group, which was

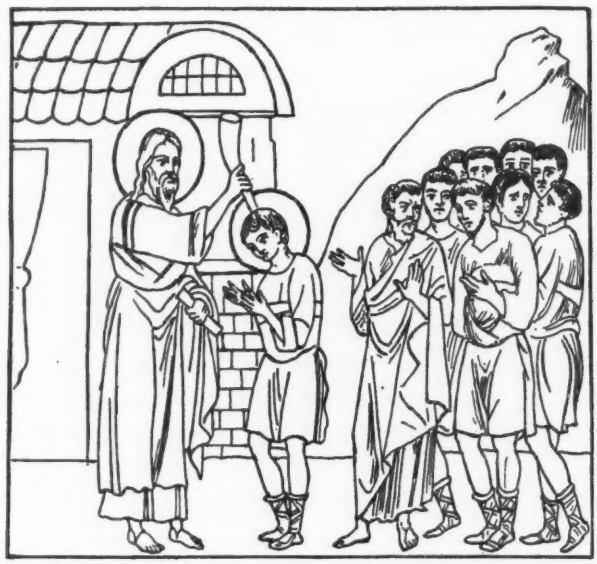


Fig. 16. The Anointing of David. (From the same MS. as fig. 5.)

probably produced for the court and the aristocracy, and largely inspired by monumental prototypes,[b] is contrasted a second, originating in the monasteries at the close of the iconoclastic period.[c] Here the illustration is marginal and continuous, aiming at the elucidation of particular verses and generally didactic

[a] Kindred MSS. are the Vatican Psalter (*Palat.* 381) and Barberini, iii. 39. See J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, i. 113 ff; N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, ii. 31.

[b] Millet, *as above*, 228.

[c] Tikkanen, *as above*, 8 ff, who describes it as the "monastic theological" illustration of the Psalms. Like Kondakoff he notes its polemical aspect, adapted to a popular propaganda, and its close connection with church history. The oldest existing Byzantine Psalter in this style is that known as the Chludoff Psalter, originally brought from Mount Athos, and now at Moscow; it has been published by Kondakoff, who assigns it to the ninth century. Others of almost equal antiquity are the Codex Pantokratoros, still on Mount Athos (Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos Klostern*, 1891, pp. 177 ff and pl. xvii.-xx.; Uspensky, First voyage to the Monasteries of Mount Athos, 1846. Part 2); and the Greek MS. No. 20, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

in intention. Although these theological Psalters are also clearly under late classical influence, the retrospective tendency is more conspicuous in the miniatures of the aristocratic group, where the aim of the artist was more exclusively aesthetic, and the result often so antique in character as to suggest a comparison with Pompeiian frescoes. And yet, in deriving inspiration from ancient art the men who painted them were only obeying an instinct which continued to influence Byzantine artists in all periods down to the latest years of decadence.[a] The Kyrenia treasure, possessing such evident affinities with their work, affords further evidence of the continuity of classical tradition in the Eastern Empire, and must be regarded as a valuable document in the history of Byzantine art.

The date of this Kyrenia treasure is evidently the same as that of the earlier treasure from the same place described in *Archaeologia*[b] and mentioned more than once in the course of this paper. That find was ascribed approximately to the second half of the sixth century; and though the discovery of a coin of Constans II. in the present treasure gives the middle of the seventh century as the latest possible limit, there are many points which go to prove that the silver dishes, at any rate, must be older than this coin. There is the similarity in the disposition of the figures and of the architecture with the same features on the shield of Theodosius; there is the analogous character of the accessory objects beneath the exergual line, which suggest the treatment of silver dishes anterior to the sixth century, such as the disc or shield of Valentinian at Geneva;[c] there is the Roman character of the marriage-scene, so like that of the coin of Theodosius II. (fig. 1), and so different from the later Byzantine type in which the figure of Our Lord is introduced; there is the early type of the announcement to David of Samuel's message, where the messenger is still human, and not, as in after times, transformed into an angel; and finally there is the general reminiscence of classical feeling in the treatment and grouping of the figures. An examination of details in like manner reveals analogies with monuments of a considerably earlier date than that of Constans II. The costumes are hardly to be distinguished from those of the fifth and early sixth centuries, and of this the royal costume exemplified in the figure of Saul is a fair criterion. The long chlamys has the *tablion* placed low, and not as usually

[a] See the various examples of imitation quoted by Tikkanen, *Die Genesis Mosaiken in Venedig*, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, vol. xvii. p. 320.

[b] Vol. lvii. 159.

[c] Odobesco, 154.

in later times close to the fibula, while the fibula itself is of the type with straight "tail," which after the sixth century was replaced by the circular variety. The king wears a simple diadem or fillet not unlike that seen on the Barberini diptych and the shield from Kertch, and without the lateral pendants formed of strings of pearls which, beginning in the reign of Justinian, became general from the time of Justin II. (A.D. 566-578). Such points would indeed count for little if the dishes presented very careful copies of early designs, but the character of the stamps or control-marks also points to the sixth century. These are identical in style with those of the treasure in the British Museum, among which there was a monogram of the rectangular outline which in general precedes the cruciform type, and seems to die out after the time of Justinian. We conclude that the silver dishes are more likely to belong to the sixth century than the seventh; and were it not for a frequent weakness and conventionality, a monotony of expression and gesture, eloquent of an art which lives by too servile an imitation of prescribed forms, we might think of the first rather than the second half of the century. But the distance which divides this work from the period of Theodosius is clearly very considerable, and perhaps it is safer to assign them to the later part of the century, in which case the gold jewellery found with the silver plate may well be contemporary. It must be confessed that within certain limits the dating of early Byzantine works in the minor arts is often little better than a process of divination.

There is nothing which absolutely proves that any of the objects were originally made for religious uses.[a] Indeed the worldly character of the jewellery is obvious, and the decoration of domestic plate with biblical subjects must have been by no means unusual at a time when Christian designs loomed so large alike in the major and the minor arts. The fact that the treasure was found in the immediate neighbourhood of a religious house proves little, for secular plate was sometimes bequeathed or presented to the church; and again it is quite possible that the treasure may have been taken to the monastery in the hope of its proving a comparatively safe place in a time of danger.

[a] The only early silver treasure of which this can be predicated with some certainty is that found at Luxor and now in the Cairo Museum. (*Service des antiquités de l'Egypte, Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes: Koptische Kunst*, by J. Strzygowski, Nos. 7201 ff. (Vienna, 1904). The Lampsacus treasure in the British Museum (*Catalogue*, Nos. 376-396) may also in part at least have had a religious origin.

The place of manufacture is also uncertain, but it is on the whole more probable that work of this character was imported into Cyprus from Syria or Egypt than made upon the spot. Alexandria and Antioch were both great centres of the silversmith's art, and it has already been suggested with reference to the jewellery that one or the other may well have been the original home of the treasure. In the present state of our knowledge it would be rash to be too affirmative, but there are facts which rather incline the balance in favour of Syria. Like their neighbours in Sassanian Persia, the silversmiths of Syria were very active during the period preceding the Arab conquest,[a] and the presence on a dish in the earlier Kyrenia treasure in the British Museum of a figure of St. Sergius, a saint enjoying exceptional popularity in Syria, is a small point which may not be without its bearing upon the general question. But it should be remembered that Constantinople also had its silversmiths' quarter, where the votive shield of Justinian, found at Kertch in 1891, is supposed to have been made.[b] It is well known that the wealth of the imperial Vestiarium, or treasure-chamber, in plate of all kinds was almost fabulous, and the accounts given by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus and others show that the splendour of fine services of silver and gold was always highly appreciated at the Court of Constantinople. It is not to be supposed that all the magnificent salvers and other objects of which we read in their pages were manufactured in the provinces and imported into a metropolis incapable of providing for its own luxurious needs. And it must be remembered that sumptuous plate was not by any means confined to the imperial palaces: all the wealthy nobles in Constantinople were supplied in a similar manner, and the accumulated treasures of the capital, rich in work of all periods from that of the early Roman Empire downwards, must have contained innumerable specimens produced on the shores of the Golden Horn.

The objects represented in fig. 17 are stated to have been found at the same time and place as the treasure. They are all of bronze, and consist of a pricket lamp-stand with two lamps, and several jugs or ewers. The lamps may be com-

[a] M. Smirnoff has treated of this subject in a paper in the *Materials for Russian Archæology* (publication of the Imperial Archæological Commission of St. Petersburg, No. 22, 1899). Unfortunately for English readers the article is written in the Russian language.

[b] *Materials for Russian Archæology*, No. 8, 1892, where this shield is figured and fully discussed. On the wealth of silver plate which was preserved at Constantinople see *Jahrbuch der Kunshistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* (Vienna, 1899): article by H. Graeven, *Ein Reliquien-Kästchen aus Pirano.*

pared with others from the Christian East in various museums,[a] and are hardly likely to be later than the sixth century.

In conclusion the hope may be expressed that the ultimate possessors of the part of the treasure removed to Paris will make haste to publish a series of objects of the highest interest to the study of Christian iconography and to the history of the Byzantine minor arts.

[a] British Museum, *Catalogue of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, Nos. 495 ff.; Cairo Museum Catalogue, as above, section *Bronze*.



Fig. 17. Bronze objects from Kyrenia. (About $\frac{1}{10}$ scale.)



BRASS OF SIR HUGH HASTINGS (OB. 1347)
IN ELSING CHURCH, NORFOLK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries London 1906

II.—*On the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings in Elsing Church, Norfolk.* *By* Albert Hartshorne, *Esq., F.S.A.; with a note by* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq., M.A.*

Read 11th May, 1905.

On a casual visit to the Fitzwilliam Museum on 24th October, 1904, a small brass, part of a larger one, was immediately recognised by the writer, from its resemblance to its noble confrères, as one of the long missing latten figures in the niched series forming the supports of the canopy of the great brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, in Elsing church, Norfolk, namely that of Roger, Lord Grey of Ruthin.

On subsequently mentioning the invention to the Director, Dr. James, he, with the obliging courtesy which distinguishes him, not only caused the brass to be sent to the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, but, better still, expressed his agreement, on the part of the syndicate of the Museum, that the brass should be restored to the monument of which it forms so interesting a portion, with the very proper proviso that it should be refixed in the position in which it was first placed more than five centuries and a half ago, a spirit of salvation that will always commend itself in the rooms of this ancient Society.

It will be convenient now, because it has never been done here before, to give a brief description of the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, the canopy and the attending figures in its shafts, and short notes of the personages represented in this important memorial. (Plate III.) And it may be at once premised that the description now attempted of the main figure will be general, and apply in extensive

measure to the subsidiary figures also. And although this monument is just removed from the period of the varied and fascinating armour and military habits of the time of Edward II., and is a memorial that a casual observer might dismiss in a few sentences, it will be seen upon fuller study that we have here, both in the principal and in the minor figures, depictures of armour of which a worthy description might rather form the text of a volume, not small, than occupy the attention for less than an hour, to say nothing of the teeming lives of the personages represented.

No one who has been in the habit of examining memorials of this kind can have much doubt as to the origin of the example now under our hand. It is, of course, foreign, possibly Flemish, but more likely French work. Many features point to this foreign source. To mention only a few. No English brass ever had a six-tasselled cushion, and with the exception of that of Sir John Wantone at Wimbish, Essex, of the same date and origin, no other brass in England has the mail represented by this particular convention, probably intended for the finer sort known as "grains d'orge," which creeps through the fingers like strings of pearls, as in the Sinigaglia coat,[a] or as sand from the seashore. Nor does any English brass exhibit a gorget so early, or of this peculiar character. It is true that the Inventory of Louis le Hutin, of 1316,[b] mentions "coleretes" of jazerant of steel, evidently protections for the throat, worn under and not over the mail hood. And these may be taken as the origin of the gorget proper. Hastings's example is articulated, and appears, as here, to have been first introduced as a very necessary and separate defence, or reinforcement of the camail, itself the natural successor of the hood of mail. In later times the articulated gorget, or "gorgerete de plates," as in Louis le Hutin's Inventory, rose higher, following the form and gradually covering and taking the place of the camail. It was attached to the bascinet, and extended by degrees until just before 1420, when the camail having been reduced to a gorget or standard of mail, its bottom edge only, with its row of free gilded rings, was to be seen. Nearly half a century later the introduction of the salade brought the *bavière*, which for its time did the work of the gorget, the latter reappearing of a different shape in the early years of the sixteenth century, both in mail and plate, later, and in the seventeenth century spreading

[a] This rare and beautiful coat of mail was shown at the Helmet and Mail Exhibition, at the rooms of the Royal Archæological Institute, in 1880, and is illustrated in Mr. J. Starkie Gardner's *Foreign Armour in England* (London, 1898), 19, fig. 1.

[b] Called "Le Hutin," *à cause de ses goûts désordonnés.* He was brother of Isabella, wife of Edward II., and succeeded his father Philip IV., "Le Bel," as Louis X., in 1314.

over the chest, flattening, and dwindling finally to a mere shell-like item, worn up to George III.'s time *in memoriam* of the longest lived and most persistent defence of the ages of chivalry.[a]

It is to be noticed that the vizor of the rounded bascinet could not act as the lattener, from his imperfect knowledge of perspective, has shown it. But we know what he meant. It would have rotated on the pivots at the sides and so protected the face. Many a vizor shown in alabaster effigies could not have actually performed its office on account of the block not being of sufficient depth to allow for its projection. Brasses, like effigies, are only accurate up to a certain point, outstanding sculptured details in the latter depending upon the amplitude of the stone. The information they afford must be supplemented by the study of illuminated manuscripts, for very little armour of the period under consideration exists. We have a score of helms and helmets, and a few isolated pieces of plate, a coute, a poleyn, a cuff of a gauntlet, perchance a fragment of jazerine, or a portion of a camail. All the rest of the fascinating panoplies of which inventories tell us so much have succumbed to "the tooth of time and razure of oblivion."

Hastings wears a gambeson, of which the ends of the sleeves, quilted in parallel lines, appear beneath the sleeves of the hauberk. These latter are turned back from the wrists and shown as if lined or *doublé* with fur, perhaps intended for deer skin. They depend, as do the mail mittens of the French royal effigies, such as those formerly at St. Denis and in the Dominicans Friary in Paris,[b] the hands in these cases having been passed through holes in the mittens' palms, to be laced up for use after immemorial Oriental practice. There are certain examples in effigies in England; Gervase Alard at Winchelsea is one. Similarly the bare hands, though sometimes met with in armed effigies and brasses of this period in England (John d'Abernoun, 1325, is an example) are distinctly French. The higher Gallic view being that a man takes off his gauntlets when he raises his hands in prayer, just as with us in later times the silent warrior is shown to

[a] Already in the first period of the Thirty Years' War the gorget had lost its laminations. At that time it was worn under the falling lace collar, and extended in a pointed form half way down the chest and over the buff coat, and so it continued during the Civil Wars. In the time of William III. the width had been retained but the point had been rounded off, and thus it continued until the abolition of the buff coat in the reign of George. I.

[b] Many of these are illustrated by Mr. Kerrich's own etchings in *Archaeologia* (xviii. 186-196) from drawings taken by him before the Great Revolution, and bequeathed to the British Museum in 1828. The original etched copper plates are in the writer's possession.

remove one of them when he clasps the fingers of his faithful companion in alabaster on the tombs from Chellaston, Hartshorne, or Tutbury. Thus does Thomas Beauchamp in his effigy at Warwick, died 1370, and Ralph Green at Lowick, Northamptonshire, died 1419,

The defences for the arms, arrière and avant bras, in demi mail and plate, are much the same with Sir Hugh Hastings as we have them in English monuments of the time. And it is quite usual in mixed armour to arrange the plates and mail on the arms alternately within and without. It is exactly so in the Fitzralph brass at Pebmarsh, Essex, about 1320, and clearly very practical. In the Hastings example there is, besides the narrow midway straps, a settling or steadying band next the wrists, possibly of iron. Roundles of unequal size protect the armpits and the elbows. The shield, exceedingly small, is beautifully diapered, and shows a label of three points as on the skirted jupon. It is of rare occurrence at this time on brasses; the latest medieval example that has been noticed is that of William de Aldeburgh, Aldbrough, Yorkshire, 1360; the targe or parma of the Roman was naturally reintroduced in Renaissance times, after two centuries' disuse of this military attribute. Hastings is shown carrying his shield high on the arm, perhaps as a concession by the artist to English custom; it is further saved by the gigue as in far earlier days.

The body of the man is clad in a garment that marks the transition from the cyclas, which appears to have been a purely English habit, to the jupon. There were three garments. The surcote, in early times scanty in the skirt, and practicable compared with those of the fourteenth century, with their voluminous folds. It was on account of wearing one of the old-fashioned habits that Sir John Chandos in 1369 got his legs entangled, "si que en passant il s'entortilla en son parement qui était sur le plus long," so he stumbled and fell an easy prey to the enemy. These disastrous conditions were always to be dreaded when the way was slippery and horsemen were suddenly called upon, as in the improved tactics, to fight on foot. Their legs became involved in the ample draperies, and they were soon dispatched. The skirts in front were therefore cut off, the body was tightened, and the cyclas was devised. It had only a short period of use, and not many effigies and brasses exhibit it. But the cyclas is always associated with mixed armour and costume of the most interesting kind. The effigies of Sir Oliver Ingham at Ingham and John Lyons at Warkworth are noted examples, and so are specially the brasses of John de Creke and John d'Abernoun.

The long flapping back skirt of the cyclas was soon found to be quite useless, and it was cut off, the body was further drawn in, and the skirted jupon appeared

just as we see it worn by Sir Hugh Hastings. In the Tourney Book of that



Shield of arms of Sir Hugh Hastings, from his brass in Elsing Church, Norfolk. (¼ linear.)

interesting personage "le bon roy René d'Anjou" (1409-1480) it is stated that the surcote "doit être sans plis afin qu'on connait mieux de quoi sont les armes."

This condition is well carried out in the blazonry of Hastings's jupon, and it is a fairly early example of a brass with its heraldry in that position.

The sword, of which the pommel is decorated with a small shield of the Hastings arms, is suspended, without the subsidiary waist strap or *cingulum* of earlier times, from a rather narrow diagonal belt, closely studded with circular and lozengy bosses; it is apparently kept in place by its weight and leverage only, though one suspects a supporting hook or loop behind. Such a belt, like the whole of the man's armour, is but a pale reflection of the rich panoplies of the cyclas period, and the belt may be contrasted, very much to its dispraise, with those of Sir John Lyons at Warkworth, Northamptonshire, 1348, a Blanchfront at Alvechurch, Worcestershire, and a Gifford at Leckhampton, Gloucestershire. The old fashion of carrying the lethal weapon from two points on the scabbard has now given way to suspension from a single locket at the mouth of it; and in its way this simple system plainly foreshadows the coming and radical change when the skirted jupon almost suddenly gives place to the tight jupon proper, and the well-known baudric, of which the Black Prince's effigy offers such conspicuous examples.[a]

That the minds of military men were at this precise time much given to change is sufficiently shown by the variety of the body garment and sword belts on the monuments. Styles of course overlapped, and some forward spirits would have the newest designs. There were then no harassing cast-iron "dress regulations" issuing from a mediæval War Office, and many, like Sir Oliver Ingham, were alert to discard the old and adopt the new; but no doubt the ancient surcote, the cyclas, the skirted jupon, and the jupon proper, all appeared on the fields of Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), and mixed armour, swords, and belts, of whose beauty we are now but faintly aware from the inventories, the chroniclers, the illuminated manuscripts, and the perishing details of effigies, brightened those historic and glorious arenas to an extent that we could hardly have otherwise realised. What a sight it must have been, and how the blood and the wine must have flowed!

The thighs of Sir Hugh Hastings are covered with a studded defence, sometimes called jazerant, the precursor and the reverse of brigantine, and of which there are several varieties and different explanations. It need only be said now that the studs are connected with small iron plates under the silk, cloth, or velvet foundation, and that the construction of the "pairs of plates," so often spoken of

[a] For the different methods of suspending the sword during the Middle Ages, see article on "Sword Belts," by the writer, *Archæological Journal*, xlviii. 320-340.



ST. GEORGE, AND ANGELS BEARING UP THE SOUL

FROM THE BRASS OF SIR HUGH HASTINGS AT ELSING, NORFOLK

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1906

in inventories of the fourteenth century, was much the same defence for the body, worn under the surcote, and all were *doublé* with canvas. The genouillères have high salient and fluted bosses, and are strapped over leather foundations, to which the cuissards and mail chausses are attached by studs. At this point the despoilers of a time subsequent to 1782 appear, and our dissection comes to an abrupt end, but it is supplemented by the rubbing, taken in that year, preserved in the British Museum.[a] From this we know that the figure wore mail chausses, and that the feet, resting upon a lion, were armed with rowelled spurs.

Before quitting the paramount figure, attention should be called to the posture of the body, set or swayed to the dexter side. It is true that this is not the common treatment of the figure in England, and it happens that the brass of Sir John Wantone, already spoken of, has the same characteristic. But we have it also in sculpture, as in the two statues of ladies in the upper hall of the Vicars Choral at Wells, in the fourteenth-century alabaster figure of the Virgin found at Flawford, in that in the Chapter House at York, and elsewhere, and it may perhaps be fairly said that these examples are due to French influence. The figures of Edward III. and Ralph Lord Stafford in the supports of the Hastings canopy are exaggerated instances, and so was that of Laurence Hastings now gone. This convention had great attraction for the glass painters, the ivory carvers, and the seal engravers in England, and was not unknown in German art.

With regard to the main canopy, its details are so different from, it is not here said inferior to, the work in the side supports, as to suggest a distinct hand. The eight attendant figures, certainly not "weepers" in this case, seem to be due to at least two engravers, each with his own convention for mail. The brackets for the figures representing the Coronation of Our Lady are admirable representations in refined Gothic seats; the crockets and the knotts are fashioned with the horned flower, which is not a special French feature, and the manner of the redeemed soul borne by angels in a napkin (Plate IV.) is common to both England and France. St. George in the spandrel carries the well-known continental heart-shaped shield, perhaps more German than French, and the hollow-backed horse appears as a jibber, excusable perhaps under the circumstances of what he is expected to face, not an artistic and pictorial dragon, but the same thing in another shape, Satan himself. (Plate IV.) This subject may be con-

[a] Add. MS. 32479, H. 3 (Douce Coll.). This has been well reproduced by Mr. E. M. Beloe, jun. in *A Series of Fourteenth Century Monumental Brasses in Norfolk.*

trasted with the admirable galloping figure in the upper spandrel of the canopy of the tomb of Aymer de Valence in Westminster Abbey.

Sir Hugh Hastings was elder son of John second Baron Hastings by his second wife Isabel, daughter of Hugh le Despenser the Elder. He was consequently half-uncle of Laurence Hastings, to be spoken of later on.

He served in Flanders in 1340 and 1342, and was summoned to parliament in the latter year only. Hastings held command again in Flanders in 1343, and in the same year was in active military service in Brittany. In 1345 he went to Gascony with Lancaster and took part in the operations at Bergerac and Auberoche, and in 1346 he formed one of the garrison at the siege of Aiguillon. He died in 1347, having married Margery, elder daughter of Sir John Foliot, in whose right he acquired estates at Gressinghall, and at Elsing, Norfolk, where his body lies interred. In Elsing chancel was formerly a slab with this inscription: "Yis church hathe been wrowt by Howe de Hastyng and Margaret hys wyf."

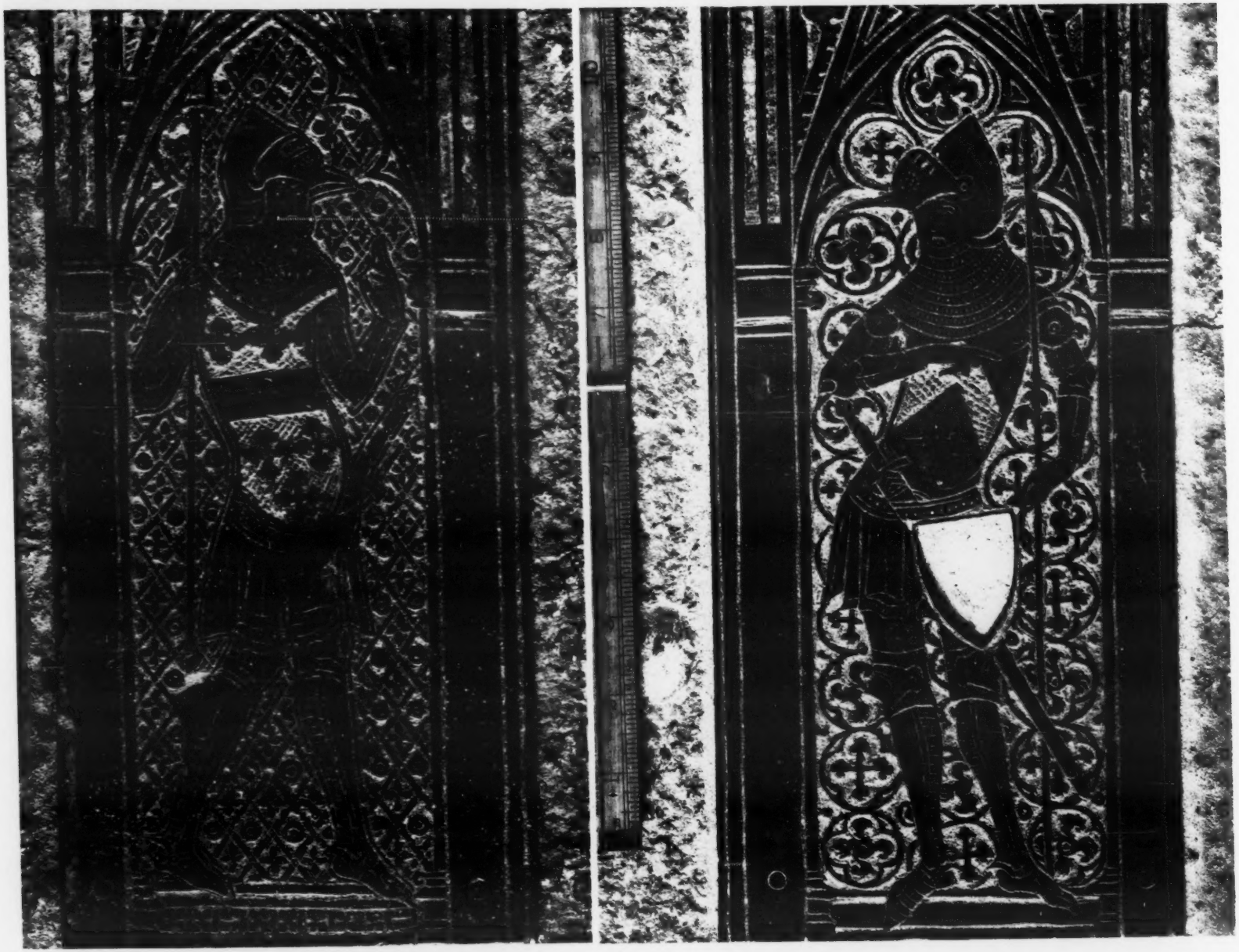
Of more importance in many respects than the paramount effigy are the subsidiary figures in the supports of the canopy. They stand in pairs in their niches against diapered backgrounds, and represent the friends, or so-called "weepers," as round the altar tomb of an effigy. Thus we have, reading from dexter to sinister, I. Edward III.; II. his second cousin Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster. (Plate V.) Both the king and the earl, relieved by flowery backgrounds, are habited alike, the former showing on his jupon *France ancient and England quarterly*, and the latter *England with a label of France*. The king wears no sword-belt or scabbard, but carries his naked brand erect, a symbol of sovereign power. So does Henry the Lion in his effigy at Brunswick. With the exception of the chausses being faced with demi-jambs and sollerets, and the absence of roundels and gorget, the costume of these two personages is much the same as that of the principal figure. The mail of the camail-like gorget of Lancaster is of unusual size (as we also have it in the fore-arm of the great figure), showing only four rows where at least twice as many might have been expected. Within his left arm Lancaster bears the lance with its pennon, and in his hand is the helm with its mantling, chapeau, and crest, admirable and oft-quoted examples. This and the effigy of Lord Grey of Ruthin are the only bare-headed figures, and both countenances have so much individuality that the question of portraiture might arise. But the Earl of Lancaster is shown as a man long past middle age, which he can hardly have been in 1347, having been born in 1299; and portraiture in brasses is as little to be expected at this time as in effigies; and under the circum-



KING EDWARD III, AND HENRY, EARL OF LANCASTER

FROM THE BRASS OF SIR HUGH HASTINGS AT ELSING, NORFOLK

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1906



THOMAS BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, AND RALPH, LORD STAFFORD

FROM THE BRASS OF SIR HUGH HASTINGS AT ELSING, NORFOLK

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stances of the production of this memorial there is hardly likely to have been an exception made, much as one might like to have it so.[a]

The story of the lives of Henry of Lancaster and his companions who, headed by the sovereign, are exhibited at Elsing "in their habits as they lived," would be little less than an epitome of the military operations of their age. Of Lancaster, particularly, it must suffice now to set down that he was actively engaged in Scotland in 1333, and commanded the English army in that country in 1337, in which year, and in 1338, he also served in Flanders. In 1341 he was again captain-general of the army against the Scots, and acted as captain of Aquitaine from 1345 to 1347, when he succeeded his father in his honours. In Gascony, in 1345, he took Bergerac on the Dordogne by assault, and was at the surrender of Auberoche, occupied Aiguillon, and then hurrying away to Picardy fought in the division commanded by the Black Prince at Crecy, August 28th, 1346. Returning to Aquitaine he stormed Lusignac and Poitiers in 1346. Appointed captain of Gascony and Poitou in 1349, he went thither with Ralph Lord Stafford and others, and took measures for the defence of the province. Created Duke of Lancaster in 1351, he was prominent in further service both by sea and land, having the conduct of the campaigns both in Normandy and Britanny in 1356 and 1357; and this trusted councillor of the king was the chief negotiator of the Peace of Brétigny in 1360. Lancaster died in the following year and was buried at Leicester. He married Isabel, daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont, and cousin of Isabel queen of Edward II. His daughter and heir, Blanche, married John of Gaunt, and became ancestress of the House of Lancaster.

The next pair, or rather the single figure No. III. on the dexter side, for its pendant has vanished, stands against a background diapered lozengewise. This represents Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. (Plate VI.)

Again, we have much the same military habits as shown by the main figure; the identical skirted jupon with the armorial bearings limited or restricted by the camail and the sword belt. The sword is not visible, but Beauchamp carries a lance, often then called a glaive, with its pennon, in his right hand. In this figure the vizored bascinet is the most important item. It is precisely the same as that worn by the opposite and companion figure now gone, but known to have represented Laurence Hastings, No. IV., as well as by Ralph Lord Stafford on the sinister side of the next pair, of which the dexter pendant, Le Despenser, No. V., has vanished.

[a] See "Portraiture in Monumental Effigies, and Ancient Schools of Sculpture in England" (Pollard, Exeter, 1899), by the writer.

Thomas Beauchamp was distinguished among a crowd of men of distinction. He attended the king in his wars in Scotland and France, and did great service in 1340. At Crecy, in 1346, he led the van under the Black Prince, and was conspicuous with his deadly battle-axe ten years later at Poitiers. Succeeding his father as Earl of Warwick in 1315 he built the tower of his castle, called Cæsar's, and dying in France in 1369, his body was brought for burial in the choir of St. Mary's at Warwick, of his own building, under a notable tomb of alabaster. This exhibits thirty-six weepers and sustains Beauchamp's effigy, showing him clasping the hand of his wife Katharine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, first Earl of March, lord of many strongholds.

Of Beauchamp's companion figure, No. IV., that of Laurence Hastings, we fortunately know the appearance exactly, from the rubbing taken in 1782.[a] It resembled that of the Earl of Warwick in all respects, save that he was shown in a gorget similar to that of the paramount figure, and that roundles appeared on the left shoulder and elbow. The surcote was charged with Hastings and Valence quarterly, an early instance of this disposition by marshalling.

Laurence Hastings succeeded his father John, half-brother of Sir Hugh Hastings, as fourth Lord Hastings and Bergavenny, in 1325. He served early in life with Edward III. in Flanders, and in 1339 was created Earl of Pembroke, as representative of his great-uncle Aylmer de Valence, who died in 1324.

In 1340 he was summoned to the Scottish wars, and accompanied the king thither; he took a prominent part in Lancaster's campaigns in Aquitaine and Gascony in 1345, and was present with him at Bergerac, which he garrisoned, Auberoche, and at Aiguillon, both in its capture and during the long siege in 1346 and 1347. He was engaged in the siege of Calais in the latter year, and died in 1348. He married Agnes, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and sister of Katharine Beauchamp. A freestone effigy at Abergavenny represents him wearing a bascinet with rare cusped and foliated decorations, and a skirted jupon buttoned down the front.

Hugh le Despenser the Elder, Earl of Winchester, married Isabel, daughter of William Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. His son Hugh, the Younger, espoused Eleanor, daughter of Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, sister and co-heir of Gilbert of Clare, his successor. Hugh the Elder was executed as a traitor, under circumstances of shocking barbarity, at Bristol, in 1326. Hugh the Younger met the like fate at Hereford in the same year, leaving two sons.

[a] It is also engraved full size, with the original colouring, by John Carter in his *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1780), i. 37.

The elder, Hugh, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, and dying in February, 1348-9, without issue, rests under a very sumptuous canopied tomb, with alabaster effigies of himself and his wife, beneath the stately vaults of Tewkesbury. The younger son, Edward, died in 1342, leaving a son, Edward le Despenser, No. V., who, for his close association with the military events of his time, had a fitting place among the companions of Hugh Hastings. Edward le Despenser's brass was removed before 1782. He took part in many campaigns in France and was present at the battle of Poitiers in 1356. He was summoned to parliament in 1357, made a Knight of the Garter, and died in 1375, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Bartholomew Lord Burghersh the Younger.[a]

Edward le Despenser is represented by a unique stone effigy at Tewkesbury. He is shown kneeling on a cushion, looking towards the high altar, on the top of the chapel of the Holy Trinity. He wears a bascinet, camail, and jupon, with his arms on diapered fields; the whole is painted to the life.

We are thus brought to No. VI., the Stafford figure, the background of which is diapered with cusped circles enclosing crosses flory. (Plate VI.) In this instance the bascinet again has the salient projection on the vizor's lower edge for raising it or fastening it with a lace to the camail, and in each of the figures wearing this peculiarly shaped attribute the skirted jupon and mixed armour repeat, with very slight differences, the costume of the paramount brass.

In the Stafford figure, which also bears a lance, we have the usual continental fashion of the shield carried on the hip, and this is also the case with the newly-found effigy, No. VII., presently to be spoken of.

In the memorial of Ralph Lord Stafford, we again have a very prominent personage and highly distinguished soldier. The elder son of Edmund Lord Stafford, he served in Scotland, Flanders, and Brittany, and was continually associated with the military expeditions of Henry of Lancaster. He was appointed seneschal of Aquitaine in 1345, and taking part in Lancaster's campaign in Gascony he commanded the attack by water on Bergerac, assisted in the relief of Auberoche, and was present at the defence and surrender of Aiguillon. He fought at Crecy, and assisted at the siege and surrender of Calais in 1347. In the next year he was created an original Knight of the Garter, and in 1351 advanced to the earldom of Stafford. In 1352 he was appointed lieutenant and captain of Aquitaine. He fought at Poitiers in 1356, went with the king to

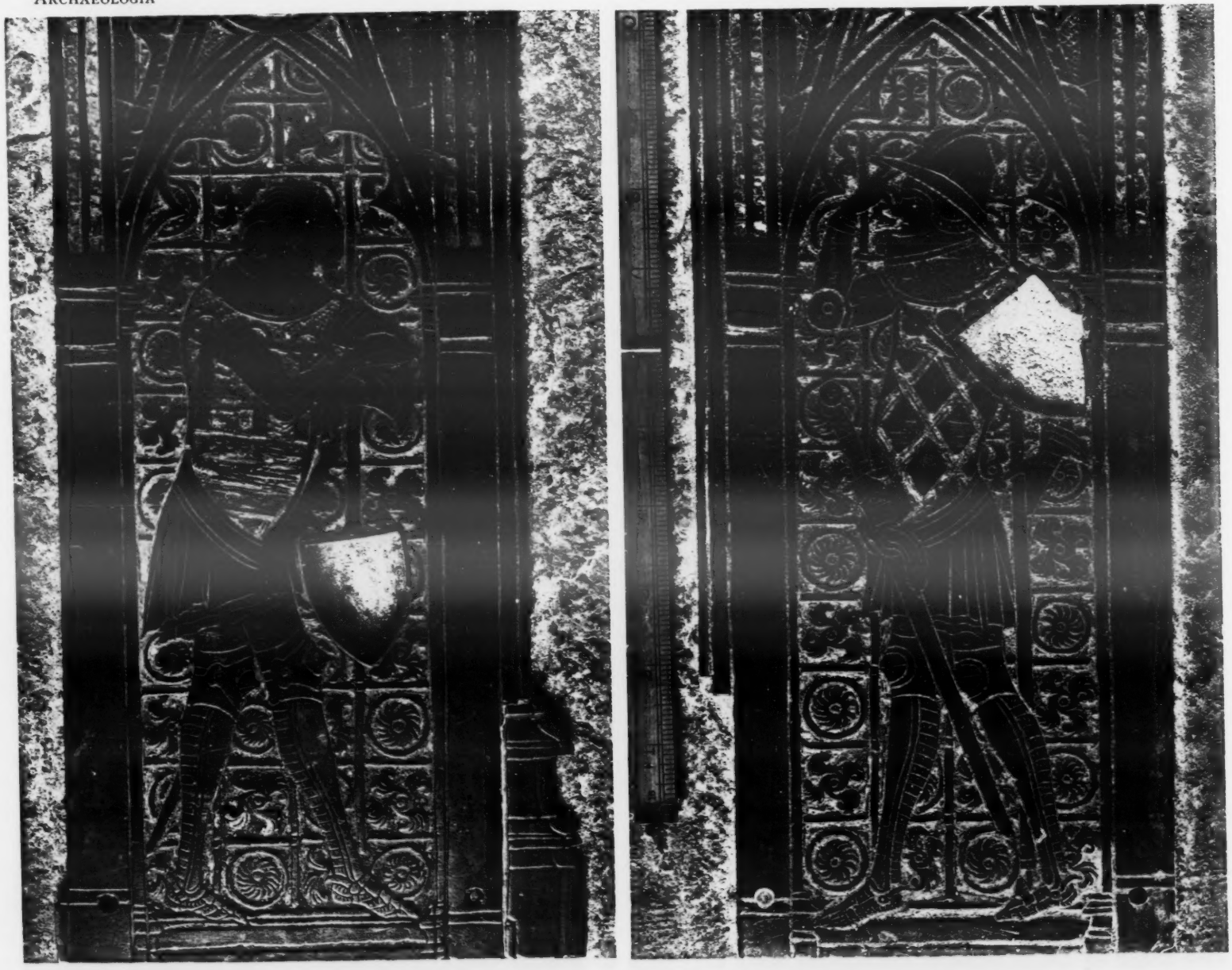
[a] His son Thomas, in virtue of his descent from Eleanor de Clare, was created Earl of Gloucester.

Scotland in the same year, and in 1360 was one of the commissioners who drew up the Treaty of Brétigny. He is said to have again served in France in 1365 and 1367, and died at his castle at Tonbridge in 1372, worn out with arduous military service. He married first Katherine, daughter of Sir John Hastang, and secondly Margaret, daughter and heir of Hugh Audeley, Earl of Gloucester.

The rediscovered figure, No. VII., forms the dexter figure of the bottom pair, the backgrounds being treated as diapers of squares with alternately suns and a wrythen design on a field of red pigment, now hardly perceptible. (Plate VII.) If it could be shown that the face of Lancaster is a portrait, perhaps a still stronger case might be presented by the countenance here depicted for that of Roger Lord Grey of Ruthin, but for like reasons this may not be. He can hardly have been forty-five in 1347, and a much older man is shown. Here also we have armour closely allied in character to that of the principal figure. But as each of the minor ones, already spoken of, presents some slight points of difference in its arming items, so the effigy that has now been happily recovered exhibits some features not illustrated by another. This has, as its peculiar detail, the collar of the gambeson above the mail collar; and this is a feature of exceedingly rare representation, because it is always concealed by the hood, or by the camail. As in the Stafford and St. Amand figures, the shield has been let into the brass, but has long since vanished.[a]

Hitherto we have noticed only the sword and the lance as the weapons represented on this monument. The newly-found figure is therefore the more welcome because it gives an example of a much rarer instrument. He leans upon the poleaxe, often also loosely called a glaive, and known in Germany as a Wurfbeil, Hacke, Axt (our own bill, hatchet, axe) and later as a Lange Wurfhacke, which this instrument strictly is. It recalls the older martel or horseman's hammer, such as we see in the hand of the very early Purbeck warrior at Malvern. And the poleaxe, like that murderous weapon the martel, would, in the hands of a powerful man, have caused untold havoc in breaking up the coats of mail and smashing the bascinets and the heads within them. Such were the prototypes of the bills of the sixteenth century, and it may be recalled that the bill-men then had their special place in the array, and when the right and dread moment arrived, did what was significantly called "the slaughter of the battle." He who wielded the poleaxe on the fields of France had an arduous task, and one is not surprised to see Lord Grey shown as resting from his bloody labours. The axe,

[a] The shields were of coloured glass and not enamel, inserted in the manner described by Mr. Hope in the Postscript to this Paper.



ROGER, LORD GREY OF RUTHIN, AND ALMARIC, LORD ST. AMAND

FROM THE BRASS OF SIR HUGH HASTINGS AT ELSING, NORFOLK

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1906

both short handled and long, was carried by horsemen in a ring at the saddle-bow, and in a ring on the baudric.[a] So general was its use that it might appear surprising how rarely it is shown in effigies; but it was not the honourable and knightly weapon like the sword.

Roger, first Lord Grey of Ruthin, was younger son of John de Grey, second Lord Grey of Wilton, but the eldest by his second wife. He came into possession of Ruthin Castle on the death of his father in 1323, having already served in the Scottish expedition of 1318. He sat in the parliament of York in 1322, and was summoned as Roger de Grey two years later. In 1331 he had the custody of Abergavenny Castle, his wife's nephew, Laurence de Hastings, being then under age. In 1341 he was again occupied in the Scottish wars; in 1343 was ordered to provide men and arms for the king's service in France, and in 1345 crossed the sea with the king, doubtless participating in Lancaster's Gascony campaign in that year, and exercising his axe at Crecy in 1346. He died in 1353, having married Elizabeth, daughter of John Hastings by Isabel de Valence, niece of Henry III. and half-sister of Sir Hugh Hastings.

The companion figure of Lord Grey, No. VIII., that of Almaric Lord Saint Amand (Plate VII.), generally habited like the rest, exhibits as features of special interest in his armour, the "iron hat," and the salient plate gorget much as with the main figure, and in profile like a bavière, objects of which probably no other brass exhibits parallel instances. The hat, rimmed and ridged, is the far-away ancestor of the cabasset and morion of Renaissance times. The shield, now gone, has been let in to the brass.[b]

Almaric de Saint Amand, son of John, second baron, had livery of his lands in 1335, and served in Scotland in 1338 and in the French wars of 1342, 1345 (the year of Lancaster's Gascony campaign) and in 1346, the year of Crecy. In 1347 he was granted £200 a year for his military exertions. He served in Scotland in 1355, and was appointed justiciar of Ireland in 1357, with a fee of £500 a year. He served again in France in 1368, and was summoned to parliament from 1370 to his death in 1382. His male line became extinct on the death of his son Almaric in 1402.

With regard generally to the distinguished personages whose effigies surround

[a] In the possession of Sir J. Charles Robinson is the centre-piece of a baudric in copper gilt, decorated with leaves in relief, and having a large movable ring attached to the lower edge. Within a circle in the centre are the arms of Nassau in enamel. This is perhaps German, about 1390.

[b] It was of glass, and not enamel. See Postscript.

the presentment of Sir Hugh Hastings, it has been seen that their names are as household words from the history of the stirring reign of Edward III. The figures chosen to watch round and dignify the grave of the soldier at Elsing were not selected at haphasard. The king is there naturally as head of the military forces of the kingdom, "mighty victor, mighty lord," and the remaining seven warriors appear either as relatives of Hastings, such as his half-nephew Laurence and his half-brother-in-law Lord Grey of Ruthin; or in consideration of having fought with him in Gascony under Lancaster, as did Laurence Hastings and Ralph Stafford; or in token of their having taken part in the glorious battle of Crecy, as was the privilege of Lancaster, Beauchamp, Stafford, Grey of Ruthin, and Saint Amand. Le Despenser stands among this goodly company not, as far as can be judged from what history records, on account of having participated in the above-mentioned military operations, but as a person of ancient lineage and great position, and without doubt also as a friend of the dead man. With regard further to the six others, to which the sovereign must be added, as they fought in the "dreadful harmony" of war so they are most appropriately shown assembled round the grave of the friend, the relative, the companion in arms.

The accompanying plates are from photographs taken directly from the brass for the Society by Mr. F. Ralph, sen., of Dersingham, under the kind supervision of Mr. E. M. Beloe, junr., of King's Lynn.

POSTSCRIPT.

A note on some peculiarities of the Hastings Brass. *By* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq., M.A.*[a]

On the occasion of the reading, on the 11th of May last, of Mr. Hartshorne's paper on the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing, I noticed in the lantern slides which illustrated it that certain parts of the slab were distinguished by patches of some white substance, and that portions of the brass itself seemed filled in with the same material. My first thought was that the white represented pieces of paper laid down to assist the photographer in focussing, but on examination of the slides I found that this was not so, as the white patches were symmetrically arranged and clearly parts of the original work of the monument.

[a] Read 5th April, 1906.

Although I had made a rubbing of the brass some years ago I had not then noticed the white additions, and I have not been able to find any reference to them by writers who have described the brass in detail, even by such careful observers as the Rev. Herbert Haines, the Rev. Charles Boutell, or the Rev. C. R. Manning. I again visited Elsing Church on the 30th of August last in order to place in the rector's hands, with the approval of the director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the lately recovered figure of Lord Grey of Ruthin, but beyond verifying the existence of the white patches and the fact that they were not inlaid pieces of stone I was not able to make a further examination owing to the brass being photographed at the time for the Society.

Although recent writers have taken no notice of the slab certain peculiarities beside the style of the brass were duly noted by John Carter more than a century ago. In his description of the monument in his *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting*,[a] he says:

> The brasses are not let into the stone, but riveted down upon it; and the whole was formerly made level by an enamel of various colours, laid upon the stone, equal to the thickness of the brass.
>
> All the shields, which are now black,[b] were formerly filled with it, and had the arms enamelled in their proper colours: the engraved lines on the brasses were likewise filled with it in various colours, and the arms thereon engraved were by that means in their proper blazon. On the fillet, whereon the inscription was, the ground was red; some of the red enamel still remaining on one small piece now only left. . . . When entire and enamelled it must have been excessively beautiful, for even now in its decay many of its beauties remain.

In another passage (p. 38), in his description of the figure of the Earl of Pembroke, Carter says, in referring to an ink impression taken by the Rev. Sir John Cullum, bt. and himself in 1781:

> Before the brasses were daubed over with printers ink by Sir *John* and me, I observed in one of the engraved lines something of a red colour, which I then thought was originally put there, when the brasses were first laid down.
>
> I went again to examine the monument, carrying a graving tool with me, when, after taking out the remains of the printing ink, and likewise the dirt which had been trodden into the lines during the centuries it had lain underfoot, I plainly perceived that originally the engraved lines of the whole brass work had been filled with compositions of various colours. . . . .
>
> In the general description I have observed, that the brasses were not let into, but were

[a] London, 1780, vol. i. 13.

[b] Corrected on page 38 as an *erratum* to "blank."

riveted down upon the stone, and that the whole had formerly been made level by an enamel of various colours laid upon the rough surface of the stone, equal to the thickness of the brass, which is barely one-eighth of an inch.

This enamel by length of time is now entirely worn away and gone, having left the surface of the stone bare and rough; but, on scraping the sides of the brass, I could in places perceive that a body of different colours had lain against them, and which most probably somewhat resembled modern *French* marbled paper, though perhaps the colours were neither so bright nor various.

That the lines of the brass were throughout filled in with pastes or enamels of different colours there is no doubt whatever, but that the surface of the stone was covered with enamel is most unlikely. As I was not able at the time to visit Elsing again myself, I sent a transcript of Carter's statement to the rector, the Rev. Henry A. S. Atwood, asking him to be kind enough to examine the stone for any possible traces of the material described, and also to give me his opinion as to the nature of the substance forming the white patches. Mr. Atwood's reply was to the effect (i) that the white patches were composed of some kind of plaster, and were certainly not stone, (ii) that although abundant traces of coloured enamel were to be found in the engraved lines of the brass, there was nothing to show that the rough surface of the stone had ever been covered with enamel.

As both rubbings and photographs of the brass seemed to show that in the angle where the canopy joins Henry of Lancaster's figure there remained part of the original surface of the brass, I again wrote to Mr. Atwood and asked him to examine it. His reply was as follows:

With regard to the fragment where the canopy joins the figure of the Duke of Lancaster, and also on the other side, I cannot discern enamel, unless what I send you in packet No. II. is such in a decayed form. I also send you in packet No. I. two pieces of what appear to be glass, but there is a portion of the canopy I find on close inspection quite full of it, packed closely together, much cracked, but with a perfectly level surface . . . . it may be of course common glass crushed in with the heel at one time or another.

Of the two packets enclosed by the rector, that numbered II. contained fragments which were evidently of Purbeck marble, and that numbered I. pieces of what Mr. Atwood had rightly described as glass.

The marble is only what I expected, but the presence of the glass was decidedly startling, for it at once raised the question whether the brass had not been inlaid with it, since it was most improbable that the remaining fragment could be of accidental origin.

So important a point could be decided only by another journey to Elsing.

This I was not able to make until two days ago, when a careful examination of the monument disclosed the following facts:

First, it is quite clear that the brass was originally inlaid in the usual manner, and level with the surface, in a slab of Purbeck marble. The surface of this is now entirely decayed away, except in the protected angle where the canopy joins Henry of Lancaster's figure, and there is no foundation whatever for Carter's conjecture that the slab was covered with enamel. In fact, his suggestion that such enamel "most probably somewhat resembled modern French marbled paper," which not inaptly describes the appearance of some pieces of Purbeck marble, shows that he had mistaken the marble itself for his supposed enamel.

Secondly, there can be no doubt that the white patches are of plaster or gesso,[a] and that this formed a cement for attaching to the stone pieces of coloured glass as part of the decoration of the brass. In the single place where the glass remains, in the lowest piercing of the cusping of the canopy on the sinister side, it is clearly underlaid by the white cement, against which the greenish tint of the glass itself shows up quite strongly. And although the rest of the glass decoration has long perished the beds for it are left, and tiny fragments of it can be detected here and there in the sharp angles of the cusping. Moreover, in the larger openings of the canopy, on either side of the St. George, the points of the cusps are all cut away underneath for the easier insertion of the enclosed glazing.

A reference to the photograph of the slab shows that all the openings of the main canopy were originally filled with the glass decoration.

It is also evident that the little shields, now lost, once held by the four lower figures in the canopy shafts were not, as has been assumed hitherto, of enamelled copper, but of coloured glass. The white cement for fixing this may still be seen beneath the Stafford and St. Amand figures, and the holes are left for the corresponding patches under Lord Grey's figure[b] and the missing one above. The four upper figures are designed differently.

With regard to the four detached patches of the white cement which show above the canopy, there can be no doubt, notwithstanding the decayed condition of the slab, that they mark the places of as many small shields, each about 3 inches long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad across the top. As there are no signs or remains of rivets round them, these shields were evidently of coloured glass edged

[a] In the spandrel on the dexter side of the St. George a pebble is embedded in the plaster.

[b] The hole has unfortunately been filled up with pitch in the recent refixing of the figure.

with brass, and fixed into casements cut for them in the marble by the same white cement as elsewhere.

A comparison of the present state of the Hastings brass with the engraving of it given by Carter shows that the addition of these hitherto unnoticed shields enables us to recover the whole of the original scheme of the brass, the only points wanting being the shape of the censers held by the angels at the top, and the style of the marginal inscription described by Carter and so provokingly omitted in his engraving. We of course know nothing of the designs of the glass decorations or of the charges on the four detached shields.

The Hastings brass at Elsing has so long been regarded as different from all other such memorials in England, and as belonging to a class by itself, that the additional fact of its being the only known brass decorated with coloured glass can but enhance its unique interest. So far as I am aware the only other existing brass that may perhaps have been similarly ornamented is the large figure of Margaret de Camoys, of a date *circa* 1310, in the nave of Trotton church, Sussex. This has openings cut in the dress for the insertion of nine shields of arms, all now lost. They have hitherto been supposed to have been executed in enamel, but it is quite possible that, like those on the Elsing brass, they may have been of coloured glass. I accordingly asked the rector of Trotton, the Rev. J. F. Ashton, to be kind enough to examine the slab for any traces of underlying cement, but he replies that "the spaces occupied originally by the shields only show the surface (apparently) of the stone," and that "there is no sign, so far as we can discover, of anything in the way of glass enamel."

The use of glass, apart from glass mosaic, as a decorative adjunct to ornamental stonework is of course not unknown in this country, and it will suffice to mention the panels set in Prior Henry of Eastry's canopy over the president's seat in the chapter-house at Christchurch, Canterbury, and the traces of glass decoration on the tomb of Edmund earl of Lancaster (ob. 1296) at Westminster. But to inlay a brass with so fragile a material is most unusual, and it will be interesting to know whether any other instances have been noticed, either in this country or abroad.

It only remains to add that all the loose pieces of the Hastings brass, including the long-lost figure of Lord Grey of Ruthin, and several fragments in private hands, have now been securely refixed at the cost of the Society of Antiquaries, and to protect the monument from further injury, with the approval of the Executive Committee the slab has been sunk below the pavement and covered with oak flaps level with the floor.

III.—*On two Marble Sculptures and a Mithraic Relief of the Roman period found in London.* *By* F. Haverfield, *Esq., M.A., Hon. LL.D., F.S.A.*

Read 8th February, 1906.

Roman London held a special position in the Roman province of Britain. Planted on an excellent harbour and waterway, at the meeting point of the most important roads, it quickly grew into a flourishing town. Within fifteen years of the Claudian invasion it was renowned for its trade and thronged with merchants and merchandise. Before long it became the centre of the fiscal administration, and though it was not the capital of the province, and seems never to have even attained the rank of a municipality, it received in later times the title Augusta, and a mint was set up in it. Its surviving remains fully confirm its reputation. London is the one place in our island which has yielded Roman objects of artistic merit in real abundance. In general, the province of Britain, however thoroughly Romanised, appears to have contained little of wealth and luxury, and the finest products of Roman or Romano-provincial art, whether sculpture or glass or jewelry, were seldom seen in it. So far as they do occur, they are commonest in London.

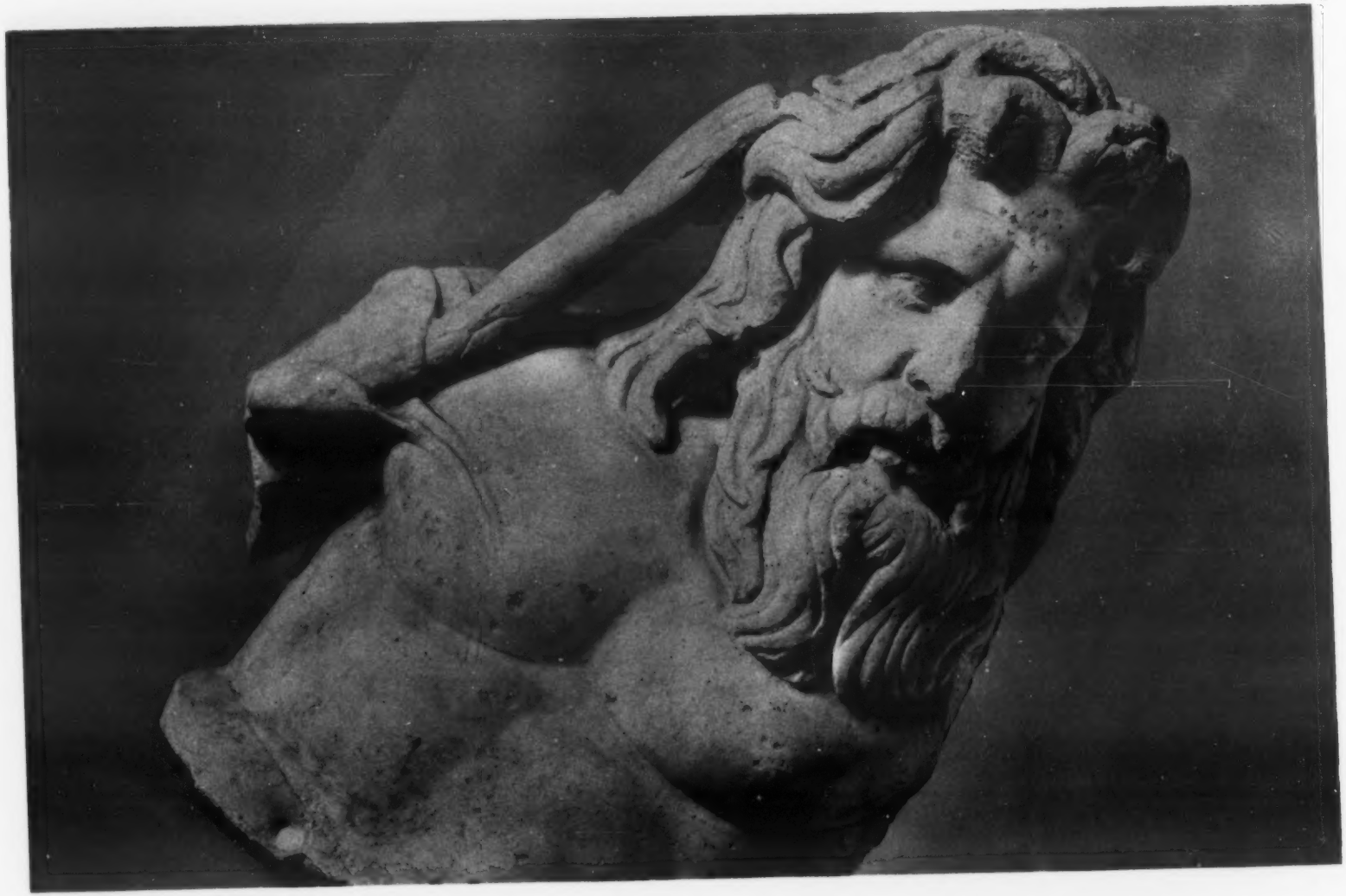
Amongst these choicer works of Roman art that have been found in London we must certainly reckon two pieces of sculpture in foreign marble and an inscribed Mithraic monument, which are now in the collection of our Fellow, Mr. W. Ransom, of Hitchin, and were exhibited by him to the Society on 22nd June, 1905. They were bought by him in the latter part of 1889 from the late James Smith, an East-end dealer in antiquities. According to Smith, they had just been found in the City, near the middle of Walbrook, at a depth of 20 or 22 feet, along with

potsherds and hairpins of Roman character. Mr. Ransom writes to me that he had at various times several dealings with Smith, and always considered him truthful and straight in the information which he gave. He adds that, just at the time when he purchased the objects, deep sewerage work, many yards long, was in progress in Walbrook, near Bond Court, and on one occasion he climbed down into it, and at the bottom picked out Roman potsherds, including Samian, and noted traces as of an ancient streambed. This seems to be, on the whole, satisfactory evidence that the objects were found in London and are not recent imports from abroad.

The question may be raised whether this evidence justifies us in ascribing the three objects to Roman London. It is well known that a vast number of Roman remains of all sorts have been imported into England by travellers and connoisseurs, and many of these have been lost, and some even buried and dug up again. Some instances of this fortune are very strange and striking, and I will cite two or three. An inscribed stele, which was seen at Athens in the seventeenth century, was found in the nineteenth century fifteen feet deep in earth under 67, New Bond Street in London. A Greek inscription from Smyrna was recovered during the construction of the underground District Railway. Another Greek inscription, known to have existed in Islington in 1774, was in 1879 rediscovered during excavations in Tottenham Court Road. Still stranger, a dedication to the Greek Mēn, presumably from Asia Minor, was found some years ago deep in the ground on which a new hotel was being built at Tonbridge. With such cases in mind, one might be tempted to point out that two of Mr. Ransom's three pieces consist of foreign marble, and show an excellence unusual in Roman Britain. Hence it would be easy to conclude that they were not Romano-British in any sense, but modern imports, lost or thrown away, and by the changes of fortune buried deep below the City. I think, however, that the available evidence is unfavourable to such a conclusion. No reason seems to exist for doubting that the dealer told Mr. Ransom the truth, and that the sculptures were discovered in the Walbrook sewerage works. If so, they would appear to have been discovered in a stratum of local Roman objects, such as potsherds and pins, and they must be taken as genuine local relics of Roman London.

It is a further question whether they were discovered together or separately. To this no definite answer can be given. The works in which they were found extended over some little space, and it is conceivable, under the circumstances, that they may belong to one or to two, or even to three distinct origins.

The pieces have been noticed several times in print. I have published the



PART OF A FIGURE OF A RIVER GOD, IN WHITE MARBLE, FOUND IN LONDON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.



WHITE MARBLE STATUE FOUND IN LONDON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

Mithraic inscription in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*,[a] and the *Archæological Journal*,[b] and M. Cumont has discussed all three and illustrated them on a small scale in his *Mystères de Mithra*.[c] The interest of the pieces is so great, however, that it justifies the wish of the Society to have a somewhat fuller publication with larger plates. For this purpose I have, with Mr. Ransom's permission, re-examined them. They are as follows.

(1.) Upper part, including the head, of a bearded figure, reclining in the manner usual to a sea or river god in ancient art, and having against the right shoulder a fragment of a reed or rush, probably held in the right hand, now lost. (Plate VIII.) The hair of both head and beard is long and flowing; the locks over the forehead are treated in a manner that a little suggests horns. The pupils of the eyes are worn, but appear to have been indicated by some not very deep mark. The material is white marble with bluish veins, of foreign origin; height 13 inches. The figure is explained by M. Cumont as that of Oceanus. I should prefer to consider it a river-god, and Professor Percy Gardner agrees with me. The water-reed seems decisive of the matter.

(2.) Headless figure, male, erect, draped from the waist downwards in common fashion, and also wearing part of a cloak (?) round the neck. In the right hand is a *patera* held over a burning altar, and a snake seems to encircle the wrist. The left hand holds up a well-filled cornucopia against the left shoulder. Near the left foot is a vessel's prow, and round it conventional indications of waves. (Plate IX.) The material is foreign white marble, the height 20 inches. M. Cumont, working from photographs, took the figure to be female, and explained it as a statuette of Fortune. It is, however, unquestionably male, and represents either a Genius or Bonus Eventus. Similar figures, with slight variations in the drapery and attributes, occur freely in most parts of the Roman Empire. Often, however, it is doubtful whether the piece denotes a Genius of some man or town or the like or the deity Bonus Eventus, and in the present case I do not know that it is possible to decide.

These two pieces of marble sculpture are well worth all attention. In their artistic excellence they far surpass the average of Romano-British work. The river-god, in particular, would take a high place, by whatever standard it were judged. The mild dignity which characterises the face and head is indicated with real effectiveness. The hair and beard, though treated somewhat plainly, are easy and free from any serious stiffness, and the modelling of the shoulder and breast

[a] Vol. vii. 816. [b] Vol. xlvii. (1890), 234.

[c] Brussels, 1896, ii. 160, 389.

show the true sculptor. The piece is, of course, in no sense a work of extraordinary genius. But it is a very excellent bit of art. The Bonus Eventus is more conventional. Yet here again the shape of the body is given with truth and grace; the pose is easy and natural; the drapery falls lightly, and the whole, when complete, must have been a very satisfactory work. Throughout, the subjects, details, and treatment of both pieces belong to the classical world, and, indeed, to the Greek rather than to the Roman or the Roman-provincial part of it. The head of the river-god is typical and not individualistic, and the body of Bonus Eventus, Italian deity though he was, may be also considered as sculptured under Greek rather than under specially Roman influence. In dealing with these two pieces we find ourselves therefore outside British or Roman traditions. Nothing in them suggests Late Celtic or Romano-British elements. We cannot even connect them with the highly civilised art of north-eastern Gaul which produced the sculptures of Igel and Neumagen. We must go not only to Italy but to that part of Roman art which was dominated by Greek ideas. Indeed, it is not improbable that they may have been wrought in Italy. The marble of which they are composed is not British, and may be Italian, and the excellence of their workmanship suggests, quite as strongly as the style, that their artist was not a Briton or a Gaul, but a Greek or an Italian. We may therefore count them among the objects of artistic merit that were imported in Roman days into Roman Britain. And we may suppose them to be not, like much good glass and pottery, imported from Gaul, but treasures brought over from the centre of Mediterranean civilisation.

(3.) The third piece belonging to Mr. Ransom is very different in character. It is a slab of white sandstone, 17 inches high, 21½ inches wide, and 3¼ inches thick, adorned with a representation of the Mithraic Sacrifice and appropriate adjuncts, and inscribed with the name of the man who set it up and his reason for so doing. (Plate X.) The Mithraic Sacrifice is a very good example of the ordinary type, well preserved and well executed, but in no way calling for particular comment. It depicts Mithras stabbing the bull with his right hand while he holds its nose with his left; below are the usual dog, snake (broken) and crab, and on each side a torch-bearer, the one with his torch erect and the other with it inverted. Round this central relief runs a circular band carved with the signs of the zodiac, also a common feature on Mithraic monuments. In the top left-hand corner the Sun (broken) is driving up a four-horse chariot, while in the corresponding right hand the Moon seems to direct downwards a car drawn by two oxen. At the bottom on the left is a male bearded head with two wings over the forehead, and on the right



STONE SLAB WITH THE MITHRAIC SACRIFICE, FOUND IN LONDON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

a similar, but probably female, head, also with two wings on the forehead and flowing hair. Both doubtless, as M. Cumont observes, symbolise the Winds. Above and between the two heads is the inscription, in letters $\frac{7}{16}$ inch high:

VLPIVS SILVANUS, EMERITVS LEG. II. AVG. VOTVM SOLVIT. FACTVS ARAVSIONE.

"Ulpius Silvanus, discharged soldier of the Legio II. Augusta, pays his vow. He was discharged (*factus emeritus*) at Arausio."

The Legio II. Augusta, as is well known, was stationed at *Isca Silurum* (Caerleon) during the larger part of the Romano-British period. Ulpius seems to have been sent hence, possibly as *frumentarius* (despatch bearer), possibly on some other errand, and happened to be at *Arausio* (Orange), in the lower Rhone valley, perhaps on his way to or from Rome. Here he received news that he had obtained his release from military service; he then returned to Britain and set up a monument in London in thankfulness. This, which is in the main Mommsen's explanation of the inscription, seems to be the right one. The alternative suggestion that *factus Arausione* refers to the stone and means that the monument was carved at Orange, seems epigraphically far less likely and indeed is hardly possible. We should expect, in that view, neither *factus* nor the masculine gender, and we should be hard put to find a parallel inscription mentioning the place where a relief was worked. In these days of goods "made in Germany," and stamped thus by English law, such a notice may seem natural to English readers; but I doubt if an example can be quoted fom the monuments of Roman epigraphy. The only doubt that arises is whether it was the Emperor or Ulpius who was at Arausio when the discharge was granted. On this point I am content to accept the judgment of Mommsen in favour of the latter view. I do not know that any very decisive argument can be advanced on either side. We have, however, an Umbrian inscription of A.D. 141[a] in which a soldier is recorded as having obtained his promotion at Alexandria, where he was probably stationed.

The provenance of the sandstone on which the relief and inscription are carved is unfortunately uncertain. Mr. J. Allen Howe, curator of the Jermyn Street Geological Museum, writes that "such a sandstone might have come from the Wealden area, while, on the other hand, a rock which could not be distinguished from it might readily be found in the neighbourhood of Orange." It is therefore permissible to hold that the object was carved at the place where the discharge was received by the soldier, that is, at Orange, and was then brought to Britain. It is, however, far simpler to suppose that the block is local stone and the monument

[a] Hensen 7170 C.I.L. xi. 5694.

local British work, carved perhaps in London itself. Neither the quality of the carving nor the details included in it require us to assume any but a British origin.

The monument has a further interest. It is the only Mithraic monument yet discovered in London. This interest is the greater, since we can make some rough guess at its date and its position in Roman London. In respect of time, the name Ulpius and the forms of the letters agree in suggesting that the inscription dates from the second quarter or middle of the second century. In respect of place, the findspot seems significant. That is close to the ancient line of Walbrook, and it probably represents, at least roughly, the original situation of the monument. Mithraic chapels were regularly placed beside a spring or stream of water, and the Mithræum which contained Mr. Ransom's relief may well have stood close to the Walbrook.

Lastly, the question arises whether the two marble sculptures also belong to the Mithræum. As has been already stated, the circumstances of the discovery, so far as known to us, do not necessarily imply any connection between the pieces. The internal evidence is equally indecisive, or perhaps it is slightly adverse to the connection. Gods of the water and of springs were worshipped by the Mithraists, though only in a subordinate position, and a figure of a river-god might therefore not appear inappropriate. But no clear case occurs where such a figure as the one now under discussion has been found in a Mithræum. I can find only two instances in all M. Cumont's lists, and both of these are doubtful in the extreme.[a] Of a Genius or of Bonus Eventus I find no instance, certain or doubtful. It may be rash to assert that any combination of deities was impossible to Roman polytheism. But the combination implied in this case seems to be without proper parallel or precedent.

[a] i. figs. 345, 360.

IV.—*Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Mitcham, Surrey. By* Harold F. Bidder, *Esq.; with Notes on Crania and Bones found there by* W. L. H. Duckworth, *Esq., M.D., Sc.D.*

Read 30th November, 1905.

It is proposed in this paper to give some account of a burial ground of the early Anglo-Saxon period at Mitcham, at present partially excavated.

The finds of Anglo-Saxon remains in Surrey have so far been few, and the accounts of them meagre. Of those recorded the cemetery opened at Croydon during some road excavations in 1895 is the most important.[a] It may be noted that Croydon is at the head of a branch of the Wandle, which river flows close to the Mitcham ground. There are some points of resemblance between the finds on these two sites, although the burnt remains discovered at Croydon have no counterpart at Mitcham.

In 1871 a few Anglo-Saxon graves were found at Hackbridge, also on the Wandle, about two miles above Mitcham. They were situated at a point where the gravel rose above the surrounding meadows, and there were no surface indications of the burials, both characteristic features at Mitcham. Further remains were discovered in this area in 1874. Cremated burials formed a feature of these graves.

A number of graves were opened in 1871 at Farthingdown, near Coulsdon, five miles south by west of Croydon. These were dug in the chalk and marked by mounds, but otherwise they appear to have been of very similar character to the

[a] These particulars are taken from Mr. Reginald Smith's account of Anglo-Saxons in Surrey, in the *Victoria County History*.

Mitcham graves, both in orientation, absence of cremation, and scarcity of beads and other ornaments. They also afforded an example of double burial (two skeletons in one grave), several instances of which occur at Mitcham.

At Mitcham itself human remains with a few Anglo-Saxon objects have from time to time been discovered while working the gravel pits near Mitcham Station. Of these earlier finds, however, practically all details are wanting.

The field containing the burial ground now to be described (fig. 1) is bounded

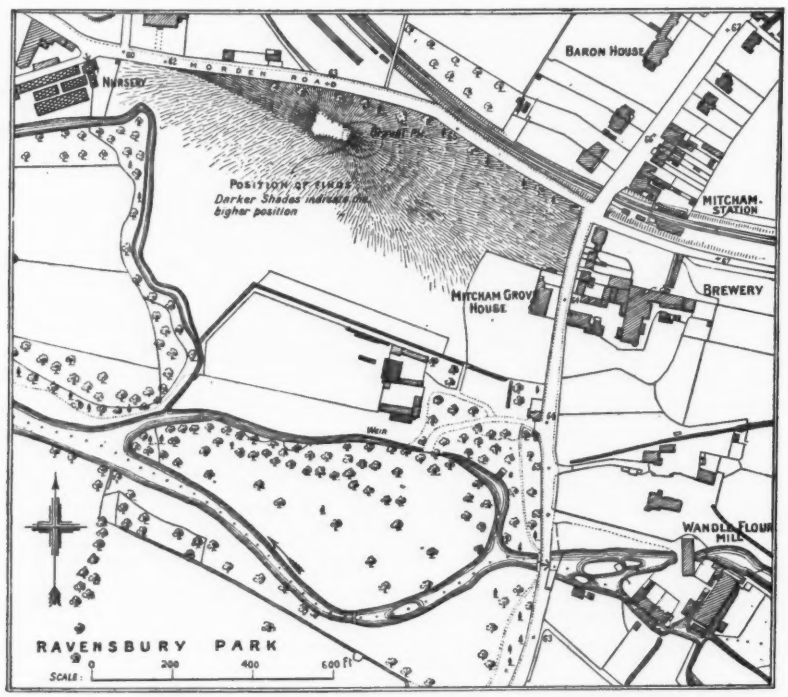
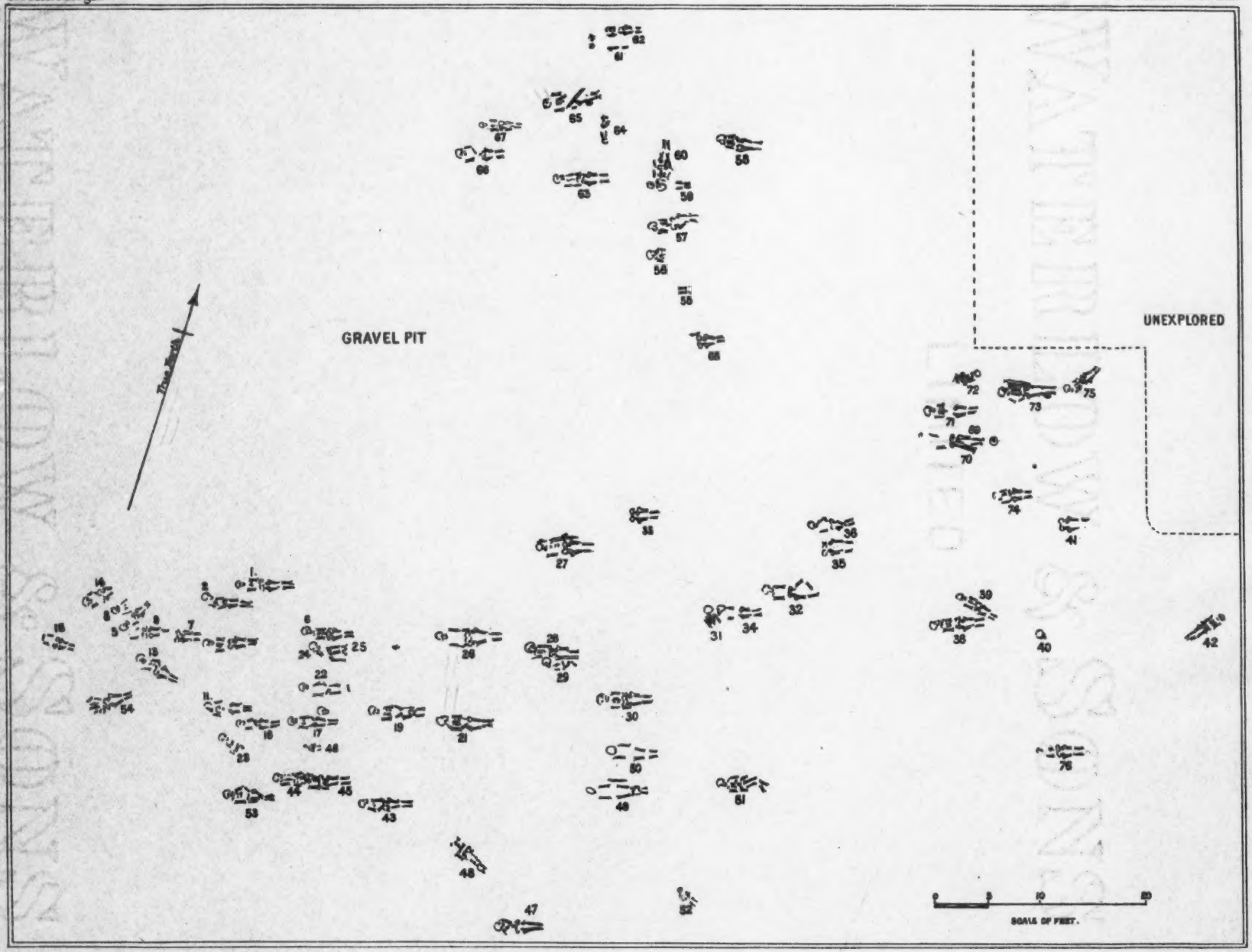


Fig. 1. Site of an Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Mitcham, Surrey.

on one side by the Wandle. This river, which is of considerable volume, flows into the Thames at Wandsworth after a total course of barely eight miles. A low-lying stretch of marshy meadow leads from the river to the site of the graves, which are situated upon the top of a bank-like rise of about 6 feet in the level of the surface and of the gravel beneath.

That it has been possible to record these finds at all is due to a lucky accident. Nearly twenty years ago a gravel pit was sunk in the field by the late Mr. G. P.



PLAN OF ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY, RAVENSBURY, MITCHAM, SURREY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

Bidder, Q.C., the then owner of the Ravensbury Park Estate. The labourers at once came upon a number of skeletons; but thinking that (in the words of the bailiff) "people did not like to hear of such things" they said nothing about the matter; and it was only the chance discovery of a human bone by some members of Mr. Bidder's family two or three years later that led to investigation and scientific exploration. It is certain that the contents of a number of graves were dispersed.

Since that time excavation has been conducted at intervals by the late Mr. Bidder and his family, with the invaluable assistance and largely under the direction of Dr. Garson. In all some seventy-seven graves have been opened (see plan, Plate XI.), and their contents recorded. Some of the bones were submitted to Dr. Duckworth, of Jesus College, Cambridge, who has kindly supplied the results of his careful investigations.

The remains are found in the rich mould that covers the gravel, at a depth from the surface varying from 18 inches to 3 feet. In no case have any signs of a coffin been found. In some parts of the ground the skeletons are lying upon the gravel; the bones are then usually well preserved. In two cases slight excavations have been made in the gravel; but as a rule the gravediggers appear to have stopped on reaching a hard surface. In one region a chalky spring has left large deposits of a calcareous nature; where the bones are in contact with these they are much destroyed. There are no traces of any attempts to mark the graves by mounds or otherwise.

The bodies are for the most part well laid out and carefully orientated, with the head west. Of the thirty-three last excavated, only four were not so placed. Of these four one was a woman (north and south), and two were not adult. The remaining twenty-nine mostly pointed slightly to the north of true east. The direction from head to foot was accurately taken in seventeen cases, and gave an average direction of nearly eleven degrees north of true east, only three of the seventeen pointing to the south of east. Assuming that the east was taken from the position of the rising sun about the time of interment, the majority of these burials took place in the summer. It is suggested that there would be either more fighting or (the country being marshy) more disease at that time of year.

A knife is often found with the skeleton; frequently at the waist, as if carried on a belt. Where spear or javelin heads are found, they are mostly on a level with the skull on one side or the other. In one case a woman was buried with a spear-head at the knee, pointing to the feet. Only three swords have been found

(in each case accompanied by a shield-boss), and one instrument like a short sword that may be a sceptre of a rare but recognized type.

The ornaments recovered consist of eight bronze brooches (including two pairs), a bronze buckle, a bronze finger-ring, a few beads (amber and pottery), and the fittings of a belt. Four of the brooches are gilt. A number of iron buckles and other objects, a tumbler and vase of glass, and four earthenware jars complete the collection.

Mr. Reginald Smith has discussed these objects in an exhaustive and valuable paper,[a] to which reference should be made. The complete absence of animal motive in the designs leads him to assign the articles to the first half of the fifth century. The one buckle (fig. 5) in which animals' heads occur is borrowed from a late Roman form, as is also the incised scroll work of the brooches.



Fig. 2. Gilt bronze brooch. (½.)



Fig. 3. Gilt bronze brooch. (½.)

Mr. Reginald Smith considers that the general character of the finds points to a West Saxon rather than a Kentish origin, and is analogous to that of finds in the upper Thames Valley.

A remarkable feature has been the presence of a number of "stray" skulls, if one may so term them. In one case (No. 11) a warrior was buried with his spear beside him and a skull between his hands. In another case (No. 48) a skull

[a] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. xxi. 4-10.

was laid across the ankles. The upper half of this skeleton was wanting, but it seems improbable that the skull was his own. Possibly these heads were trophies of war.

The following is a detailed list of the graves that call for special mention and their contents:[a]

No. 1. Iron strike-a-light and spear-head.

No. 2. Beads at neck.

No. 11. Under the left shoulder a circular bronze saucer-brooch, gilt, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter (fig. 2); at the waist an iron buckle. Between the arms of this skeleton was a second skull.

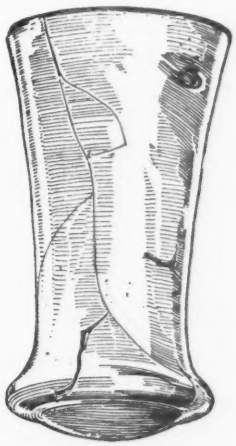


Fig. 4. Tumbler of blue glass. ($\frac{1}{3}$.)



Fig. 5. Bronze buckle. ($\frac{1}{1}$.)

No. 16. On the right collar bone, a flat bronze brooch $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter, with stamped pattern. (Fig. 3.)

No. 17. Long iron spear on the left side of head, "stray" skull by left knee.

No. 18. A child.

No. 19. Spear on right side of head, knife by left arm, "stray" skull between knees.

No. 24. A knife.

No. 27. By the left side, a double-edged flat sword, with traces of the

[a] A selection of the articles found has been presented to the parish of Mitcham, and may be seen in the Vestry Hall there.

wooden scabbard, pommel level with the shoulder, length 33 inches, greatest breadth $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Over the head an iron shield-boss of the flat type, with iron hand-grip, diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches. A spear-head to the left of the skull, and a knife at the left side.

No. 30. An iron ring $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter by the left forearm, some pieces of iron at the elbow.

No. 31. This skeleton was buried on its face, head to the north-west.

No. 34. The head of this skeleton lay on top of the right shoulder of 31. On the right of the head was a tumbler of pale blue glass $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height (fig. 4); on the left of the head a vase of olive-green glass, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. Some glass beads were at the neck.

No. 32. A spear to the right of the head, a knife by the left arm.

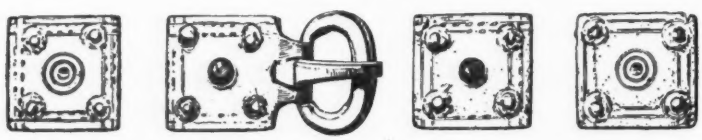


Fig. 6. Fittings of a belt. ($\frac{1}{1}$.)

No. 38. A small bronze finger-ring of Roman type, with a socket as if for a stone between two small plates; at the right thigh, a bronze buckle (fig. 5), $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in greatest dimension, parallel to the hinge.

No. 42. A long spear to the right of the head. This skeleton lay with head east and feet west.

No. 43. A very large knife at the waist on the left side, point to the left. Direction, 16 degrees north of east.[a]

Nos. 44 and 45. These two skeletons had been buried in one grave, 44 on top. The lower skeleton was carefully laid out, feet to the west. At the waist were four tinned bronze plates, the fittings of a belt. (Fig. 6.) Each of these plates is about an inch square. The two middle ones have each a small jewel of red and yellow glass in the centre. At every corner is a stud encircled by a minute bronze ring. A shallow pattern is stamped round the plates. In the two side-plates (found on the hips) concentric circles take the place of the jewel. The

[a] The direction from head to foot is given in each case. The reference is to true east.

belt itself had perished, but its position was shown by a series of small bronze studs.

On the left collar bone was a cruciform brooch 2½ inches in length, also of bronze, tinned, with a line of shallow stamping round the edge. (Fig. 7.) Behind the head was a comb of bone, with large teeth on one side and small teeth on the other.



Fig. 7. Bronze brooch. (½.)

No. 44 had been buried on its face, the legs being over the head and trunk of the lower skeleton. A few glass beads were at the neck (including two fine red ones with blue and white inlaid pattern), a small knife among the ribs, and a small iron buckle at the waist. Direction, 11 degrees north of east.

No. 46. A child, a yard north of 45; orientated.

No. 48. Skeleton of a man, lower half perfect, upper half represented by a few ribs and vertebræ. At the waist a small knife. On the right thigh a hook-like piece of iron. On the ankles a male skull, eyes downwards. Direction, 24 degrees south of east.

No. 49. The bones were very much perished. This perhaps was due to the exceptional fact that the grave had been dug down into the gravel for about 4 inches.

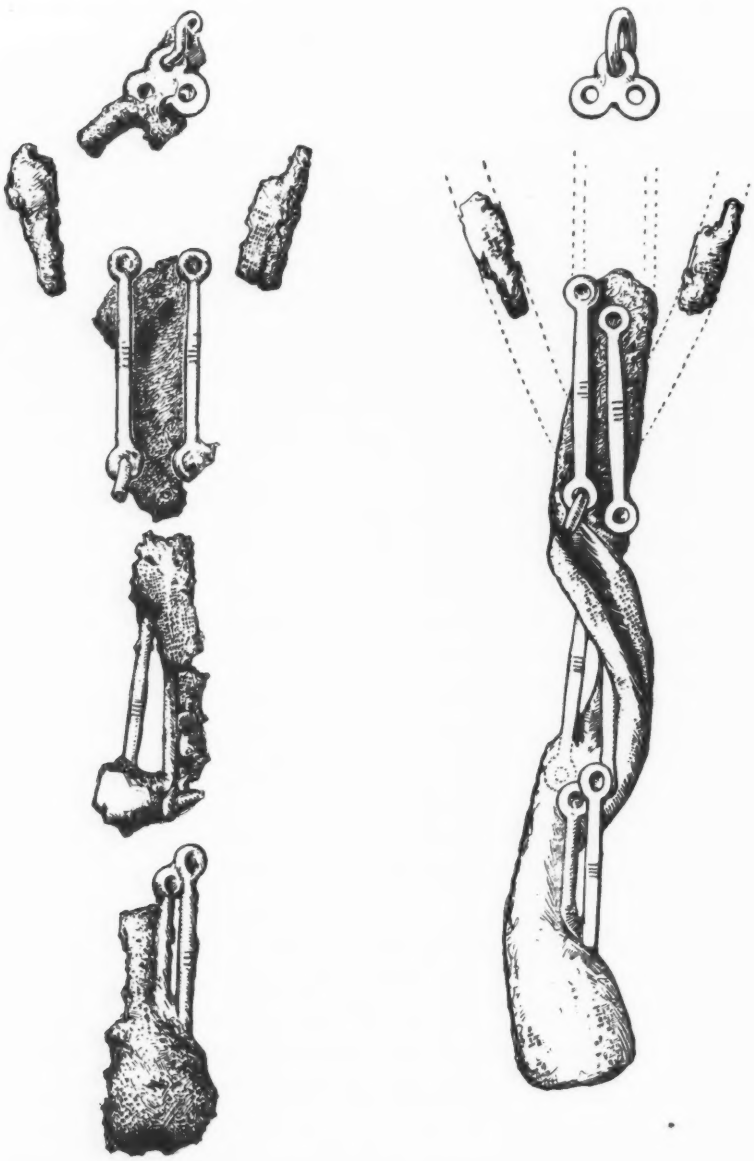
By the left side was an iron object like a short sword (fig. 8), 22⅜ inches in length, thickening towards the point, which has been classed as a sceptre or badge of office of a type rare but well recognised.[a] This instrument was pointing towards the feet, the hilt level with the waist. At the waist and on the left thigh were a number of iron objects, apparently the fittings and contents of a belt and pouch. Most of these pieces of iron showed traces of cloth adhering to them. In the "pouch" were, among other implements, an iron key and ring.



Fig. 8. Iron sword or sceptre. (¼.)

A curious ornament lay between the legs, and appeared to have hung down below the knees. (Fig. 9 (i).) It consisted of three pairs of bronze rods, each 2 inches in length, wound round with a strip of material, and hanging from a small triangular plate of

[a] See *Proceedings, loc. cit.* 6.



(i) As found, except that the three main sections were in contact.

(ii) Suggested partial restoration.

Fig. 9. Portions of a bronze ornament found in Grave 49.

bronze, with eyelet holes for attachment to the garment. These rods were not connected, and were perhaps sewn on to the material. The latter was in several layers, including one of a canvas-like texture. The pad at the lower end suggested a leathern surface. Small pieces of iron covered with material appeared to have formed side attachments.

Across the left knee was an earthenware urn, 6 inches high and $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches across the mouth. (Fig. 10.) This bowl has a pattern round it of parallel lines. It does not appear to be wheel-made, and consists of a coarse grey paste. The sides are relieved by six vertical ribs formed by running the finger down the inside of the bowl. The bowl contained nothing but mould.



Fig. 10. Earthenware urn. (¼.)

Below the feet was a small bronze rod, somewhat similar to those above described, and a small bar of iron with a slit in it. A pair of iron objects were also found (one lying against the left heel bone, across and under the heel), each consisting of a small iron rod about 2 inches in length, passing through an iron ring and ending in a flattened plate. They were possibly the fastenings of a box, though the position of one of them suggests a kind of spur.

Direction: 16 degrees north of east.

No. 50. Very fragmentary, close to 49, and also some 4 inches down into the gravel. A pair of spear-heads at the left shoulder, and a large knife at the waist. On the right hip, a graceful bronze buckle, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch in length. (Fig. 11.) The skull had a hole in it of the size of a florin. Direction: 4 degrees south of east.



Fig. 11. Bronze buckle, with piece of material adhering. (½.)

No. 51. Skeleton, probably female. A small piece of iron underneath and across the left thigh bone, closely touching it. Direction: 26 degrees north of east.

No. 52. Child. Direction: 24 degrees south of east.

No. 54. Skeleton of a man. Bones well preserved, but no trace of a skull. Spear at left shoulder. Direction: 23 degrees north of east.

No. 57. A youth under eighteen. In the mould near was found a small coin of Constantius II. (minimus), 337-361 A.D., in good preservation. Direction: 21 degrees north of east.

No. 58. Skeleton, probably female. A spear-head at the right knee pointing to the feet. Direction: 8 degrees north of east.

Nos. 59 and 60. Only the skull and legs of No. 59 remained, the legs pointing to the east. No. 60 was complete, with legs pointing about north by east, and head where the ribs of No. 59 should have been. A spear-head was at the left side under the arm. It seemed clear that the burial of No. 60 had taken place after that of No. 61, so that the orientation does not indicate a later period.

No. 61. An incomplete skeleton, probably male, consisting only of the bones of one leg and the collar bones. Direction easterly. A very beautiful bronze saucer-brooch, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, richly plated with gold, was found in the earth above it. The pattern was similar to that shown in fig. 12, but contained ten scrolls instead of five, and had not the rope-like circle and the five bosses of fig. 12. On each collar-bone was a large circular brooch of the applied type, consisting of a plain thin bronze back, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and a loose rim that had kept in position a thin plate of metal (not gold) with an embossed pattern, portions of which were found. At the waist was a large iron buckle.

No. 62. Thirty-nine beads were found along the vertebræ of this skeleton on the right side. These beads include several large ones of red amber, a number made of paste with a variety of designs in colour, and a few of blue glass, veined in two cases with red.

No. 63. The complete skeleton of a man of fine stature. On the right of the skull was a large spear-head which had been wrapped in a canvas-like material. Among the ribs was a small knife in a sheath. Direction: 16 degrees north of east.

No. 64. A small woman carelessly thrown in on her face, with knees bent. She lay north and south between Nos. 63 and 65.

No. 65. A very tall and muscular man. The skeleton appeared to have been disturbed in early days. The bones, though all present, were displaced on the left side, the thigh bone being on the chest and some vertebræ at the neck. Across the body was a large sword (probably shifted from its original position), beneath which were the bones of a small dog. The sword was $35\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, double edged, with greatest breadth of $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch. Much of the wooden scabbard remained; a thin rectangular iron plate was inserted in the scabbard at the hilt end, perhaps to save friction, or to act as a catch.

A shield-boss of the flat type, 6 inches broad and 3 inches high, was at the

right knee, but had probably come from the shoulder, as a shoulder blade was beneath it. A small knife was among the ribs, and a spear-head by the left arm. It is interesting to note that the disturbers of the grave did not remove the sword. Direction: 24 degrees north of east.

No. 66. The skeleton of a young female. A pair of gilt saucer-brooches $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch in diameter were at the waist (fig. 12), one on the left hip, the other in the mould near. Close by was the skeleton of a child. Direction: 18 degrees north of east.





Fig. 12. Gilt bronze brooch. (½.)

Nos. 69 and 70. These were in the same grave, the remains being very fragmentary; No. 70 was above and slightly across No. 69. The bones of No. 70 were slight, suggesting those of a woman, while those of No. 69 were of a good size.

At the foot of No. 69 was an earthenware jar of coarse red paste, wheel-made, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches across the mouth, with a rough pattern of parallel lines round the shoulder. Within this was a smaller vase, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, of fine black paste, without ornament. There was no trace of the contents of either. Beneath the larger jar was an iron knife.

The smaller jar is similar to one of larger size found not far from this grave, but unconnected with any burial. In both cases the workmanship suggests Roman pottery. Direction of No. 69: 16 degrees north of east.

No. 71. Direction: 16 degrees north of east.

No. 72. Skeleton of a young person buried with the knees doubled up towards the chest, lying on the right side. The general direction was east-north-east.

No. 73. Fine skeleton of a man, quite complete. Along the left arm was a large sword, $35\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length, and with a greatest breadth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Parts of the wooden scabbard adhered to it. The tang of the sword (which was level with the jaw) was of unusal shape, the extremity being bent over at right angles to the axis of the sword in the plane of the blade. A fine spear-head lay to the right of the head. At the waist was a knife (on the left) and a buckle (on the right). This buckle was of the type shown in fig. 11, but made of iron, much corroded. A thin plate of iron filled the triangular space. The studs, however, were of bronze. At the right shin was a shield-boss of a conical type, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, with iron hand-grip. An iron ring, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, was found in the mould above the skeleton. Direction: due east.

No. 74. Fragmentary. Direction: 16 degrees north of east.

No. 75. A young person. A small knife was at the waist on the left; the right hand was under the face. Direction: north-east by north.

No. 76. Fragmentary. Perhaps a woman. Direction: about north-east by east.

Note on a Collection of Crania and Bones from Mitcham.

By Dr. W. L. H. Duckworth.

Series No. 1.

The remains of several skeletons are intermingled in this collection. By careful sorting I have made out the following points.

There are crania, more or less fragmentary, of four individuals; pelvic remains of four individuals; femora from five; humeri from five; radii from four; ulnæ from four; tibiæ from two; fibulæ from one. These results may be tabulated thus:

Crania	from 4 individuals.	
Pelves	„ 4 individuals.	
Femora	„	5 individuals.
Humeri	„	
Radii	„	4 individuals; of which 3 radii and 3 ulnæ go together in pairs.
Ulnæ	„	
Tibiæ	„ 2 individuals; one pair belonging to the fibulæ.	
Fibulæ	„ 1 individual.	

The remains belong to persons of tall stature and powerful physique, ranging in stature from 1,668 to 1,736 mm. for the males.[a] They thus resemble the remains attributed to Teutonic invaders of Britain, but whether Angle or Saxon it is impossible to say. The crania are too few to base a very definite statement upon, but the range in form is rather remarkable; the cranium providing definitely brachycephalic proportions has been pieced together, and its imperfection, besides rendering an accurate measurement unattainable, is largely accountable for this unusually high figure for the index (cephalic). Otherwise the statement first made requires no qualification. The tall stature and the massive character

[a] The equivalents (in feet and inches) of the shortest and tallest individuals found up to the present at Mitcham are 4 feet 10½ inches and 6 feet respectively. The shortest was a female. The males in Series 1 range from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8½ inches.

of the bones suggests that these are more probably Saxon or Anglian remains than those of British inhabitants of the locality in which they were found.

Notes on the several specimens follow.

CRANIA:

No. 4,700.[a]—A cranium with the mandible, in good preservation. The individual was probably between 25 and 30 years of age. The sex must remain doubtful, but I believe it to be female. The skull is ovoid and mesaticephalic, the face is long and narrow, the teeth rather prominent in the incisor region but otherwise absolutely perfect in form and regularity. The chin is very prominent. With this cranium I am inclined to associate the bones marked ? 4,700, which provide a probable stature of 1,613 mm.

No. 4,701.—The calvaria of an individual of about 50 years of age and of the male sex; the mandible is fragmentary. The calvaria is broad (just brachycephalic), and so was probably the face. The remaining teeth are large and of good quality. With this specimen I am inclined to associate the limb-bones marked ? 4,701, denoting moderate stature (1,668 mm.), but great strength and robustness.

No. 4,702.—The left half of the cranium and of the face and part of the mandible of a man in the prime of life. This is a long narrow skull (the estimate of width is almost certainly too great) of great dimensions, and resembles specimens described as Anglian in origin. The face is large and rather narrow, with prominent jaws. The teeth are large and of good quality. With this specimen I would associate the long femora, one of which measures 491 mm. in length, and provides a probable stature of about 1,736 mm.

No. 4,703.—The calvaria of a man of greater age than the foregoing. It is long and narrow with prominent brow-ridges. In type it accords with Nos. 4,700 and 4,702. None of the limb-bones, etc. can be definitely associated with it.

OTHER PARTS OF THE SKELETON.

A.—Fragments marked ? 4,700, viz. right humerus, left radius, ulna, and clavicle. The bones are slight and short and probably female. The clavicle and ulna are stained with copper, indicative of bronze ornaments. The proportion of forearm to arm is not distinctively feminine.

B.—The fragments marked ? 4,701, viz. the right and left radius and ulna, femur, tibia, and fibula, also the sacrum and the ossa innominata. They are very stout massive bones, much ridged, and the femora are strongly curved. There is no suggestion of rickets. The left radius has been fractured, and repaired naturally.

C.—A sacrum and innominate bones, apparently of a female.

D.—Two very long femora, one (the right) being incomplete. The latter has sustained in life a fracture of the great trochanter, followed by natural repair.

[a] The numbers are those of the Cambridge Register or Catalogue.

E.—A left radius, not associated with other bones, has also been fractured during the life of the individual, and has been naturally repaired. In the case of this and the other fractured radius, shortening has occurred, but not in the case of the fractured trochanter (cf. D). No platycnemic tibiæ occur.

Some measurements are appended.

MEASUREMENTS.

Skulls:

Number	4700	4701	4702	4703	Facial height	73	—	77	—
Length	174	179	190	192	Facial breadth	110	—	118	—
Breadth	135	151	? 164	138	Nasal height	52	—	54	—
Height	126	—	? 138	—	Nasal width	24	—	21	—
Circumference	503	? 520	544	? 535	Mandibular width	96	—	114	—
Basi-nasal length	90	—	100	—	Cephalic index	77·5	80	? 86	72
Basi-alveolar length	91	—	100	—					

Other parts of the skeleton:

A. ? 4700—Humeri, R. 331; L. 320. Ulna, L. 250. Radio-humeral index, 78·1.

B. ? 4701—Radius, R. 276. Ulna, L. 294.
Femur, R. 434; L. 429.
Tibia, R. 349; L. 353.
Fibula, R. 336; L. 342.
Pelvic brim—transverse diameter, 99.
conjugate diameter, 122.
index, 81.
Sacral length, 100.
Sacral breadth, 113.
Sacral index, 113.
Estimated stature, 1,668.

C. Sacrum, length 106, breadth 120; index, 113; Pelvic brim; transverse diameter, 144.

D. Femur, L. 491.

E. Other bones.—Humeri, R. 339; L. 312.
Radius, R. 243.
Ulnæ, R. 262; R. 266.
Femora, R. 434; L. 443.
Tibia, R. 350.
Sacrum, width, 126.

In Class E the bones are not associated with one another.

Several fragmentary bones were not measured.

Series No. 2.

A.—Portions of five crania.

B.—Portions of five mandibles, and one upper jaw.

C.—Fragment of a left scapula, which belonged to a robust adult male.

A. Crania:

No. 1.—Cranium of an adult male, probably past the prime of life. The widespread synostosis of the cranial bones is indicative of advancing age. On the left parietal bone is an extensive depression, in the centre of which the surface of the bone is somewhat roughened as though inflammation had been chronic. It is practically impossible to say whether this depression is the result of a wound from which recovery had occurred, or, on the other hand, the sequel to chronic inflammation consequent on the presence and growth of a wen or sebaceous tumour. The right side of the cranium is imperfect owing to damage received during exhumation. The interior of the cranium is fully synostosed; pacchionian pits are numerous and large, and at the occiput is the curious endo-cranial depression associated with peculiar brain-characters.[a] This is the best preserved cranium. From the condition of the bone the antiquity of the specimen is not judged to be extreme. The cranium is like those of the Romano-British inhabitants of this country as represented by crania from various localities in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, now in the University Anatomical Museum.

Measurements: maximum length, 186; maximum breadth, 143 (?); basal height, 132; basi-nasal length, 104; basi-alveolar length, 97; cephalic index, (?) 76·9; height index, 71; alveolar index, 93·3.

No. 2.—This is an elongated ovoid cranium of an individual advanced in years and probably of the female sex. The facial skeleton has been destroyed. In texture this specimen resembles No. 1. There are some features, especially the massive occipital torus, suggestive of a male skull, but in view of the age of the individual the decision is as given above. Synostosis of the bones of the cranial vault is almost complete, both endocranially and exocranially, only the temporal bones remaining separate. Along the hinder part of the sagittal suture a band of flattening is seen, and below this there is a protrusion of the occipital end of the skull similar to that seen in many of the Saxon crania from Brandon (now in the University collection, and described by Dr. C. S. Myers in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for 1896). This specimen can thus be easily matched among the crania of the Saxon period now in the Cambridge collection.

Measurements: length, 183; breadth, 135; cephalic index, 73·8.

[a] Cf. Elliott Smith, *Proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Cambridge, 1904, Section H.

No. 3.—This is a large obovate cranium of an individual in the prime of life, and probably of the male sex. The facial skeleton has been destroyed, with the exception of the nasal bones. Brow ridges are not very prominent, but the occipital bulging already noticed as a feature of No. 2 is here very distinct. In general characters this specimen agrees with the two preceding examples, and is probably of contemporaneous age and similar provenance. The chief point of difference consists in the greater development of the frontal region of the skull, especially as denoted by its breadth.

Measurements: length, 186; breadth, 145; cephalic index, 78·0.

No. 4.—The frontal bone and left parietal bone of an adult male individual. The state of preservation is similar to that of Nos. 1, 2, and 3, and the cranium seems to have presented the same proportions, that is, of moderate (relative) length. No measurements are recorded.

No. 4A.—Part of the hinder end of a large (probably male) adult cranium. This fragment consists of the right half of the occipital bone, with the adjoining part of the right parietal bone, and part of the left parietal bone. In preservation this specimen seems more weathered, and has probably therefore been more exposed than the previous examples (1-4 inclusive).

No. 5.—Portions of the calvaria of an individual of mature age. Synostosis of the bones has been extensive. The sex is difficult to determine, but appears to have been male. This is a much broader cranium than any of the preceding. Otherwise the state of preservation resembles that of Nos. 1-4 (inclusive). The occipital bulging already noted is very marked in this specimen, and the endocranial occipital cerebral fossa on the left side is as marked as in No. 1.

Measurements: length, 178; breadth, 153 (?); cephalic index, (?) 86·0.

B.—MANDIBLES:

No. 6.—This specimen is in two fragments. It seems to have belonged to Skull No. 1. Two molar teeth have been lost (*intra vitam*) on the right side, and one on the left. The upper jaw (of No. 1) shows signs of caries and dental abscesses.

No. 7.—A mandible with remarkably prominent chin, probably female. Crowding of the incisor teeth is noticeable. The mandible is imperfect, the right ascending ramus and condyle being absent.

No. 8.—A small mandible (probably of a female). The molar teeth have suffered much from decay and from alveolar abscesses. It is practically impossible to refer this definitely to any particular cranium of this series. The same remark applies to the remaining two examples.

No. 9.—Well-formed mandible with well-preserved teeth of an adult. Most probably this is the jaw belonging to Cranium No. 3.

No. 10.—Upper maxilla and right half of the corresponding mandible. These are from a

young individual, are well preserved and are remarkably well formed with large sound teeth. The wisdom teeth have only just been cut. As regards the state of preservation, these specimens are much more perfect than the remainder of the mandibles described.

C. The Scapula.

This needs no further description.

Series No. 3.[a]

The present series comprises remains (more or less complete and perfect) of fourteen human skeletons of varying ages and both sexes. The general appearance corresponds with that of skeletons which have been obtained previously, as in Series No. 1, at Mitcham, as well as those discovered locally in cemeteries supposed to date from the Saxon period in East Anglia, but there is some difficulty in determining by the skeletons alone the exact antiquity of the specimens. The occurrence among these skeletons of individuals of powerful physique and tall stature (one measured 6 feet and two were over 5 feet 8 inches) is against their identification with the so-called Romano-British inhabitants of this country. On the other hand, the cranial proportions, though on the average distinctly dolichocephalic, are remarkably varied, considering the small number of the individuals represented. On the whole, however, these may be provisionally described as Anglo-Saxon remains. The circumstances attending interment will possess great importance as regards confirmation or refutation of the above view.

The following notes deal with the osteological features of each skeleton, whether complete or not; and tables (I. and II.) of such measurements as could be made are also appended.

(?) No. —The hind part of a large male skull. The individual was apparently robust. The mandible is massive, and bears large well-formed and well-preserved teeth. The cranium is of mean proportions between the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic groups. Its chief characteristic is the massiveness to which allusion has been made already. No other parts of the skeleton accompany this skull.

No. 48.—The large massive cranium of a man far advanced in years. Dental abscesses have left traces in the jaw, and the remaining molar teeth are much worn. Cranial synostosis is extensive. The skull is chiefly characterised by its great size, by bulging of the occipital region (similar to that mentioned in the descriptions of the Mitcham Series No. 2), while the face has a remarkably orthognathous or straight profile.

Other parts of the skeleton confirm the view expressed above as to the powerful physique of this man. The other remains comprise portions of the sacrum, ossa innominata, and right scapula; the right astragalus and os calcis

[a] The numbers by which the specimens in this series are indicated are also those of the graves given above.

and one lumbar vertebra; both femora and tibiæ, the right humerus, ulna, and fibula. The femora are platymeric.

The stature is estimated at 1,677 mm.

No. 51. Fragments of the skeleton of an immature individual; the sex is uncertain, but probably female. No measurements of the cranium were obtainable. The basilar suture is open and the wisdom teeth had not been cut. The other bones of the skeleton are for the most part fragmentary, and comprise portions of the right innominate bone, atlas vertebra, the femora and tibiæ, the right humerus (with a perforated olecranon fossa) and radius; and the left fibula, which is nearly perfect.

The bones are slight and small.

Estimated stature 1,487 mm.

No. 52.—Fragments of the cranium as well as of the two femora and other limb-bones of a child of uncertain sex and age.

No. 54.—No skull accompanies these bones, which appear to have formed part of the skeleton of an adult male of powerful physique, as indicated by the outstanding "muscular" ridges on the limb-bones. The vertebræ show evidence of osteo-arthritis, for the appearance known as "lipping" is observed. The left humerus bears a well-developed supra-condylar spur, an interesting anomaly, but of no racial significance however. The soleal line on the tibiæ is particularly prominent. The remains comprise either the whole or parts of several vertebræ, the sacrum, the ossa innominata, right clavicle, left scapula, right humerus, the radii, ulnæ, femora, tibiæ and fibulæ, right scaphoid (hand) and unciform, several phalanges (hand), one metacarpal bone, the left astragalus and os calcis.

Estimated stature 1,717 mm.

No. 55.—The stout massive tibiæ of an adult, probably a male.

Estimated stature 1,613 mm.

No. 57.—Fragments of mandible and various bones of an immature individual. The stoutness of the limb-bones suggests the male sex. The wisdom teeth had not been cut. No measurements were possible. The fragments comprise portions of the mandible, right humerus and radius, and right and left femora.

No. 58.—Fragments of the skeleton of an adult of indeterminate sex, probably female. The mandible presents feminine characters; on the other hand, the brow-ridges are pronounced and prominent to an extent rare in female crania. The limb-bones are slight and therefore feminine. The skeleton is represented (in addition to the skull) by fragments of the humeri, femora, tibiæ, and fibulæ, with the metatarsal bone of the (?) left hallux.

The olecranon fossa is perforate in each humerus.

The right femur and tibia are the stoutest bones.

Estimated stature 1,573 mm.

No. 60.—The skull, mandible, and other skeletal remains of an immature individual, probably a male. The wisdom teeth have not been cut. The other teeth are large, well formed, and well preserved. The chin is very prominent. The skull is very long and narrow, and has been probably deformed by flattening from side to side. This deformation is almost certainly posthumous, and due to the pressure of soil. The limb-bones are feebly marked; they lack the epiphyseal ends in most cases. Parts are thus present of the left femur, and of both humeri, tibiæ and fibulæ.

Estimated stature 1,594 mm.

No. 61.—The left femur and tibia of an adult; the sex is probably male, as indicated by the stoutness of the bones. The femoral shaft bears signs of inflammation (periostitis).

Estimated stature 1,677 mm.

No. 63.—The skeleton of an adult male, not far advanced in years, although cranial synostosis is extensive; but the teeth are not much worn down. The skull is massive, large and rounded, the face and occiput being imperfect or absent. The mandible is very wide. The brow ridges and mastoid processes are particularly large. The limb-bones bear well-defined ridges denoting the powerful build of this man. The femora are slightly platymeric as in so many Anglo-Saxon skeletons. The bones comprise the right femur and both tibiæ.

Estimated stature 1,722 mm.

No. 64.—Portions of the femora, tibiæ, one fibula, right radius, right ulna, scapulæ, and skull, with two lumbar vertebræ, the left humerus and radius, and one knee-cap of an adult female.

Estimated stature 1,522 mm.

No. 65.—The femora, tibiæ, humeri, ulnæ, and left radius of a very tall and muscular man.

Estimated stature 1,827 mm. (by far the greatest of these skeletons).

No. 66.—(A) The left half of the mandible of a child of about six years of age.

(B) Skeletal remains of a young female. The cranium is long and narrow, and at its occipital end bears distinctively feminine characters; occipital bulging is also marked. Some posthumous deformation has occurred, and this increases the apparent length and narrowness. The remaining teeth are large and well formed. The other remains comprise the left ulna, femur, tibia, and fibula.

Estimated stature (B.) 1,585 mm.

TABLE I.

CRANIAL MEASUREMENTS AND INDICES.

No.	Length.	Breadth.	Height.	Basi-nasal length.	Basi-alveolar length.	INDICES.		
						Breadth.	Height.	Alveolar.
48	204	144	137	110	103	70·4	67·2	93·6
60	187	128	—	—	—	68·4	—	—
63	(?) 195	151	—	—	—	(?) 77·4	—	—
66	191	122	132	100	100	63·9	69·1	100

TABLE II.

MEASUREMENT OF LIMB-BONES AND ESTIMATED STATURE.[a]

Number of Skeleton.		Right Humerus.	Left Humerus.	Right Radius.	Left Radius.	Right Ulna.	Left Ulna.	Right Femur.	Left Femur.	Right Tibia.	Left Tibia.	Right Fibula.	Left Fibula.	Stature (mean).[b]
(?) 48.	♂	336	—	—	—	—	—	455	461	370	376	358	—	1,677
51.	♀	—	—	—	—	—	—	(?) 390	—	—	—	—	—	1,487
54.	♂	—	345	260	—	290	289	473	475	374	373	—	—	1,717
55.	♂	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	390	—	—	1,613
58.	♀	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	351	350	—	—	1,573
60.	♂	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	421	—	—	—	—	1,594
61.	♂	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	375	—	—	1,677
63.	♂	—	—	—	—	—	—	484	—	387	—	—	—	1,722
64.	♀	—	285	—	217	—	—	—	417	—	—	—	—	1,522
65.	♂	389	384	—	281	306	—	527	520	428	430	—	—	1,827
66. (B)	♀	—	—	—	—	—	(?) 242	—	—	—	356	—	—	1,585

[a] See footnote on p. 12.

[b] The mean of the values calculated from the several bones by Pearson's formulæ.

V.— *Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, in the Sierra Morena, Spain.* *By* HORACE SANDARS, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 8th March, 1906.

BEFORE entering upon the consideration of the subject matter of this paper, I would mention that I found some difficulty in selecting an appropriate title for it. It appeared to me that although a generally descriptive title, perforce composed of several long names strung together, or of compound adjectives made up of such words as Greek, Phœnician, and Iberian, would be more correct, it might, at the same time, and without some previous knowledge of the subjects dealt in during the course of the paper, prove to be confusing. I hesitated between "Iberian" and "Pre-Roman." I think that "Iberian" would, in some respects, have been a more appropriate title, because Iberian influences, both in a geographical and an ethnical sense, undoubtedly predominate, not only in the votive objects themselves, but also in other expressions of that phrase in art with which I am about to deal. "Iberian" is, however, so often and so loosely employed to denote anything and everything that comes from *Hispania*, that I finally decided upon "Pre-Roman." It should, however, not be taken in this instance as the chronological definition of a period which ends with the Roman occupation of Spain in 200 B.C., because it may, and undoubtedly does, extend into several subsequent centuries; but rather as indicating that the influences which predominated in the inception of the offerings in no way derive from the Romans, and that they are traceable to pre-Roman times in the Peninsula.

When I had the privilege of reading a paper before the Society on Roman mining operations in Baetica on the 9th March, 1905, just a year ago, I dealt

generally with that province, the modern Andalusia, and traversed it from north to south, and from east to west. To that province I now return; but only to one small point in it, to a spot not far from, and to the north of, Cástulo, the important Carthaginian and Roman city which stood at the head of the valley of the Baetis, to a spot which is situated in the most romantic part of the Sierra Morena, where a river has cut a deep gorge through the quartzite rocks, and where the Spanish brigand of reality, and not only of romance, held sway until the middle decades of the last century. It is near the *Saltus Castulonensis* in the *Mariani Montes* of the Romans, and it is known to-day as "Despeñaperros," the literal rendering of which would be "fling-the-dogs-over-the-precipice." Here, about half way up the southern slopes of one of the highest of the mountains in this part of the Sierra (it rises 3,000 feet above the level of the sea), which is known as the "Cerro del Castillo" (the Castle Hill), and at a point where, with a steep descent on the one side, the bare face of the mountain rises sheer some 200 feet above on the other, there must have been an ancient and much revered sanctuary or shrine; and it is here that the votive offerings which I deal with were found. But in order to reach the spot with the intelligence requisite for the proper appreciation of the importance of the finds and their archæological significance in all its bearings it will be necessary to pass to that part of the Peninsula where the blue waves of the Mediterranean lap the western shores of the *Mare Internum*, and where the bold adventurers from Greece and Phœnicia first set foot on Iberian soil, and where they subsequently occupied and colonized well-defined zones. The Greeks, who began to settle in the north at Massilia, trended south; while the Phœnicians, who began in the south at Gades, trended north. There is no evidence that either nation penetrated far inland (except, perhaps, in the case of the Phœnicians who pushed up the valley of the Baetis), but they must both have made their civilising influence felt by the Iberians with whom they came into more immediate contact; and that they inspired them with their ideas in art and impressed upon them that degree of culture which is represented by the faithful reproduction of the human form, and which enables the originator to give expression in the works he produces to the sentiments of respect for religion and truth which inspired their inception, there can, I consider, be no possible doubt.

I have had a map of Iberia (fig. 1) specially prepared for the better understanding of this portion of my paper. It is somewhat of the composite order, as it shows not only the Greek and Phœnician Colonies to which I have referred, but also the

geographical position of the various Iberian or Celtiberian tribes, the Roman divisions of the country, the principal Roman towns, and the main Roman roads. I have marked the names of the Greek colonies with a double line thus =, and those of the Phœnician colonies with a single "hatched" line thus //////// under the names. The Roman names have, in most cases, no direct bearing upon the subject matter of my paper, but most of them will be familiar and easily recognised.

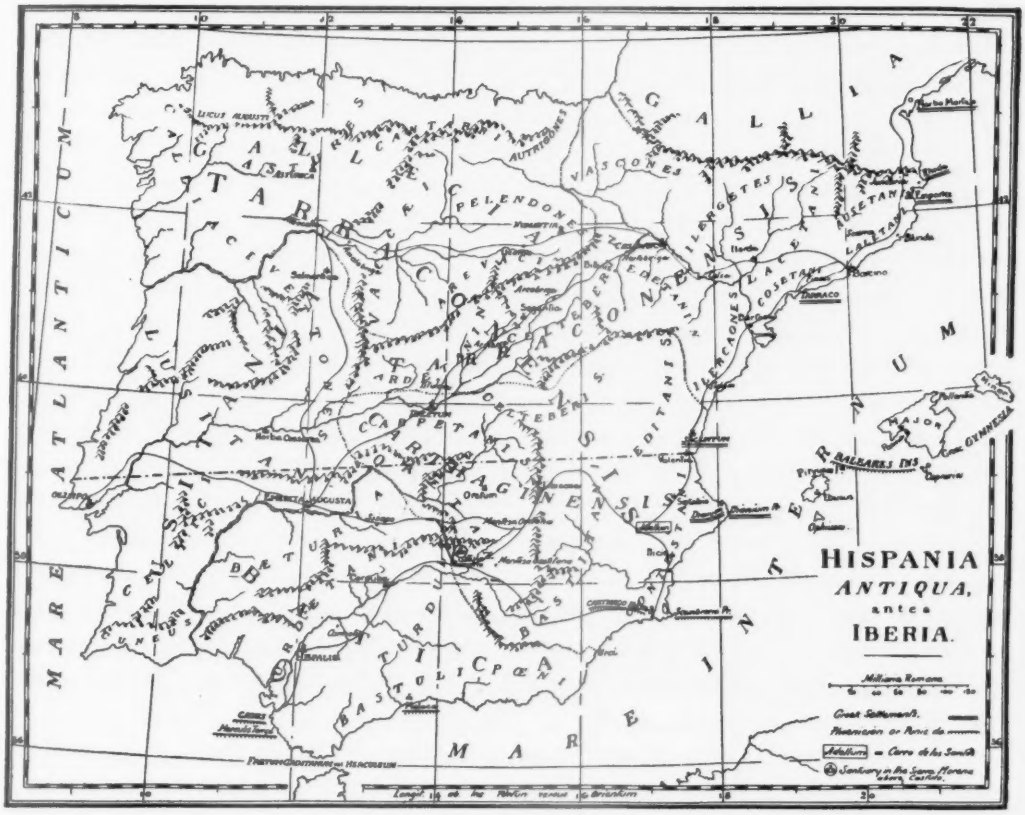


Fig. 1. Map of Iberia.

Before considering the map, however, I would mention that the words "Greek" and "Phœnician" are used as generic terms and as covering all Greek Settlements whether founded by Rhodian, Phocœan, or other Greeks, and all settlements of Syrian origin, whether founded by Phœnicians or Carthaginians. It would be little to my purpose to go closely into the question as to when the

Greeks and Phœnicians first settled in Spain, or as to how far, and when, they respectively penetrated into each other's territories. It is quite possible that there was a flux and reflux of penetration during the earlier centuries of their occupation; and it is historically probable that the Greeks took advantage of Tyrian troubles when Tyre was destroyed in about 585 B.C. to push south as far as Malaga, and that they temporarily founded a settlement (Maenaca) in that neighbourhood. It is also probable that the Carthaginians, after they had inflicted a severe blow upon Greek prestige and expansion in the Mediterranean by their naval victory off Alalia, in Corsica, in 535 B.C., occupied the eastern coast of Iberia; but be that as it may, the point I desire to call attention to is that there was a territory, or perhaps only a district, lying between the Greek colonies along the north and north-east coasts, and the Phœnician colonies on the south and south-east coasts, where there appears to have been a blending of the elements in art of the two nations, and where the indigenous Iberian population absorbed and perpetuated those elements and gave them expression in the statues and offerings which I am about to consider. The map shows that between the Greek colonies of Narbo Martius, Rhoda, Emporiæ, Iluro, Tarraco, Saguntum and Dianium, and the Phœnician settlements of Gades, Malaca, Urci and Cartagena, there is a place marked Adellum. It is in the district I refer to. Elo was a station on the great Roman highway, the Via Augusta, between Cadiz and Rome; it is mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, and it lies close to Yecla, a name which will be found in modern maps. In its near neighbourhood there is a low, flat-topped hill which has become celebrated in archæology under the name of the "Cerro de los Santos," or "Hill of the Saints," where a very considerable number of statues have been found, to which many of the bronze statuettes from the sanctuary at Despeñaperros, the site of which is marked above Cástulo, bear a close analogy.

On the northern brow of the Cerro de los Santos plateau there stood, as the plan given in fig. 2 will show, a temple, or sanctuary, from which those statues must have proceeded. It was built of large rectangular blocks of fine grained limestone, some of which measured 7 feet in length, set without mortar, and so accurately faced that the joints could with difficulty be distinguished. The front of the temple was almost due east, and its dimensions were (on the outside of the walls, which were about 3 feet 3 inches thick, and could be quite accurately measured, although there was unfortunately only one course of stone blocks left), in length 51 feet, and in width 22 feet 7 inches. A portico, or *pronaos*, 8 feet 9 inches deep, preceded the *naos* or *cella*. A flight of five steps, also the full

width of the temple, led up to the portico. Two of them, much worn in places by the footsteps of those who visited the sanctuary, could be seen *in situ* when the

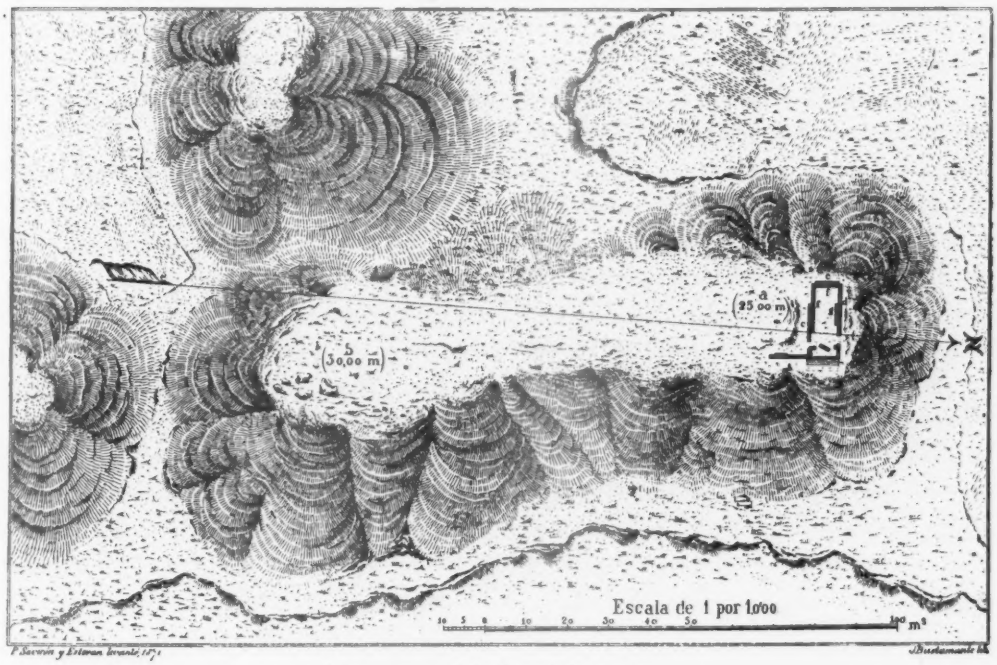


Fig. 2. Plan of the Cerro de los Santos.

first excavations were carried out in 1871. A double line of wall could be traced in parts of the interior of the building, and it has been suggested that it served as a pedestal bench on which the statues were placed. The building was what is known as *Distyle in antis*, and it belonged to a late archaic Greek style. I have made close research for any reference to the finding of architectural remains in connection with the sanctuary, and I have succeeded in tracing the discovery of the two drums of the shaft of a column of sandstone, smooth and round and some 13 inches in diameter; and of the capital of a column (fig. 3)* which probably also belonged to the temple. This capital is interesting. Broadly speaking, it belongs to the Ionic order, and it may, I think, be taken to show Græco-Phœnician

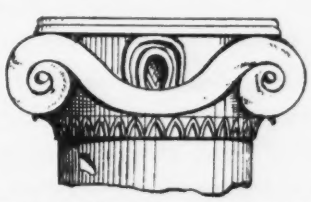


Fig. 3. Capital of a column from the temple on the Cerro de los Santos.

* *El arte en España* (Madrid, 1863), ii. 13.

influence. The peculiar carving of the *canalis* points to an early type, as a similar arrangement of volutes and *canalis* is found on the capital from the Bamboula Hill at Larnaca, where the Phœnician inscriptions and the *ex voto* gifts discovered point to there having been a sanctuary there also. The band which encircles the cap below the volute is of the "river plant" or "rais de cœur" pattern.[a]

The temple was paved with a mosaic composed of slabs in black and white stone; and, perhaps at a later date, with small lozenge-shaped bricks.

The history of the Cerro de los Santos may be briefly stated. It is mentioned under that name in the title deeds of the fourteenth century belonging to the Marquis of Motealegre, in whose possession it is now; but no reference is made to it in the report on the enquiry which Philip II. caused to be made into the antiquities existing in Spain in 1575 and in 1579. For centuries it remained covered with a dense forest, which was twice destroyed by fire and regrew more impenetrable than before. The forest was finally cut down in 1830, when the remains of the temple and its statues were laid bare. Attention was first attracted to them in 1860, and in 1871 the Spanish Government sent a Commission of Archæologists to examine and report upon them. The Commission found the ground much disturbed by previous excavators, but they carefully carried out their investigations, and Sr. Savirón, one of its members, issued an interesting report. The whole ground near the temple, from surface to bed rock, which in no place lay very deep, and from the valley to the plateau, was turned over and examined, and the remains of many statues and objects in bronze and in iron as well as some terra-cotta vases complete, and a great number of potsherds were found, together with fragments of *tegulæ*, of bricks, and of paving tiles. Among the smaller objects discovered were two hundred iron lanceheads which lay together in the hollow of a rock; ex-votos in bronze and in stone in the form of bulls, cows, and horses; parts of weapons; and last, but by no means least, two bronze statuettes and four *fibulæ* identical with those found at the Sanctuary at Despeñaperros. The pottery was varied in texture and colour. A great deal of it was composed of sherds from fine, well-shaped vessels of very dark but well-baked clay, similar in shape to those seen in the hands of the statues. Some red-coloured ware was also found, as well as some small terra-cotta vases of great delicacy and workmanship, some Iberian pottery, and a small fragment of "Saguntino." No inscriptions have come to light, but there is a tradition, founded probably upon fact, that part

[a] I am indebted to Mr. R. Phené Spiers, F.S.A., for valuable assistance in describing this temple.

of a large tablet with an inscription in what appeared to be Latin characters was discovered and destroyed many years ago. I can only trace three coins as having been found on the Cerro: two of them were small bronzes of Constantine the Great; the other was an autonomous middle bronze coin struck at Celsa (Colonia Vitrix Julia Lepida) about 45-41 B.C. The greater part of the statuary was found at the foot of the steep slope to the west of the temple, and it appeared to have been deliberately thrown down from the height above. Some of the statues were almost perfect, but most of them were mutilated, or damaged, or destroyed. Their variety is great, and they offer in themselves, from the points of view of history, of art, and ethnology, a subject for careful and interesting study. I will not attempt to minutely describe even the principal features of interest connected with them, but confine myself to illustrating and describing some of the best known and the best studied; those which have the closest parentage, if I may be allowed the expression, with the bronze statuettes of Despeñaperros. I would mention, however, before doing so, that when these statues were first brought to the notice of continental archæologists[a] they raised much scepticism and no little criticism. The scepticism was born of that not uncommon predisposition in those who do not know and in those who have never studied Spain to brand all antiquities that are found in or that come from *Hispania* as open to suspicion, or false, and it may be passed over. The criticism has done good. It has led, during the past thirty years, to a careful study, on the part of many eminent men, of the Cerro de los Santos statuary, and to the winnowing of the chaff from the grain, and to the firm establishment of the great archæological value of the discoveries to which I have just referred. It is not in a boasting spirit that I venture the opinion that I have unquestionably helped to uphold the authenticity of a number, and, indeed, of the most important of the statues, and to elucidate many interesting points connected with them by saving from dispersion or destruction the collection of bronze offerings dealt with in this paper. In the statues are to be found all the elements which constitute that phase in art which is peculiar to the districts of Spain with which I deal, and which was the outcome of Græco-Phœnician influences implanted on a receptive soil; where the peoples with whom the more highly civilised invaders came into contact became imbued with the

[a] I am sorry that I cannot include English archæologists among those who have studied these, but I do not know of a single English archæologist who has ever seen, carefully examined, or written of them.

sentiments and ideas of the master minds, and intuitively evolved that style and method in sculpture which became peculiar to them and which is sometimes known as "Bastitanean" art, from the name of the tribe within whose territory its manifestations are almost exclusively found. I will, however, call it by the better known and, I think, more appropriate name of "Iberian." It may seem that I am labouring the question of the Cerro de los Santos discoveries and neglecting those of Despeñaperros, but I will only illustrate and comment upon statues which have some analogy with the Sierra Morena statuettes, and, as I have indicated above, the longer way round will be the shorter in the end.

There are certain features of interest in connection with the statues which it will be useful to mention. A large number of statues, or fragments of statues, have been found; over two hundred. The statues of women predominate, and they very seldom show signs of workmanship at the back, a peculiarity which has been remarked in regard to similar statues which have been found in Cyprus. They were probably placed with the back to a wall. Relatively few statues but a large number of heads of men have been found, and they are in almost all cases worked at the back. The statues may roughly be classified into two groups, archaic and classic, but by far the larger number belong to the older division. I am indebted to a most learned contribution towards the literature on the subject of these statues which has just been published by Don José Ramon Mélida,[a] one of the leading archæologists in Spain, for some of the photographs and the description of the statues; and for other photographs and much information,[b] to M. Pierre Paris's valuable work, *Essai sur l'Art et l'Industrie de l'Espagne Primitive*, which should be studied by all who take an interest in the history of art, or in the archæology, of Spain.

Fig. 4 represents the head of a statue of a woman, surmounted with a high *calathos*, or cowl, which covers the back of the head and falls over the shoulders. The forehead is adorned with a richly worked *stephané*, or diadem, in metal, while a band of a clearly indicated egg-and-tongue pattern, which is usually connected with architectural adornment and not the adornment of the head, crosses the forehead and follows the line of the cheeks. The characteristic discs or ear-coverings, which took the place of ear-rings, can be seen suspended from a

[a] *Las Esculturas del Cerro de los Santos, Cuestion de Aunticidad.* Por José Ramon Mélida. de la Revista de Archivos. Madrid, 1906.

[b] The initials appended to the titles of the accompanying illustrations, J. R. M. or P. P. as the case may be, denote that they have been borrowed from the one or the other of the works above noted, *Las Esculturas*, etc. or *Essai sur l'Art*, etc.

decorated cord, or band; this in all probability passed over the head. M. Léon Heuzey, of the Louvre Museum, who has devoted much careful study to the Cerro de los Santos statues, mentions that a similar cowl was not rare in the ancient East before Greek influence put an end to such extravagant fashions, and he points out that similar head-dresses can be seen on terra-cotta statuettes from Syria and Rhodes of the sixth century B.C. Artemidorus, who wrote about 100 B.C., calls attention to the extraordinary head-dresses of the Iberian women, and



Fig. 4. Head of the statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (P. P.)



Fig. 5. Head of the statue of a man from the Cerro de los Santos. (P. P.)

asserts that they rolled up their hair until it projected like a small column, a foot high, from their heads, and that they covered hair and head with a black veil or *calyptra*.[a]

As to the head of a man shown on fig. 5, I cannot do better than render M. Heuzey's remarks with regard to it. "The work is much more simple than in the case of the head of the woman. In spite of the barbarism apparent in the

[a] *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1891), ii. No. iii. 105, "Statues Espagnoles de Style Gréco-Phénicien (Question d'Authenticité)," par Léon Heuzey.

execution, the head recalls the fine Greek sculpture of the fifth and fourth century B.C. The locks of hair, which are short and numerous, are rendered in the metrical and decorative style in accordance with ancient oriental practice. It bears, in short, the inimitable stamp of a high art and suffices to demonstrate and proclaim that there existed among the Iberian populations an ancient local sculpture which was evolved from both Greek and Asiatic associations, as was the case among the Etruscans and in Cyprus; but it had an aspect of its own which



Fig. 6. Two female heads from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

saved it from being confounded with any other."[a] The two heads in fig. 6 in many respects are similar to the one in fig. 4, and call for but little remark. They have a similar row of "ovolos" around the head, as may be seen in the figure to the right. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether these were merely ornamental or whether they were intended to show undulating tresses of hair, such as they are represented in Greek archaic works, by a rendering borrowed from Chaldo-Assyrian art. That they are tresses of hair, there can be no doubt.

[a] *Op. cit.* 107.

Fig. 7 shows three male heads. I have just referred to the treatment of the hair and need not do so again. I would, however, call particular attention to the head on the left, which has a single undulating tress falling from under the head-dress along the neck and behind the ear. There should be a corresponding tress on the other side. The head is covered with a close-fitting cap or helmet, the border of which is thickened at the back so as to form a projecting band or roll. Both these peculiarities are clearly defined in the Despeñaperros statuettes. The strongly marked physiognomy of the subject, too, finds its analogy in the



Fig. 7. Three male heads from the Cerro de los Santos. (P. P.)

heads of some of those statuettes, although in a ruder and less artistic form. Señor Melida says of this head that the style is distinctly oriental and allied to the Cypriote, and that he considers it as an example of one of the earlier and better sculptures, executed in Iberia, but under the direct influence of oriental art.[a] There is a further peculiarity in connection with the first and third heads in fig. 7, that they both wear ear ornaments. In the case of the head to the left they appear to be suspended from the ears; in that on the right they traverse the lobe. Pliny states that it was an oriental fashion for men as well as

[a] *Las Esculturas del Cerro de los Santos*, 60.

women to wear ear-rings, and the practice was common among the Persians, the Babylonians, the Lybians, and the Carthaginians, while among the Greek and Roman ear-rings were only worn by females.

Fig. 8 shows a full length statue from the Cerro with a high conical headdress, which appears to be covered with a cowl or capuchin, hiding everything but the face, and falling in mathematically regular and symmetrical folds to the waist. Like all the statues of woman found at the Cerro de los Santos, the votary holds the libation cup with both hands just below the breast. This same conical headdress is represented in almost every imaginable form in the ex-votos from Despeñaperros. (Plate XV.)



Fig. 8. Statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

I now come to the most interesting and beautiful of all the statues found at the Cerro de los Santos, "the pearl of the collection."[a] (Fig. 9.) The total height of the statue, with the pedestal, is (1·35 m.) 4 feet 5 inches, and without the pedestal (1·15 m.) 3 feet 9 inches. There is a copious literature with regard to this statue, in which every feature and every detail has been critically and scientifically examined. I will not refer to it now, but a short description of the statue, drawn from Señor Melida's recent and valuable work, will not be thrown away. Generally speaking, this fine statue, in the quiet dignity of the features, in the richly ornamented headdress, in the adornments that fall thickly from both sides of it and which support the elaborate ear-discs, in the arrangement of the robes, and in the folds of the cloak, in the attitude of the hands and the form of the cap, convincingly reflect the religious sentiment and the artistic feeling and methods that inspired the sculptor who produced this *chef d'œuvre*, and of the culture of the people who frequented and made offerings at the sanctuary. The elaborate stephané recalls those of the women of Rhodes and of Cyprus. The T-shaped fibula which closes the tunic at the neck corresponds to an identical form of brooch which has been found at many points of the Iberian Peninsula. The costume in its *ensemble* is Greek, but with peculiarities which impart to it a sort of

[a] *Revue d'Assyriologie, etc.* 99.

oriental colouring. The symmetrical arrangement of the drapery is purely Greek in origin, and goes back to the beginning of the fifth century before our era, and recalls in some of its details the Hera of Samos in the museum at the Louvre. The symmetrical folds of the mantle, or veil, are in conformity with archaic Greek precedents, but M. Heuzey,[a] who has most carefully studied the statue, expresses the opinion that the glands which terminate the corners, as well as the brooch to which I have just referred, were inspired by oriental or barbaric fashions. The cup, which, too, is oriental in form, is interesting, because vessels of similar shape have been found, with the well-known bronze heads of bulls, and in pre-Roman surroundings at Costig, in Majorca.

Fig. 10 shows but the fragment of a statue. It is only 8 inches high, but is of great archæological importance. Its genuineness is quite beyond discussion. It was found, in 1871, by Señor Savirón, some 4 feet 6 inches below the steps of the temple. It shows better workmanship than any of the other statues, fig. 9 excepted. But its

[a] *Op. cit.*



Fig. 9.
Statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

importance does not lie in that only. It consists in this, that in the shape and position of the mitre, in the enormous ear-discs, in the fold of the veil at the back of the head, and in the rich jewellery that falls on the breast, you find the same personal adornments that form so striking a feature in the celebrated and beautiful Dame d'Elche.

Fig. 11 reproduces this beautiful bust. It was not found at the Cerro de los Santos, but at Elche, the site of the Iberian city of Ilici, the *Colonia Julia Ilici Augusta* of the Romans. It is made of the same fine-grained calcareous stone as the statues from the Cerro, and in the mitre, the discs, the pendants, the necklaces, and the folds of the garment, it distinctly belongs to that group; and as there is direct relationship between some of its peculiarities and those of the bronze ex-votos from the Sierra Morena, I do not hesitate to include it here. It certainly forms, in the repose and dignity of the features, in its fidelity to nature, in the richness of the adornments and in minuteness of detail, in the "technique" shown, and the power of execution, the masterpiece of all the Iberian sculpture which has hitherto been brought to the light of day in Spain. No one can contemplate this bust without becoming imbued with a deep sense of admiration and respect for the art and the artist that produced it, and without feeling that in it there are revealed to him the features and the sentiments, and the tastes and the customs of a race and people, the Iberians, who were perhaps unknown to him as the originators of a new phase in art. The question may occur as to how, and where, there can be any relationship between this magnificent work of art and the very crude statuettes from Despeñaperros. It comes in more particularly in the combination of the mitre with the enormous ear-discs, which (a detail to be noted) are suspended by straps or cords passing over the head. It may appear that there is an unusual refinement in the features of the Dame d'Elche which is not to be observed in the other statues



Fig. 10. Fragment of the statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos. (J. R. M.)

and may therefore seem strange, but I hope to show that that distinction of type has been most carefully preserved and elaborated in some of the statuettes from



Fig. 11. Bust of a lady found at Elche (the *Dame d'Elche*). (P. P.)

Despeñaperros, to which at last I will turn. But before doing so, however, attention must be directed to a collection of bronze images (fig. 12) taken from M. Pierre Paris's book, which form, in some respects, a connecting link

between the Sanctuary at the Cerro de los Santos and the Sanctuary in the

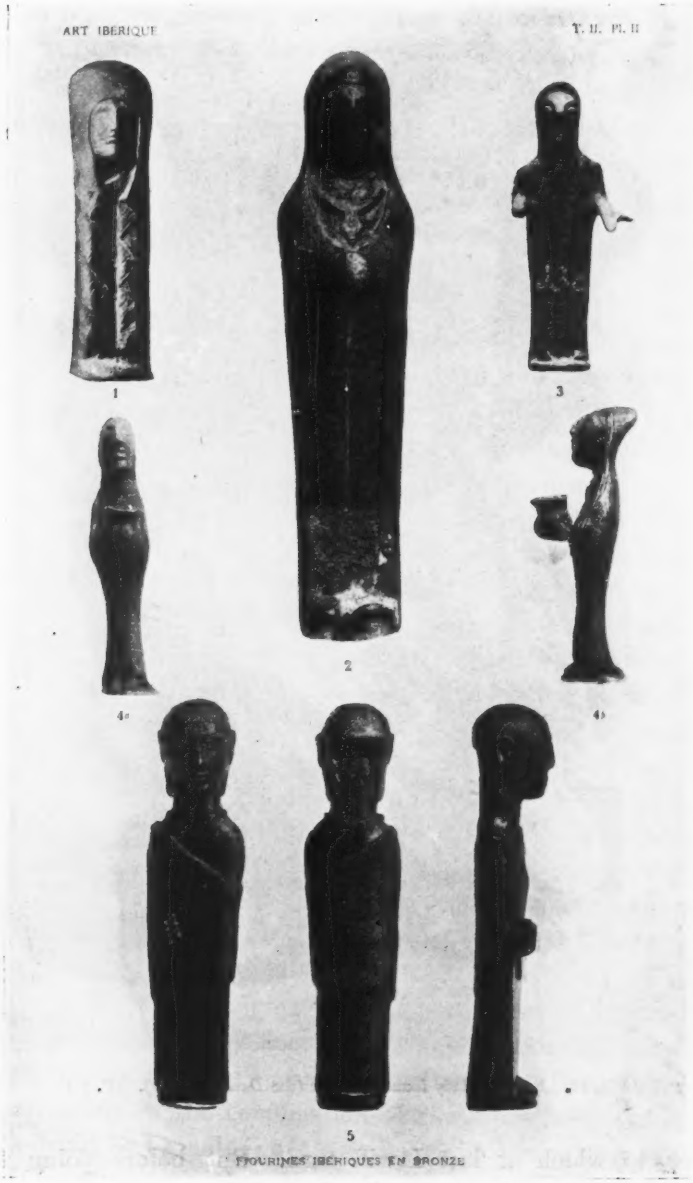
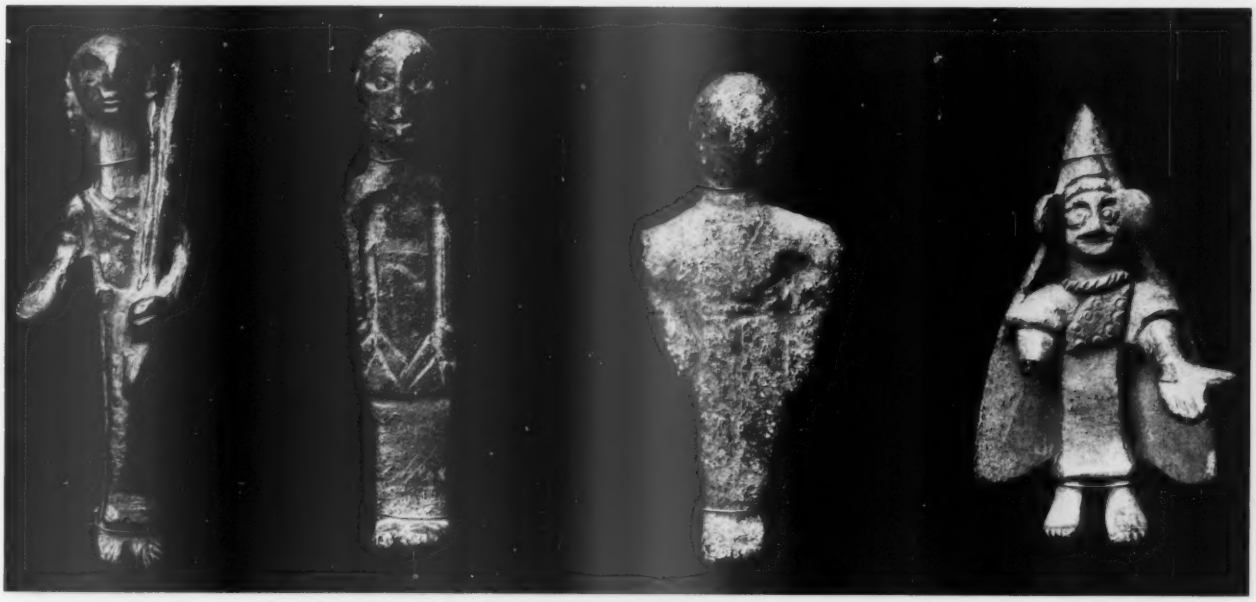


Fig. 12. Bronze images from Southern Spain. (P. P.)





PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

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Sierra Morena. They were found in different parts of Southern Spain. In the top left-hand corner (1) is the figure of a woman with a calathos reduced almost to a stephanos. There are many examples of this form of headdress from both sanctuaries. The veil falls in archaic folds to the feet. In the middle figure (2) the large pendent ear-discs and the necklace with a central pendant can be easily distinguished. The small bronze image (4) is remarkable. Here again we have the mitre, the long spreading veil, large metallic discs or earrings, and the libation cup, held in both hands and well detached from the body. In the lowest figure (5), that of a man, we have the close-fitting helmet and the undulating tresses.

And now we will go due west, and through Cástulo to the Sierra Morena and to the pre-Roman Sanctuary there; the map forming fig. 1 will show its position. The "Roman" roads which connect Cástulo with Emerita Augusta and with Adellum, and the one which passes in close proximity to the hallowed spot, are interesting. I have already described the site. An enormous mass of quartzite rock has, in some remote period, become detached from the face of the precipice above, and lies in front of a deep depression in the rock. There is, at present, no sign of a cave or hollow. Below the rock, and covering a small but comparatively level space, is an accumulation of rubbish and rock, and it is here that the ex-votos are found. The objects are usually discovered in layers of dark soil, which is composed of earth, pieces of charcoal, potsherds, and the bones of animals; but this is by no means always the case. I have found them in crevices between the larger stones as well as in the loose ground. The whole place bears the appearance of having been turned over and over again, by treasure hunters, during the course of centuries. They may have cast aside the small bronze objects as being of no value to them. Most of the pottery might be classified as Roman, although among it there is a not inconsiderable quantity of the *débris* of older pottery, coarse in texture and black in colour, with a large admixture of grains of quartz or chalcite. I could discover no trace of a building on the spot itself, but in close proximity to it I found bricks and tiles which show signs of their being of Roman origin; while on the highest point of the mountain there was a fortified post which was, to judge by the pottery I found there, undoubtedly Roman.

Plates XII. to XV. reproduce some of the most interesting of the votive offerings from the Sanctuary at Despeñaperros.

In the upper part of Plate XII. there are four statuettes. The one on the left represents a warrior, with the ringlet on each side of the head which I have

already pointed out in the case of the head from the Cerro de los Santos (fig. 7). He carries the typical round Iberian shield slung at his back and two weapons, probably swords, in the left hand. The next figure is typical of the crude but expressive workmanship of the ex-votos from Despeñaperros. The following statuette is remarkable for the breadth of the shoulders. The fourth represent the type of the Dame d'Elche. Here we have the same form of mitre, the veil, the large ear-discs, the necklace and the elaborate robe.

The objects shown in the lower part of Plate XII. are ex-votos in their most conventional and simplest form, such as breasts, an arm, feet, legs, and a pair of legs.

Plate XIII. forms a particularly interesting collection of images, which are varied in composition, in form, and in *technique*. The second figure from the left in the top row was cast by the *cire perdue* process; the third was worked with a file from a small bar of bronze. None other like the sixth in the row has been found in Spain. The seventh image with the bended arms ornamented with bracelets, and the hands outspread on the breast, is also unique. Several figures in the lower row resemble mummies.

Plate XIV., again, shows peculiarities in design and workmanship; and here again the human form is rough-hewn in the crudest manner. It is made out of a thin sheet of bronze or copper, cut to the required length, turned slightly at one end to represent the feet, and twisted at the other end so that the head may be placed at right angles to the body, while the features are marked by notches cut with a file. In a few instances the toes have been marked by file notches on the upturned "feet"; and in one case (second figure from the left in the bottom row) the file has marked out the arms and outspread hands which fall along the body.

Plate XV. shows the headdress of the Iberian woman which so surprised Artemidorus in its many and fanciful forms. The first three images would hardly be accepted as representing the human form were it not that their *provenance* is incontestable, and that they offer points of analogy with clearly indicated statuettes which leave no doubt as to their purpose.

Figs. 13, 14, and 15 represent three mounted Iberian horsemen. They form, perhaps, the most interesting group of objects discovered at the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. The close-fitting helmet and ringlets, to which I have already referred (fig. 7), and the finely cut features can be plainly distinguished in fig. 15, while the care with which the weapons have been designed and worked out, and the



PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

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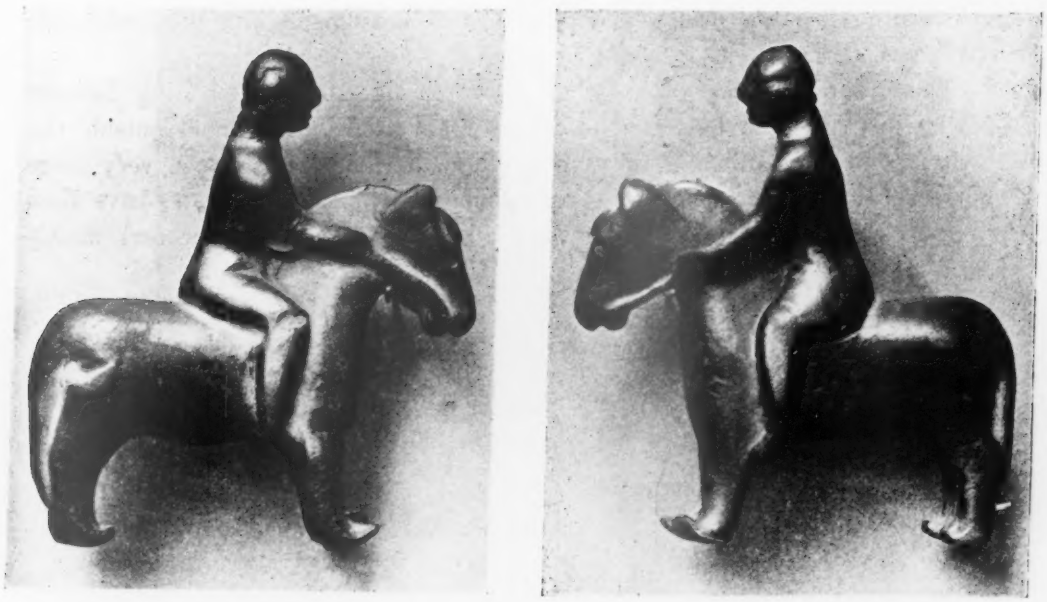


Fig. 13. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. (½.)

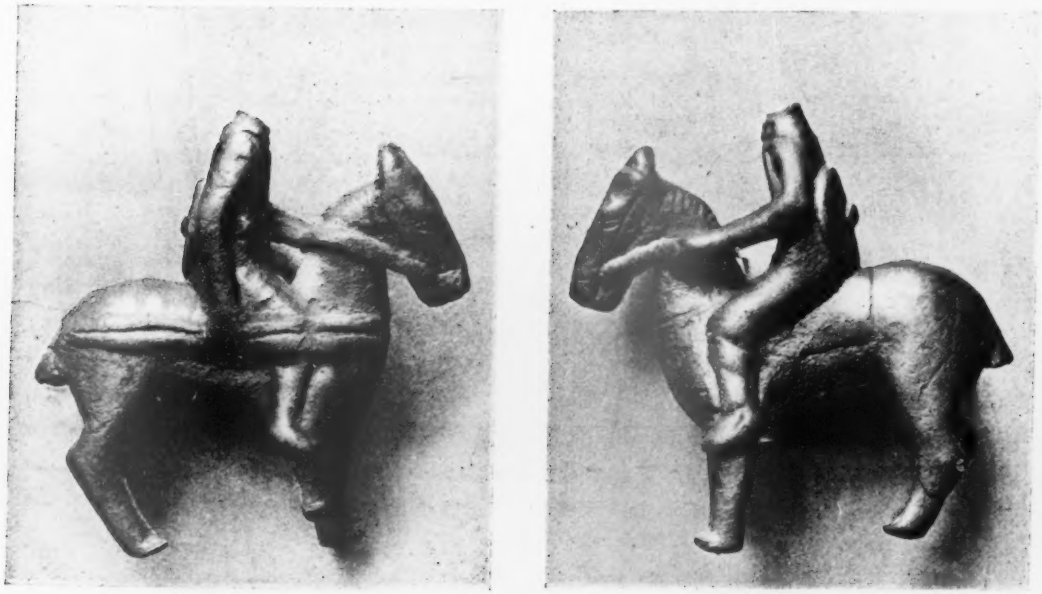


Fig. 14. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. (½.)

fidelity with which the bridles and trappings of the horses have been rendered, are truly remarkable.

The group of *fibulæ* or brooches shown in fig. 16 is interesting because brooches of this form have not, so far as I am aware, been found outside the Iberian peninsula, although they are widely distributed there. A very large number of them, amounting to several hundreds in the aggregate, have been discovered at Despeñaperros. They are all of the same pattern, and mostly

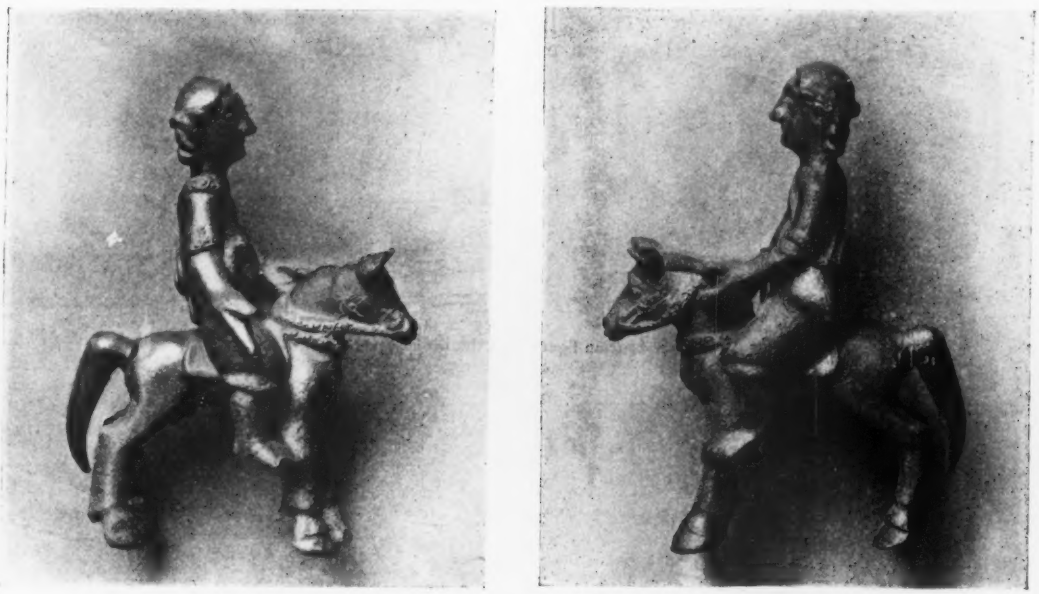
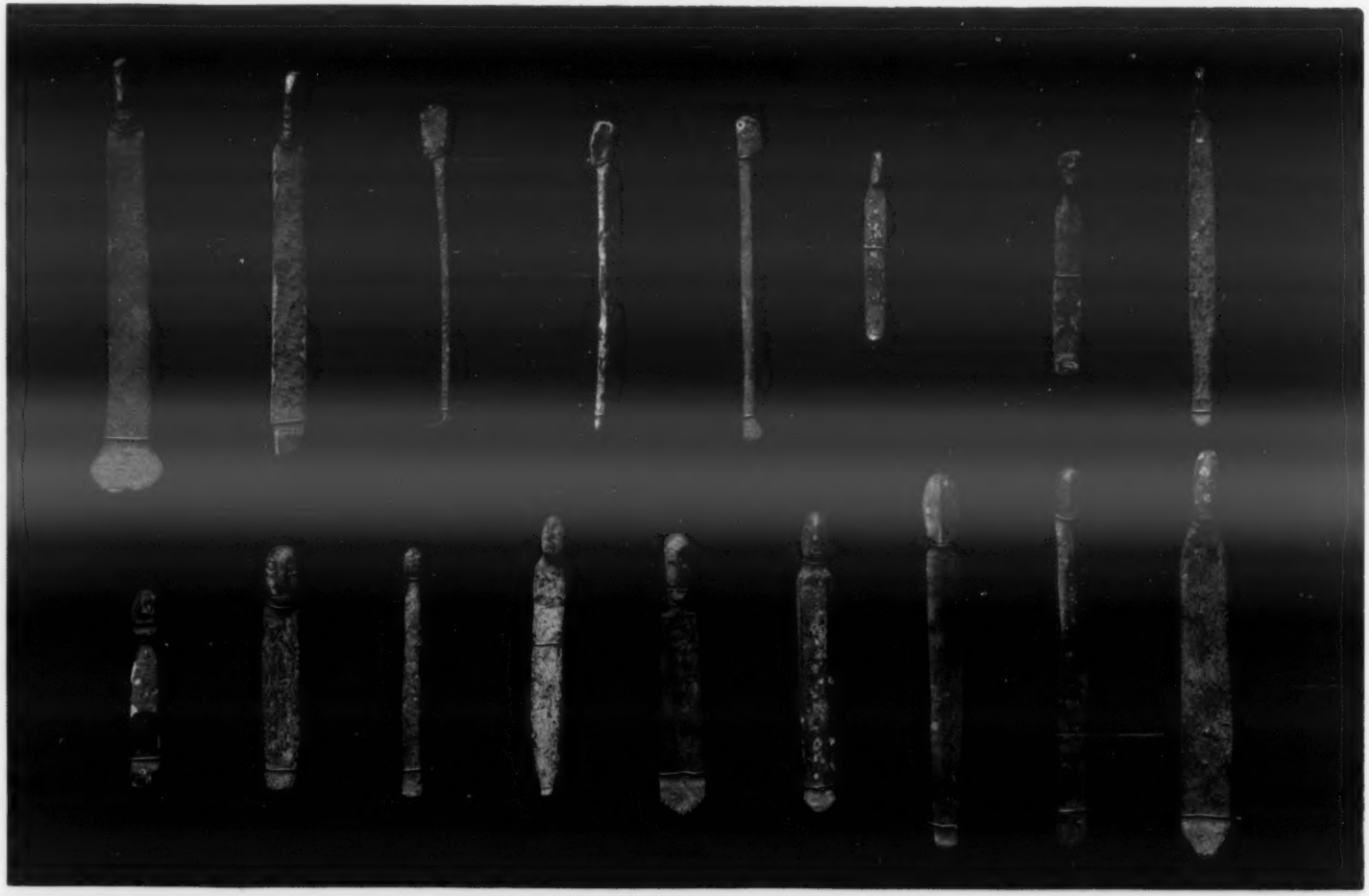


Fig. 15. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary. (½.)

of the same size. Some are lightly decorated by file notches around the ring and across the bow; but, generally speaking, they are quite plain. They are simple and ingenious in construction, and they formed a practical and I have no doubt an extensively employed method of attaching the garments. Fig. 17 shows an Iberian bronze statuette[a] with one of these very brooches attaching the vestment at the shoulder. In consequence of brooches of this form having been found with other objects which have been identified as

[a] In the possession of Don Antonio Vives, at Madrid.



PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

belonging to definite periods, it is possible, in a few cases, to date them. One, of perhaps a somewhat older form, was found near Dianium (Denia), an ancient Greek colony on the east coast of Spain, with sixteen silver coins from Massilia, Rhodes, and Sicily, the latest of which is dated about 360 B.C. Others were found at Mátaro in Catalonia, in an ancient cemetery, with an Iberian sword and Greek vases and other similar pottery. The date of this find is about 240 B.C. Mr. Bonsor has found several in the south of Spain near Carmona in a necropolis

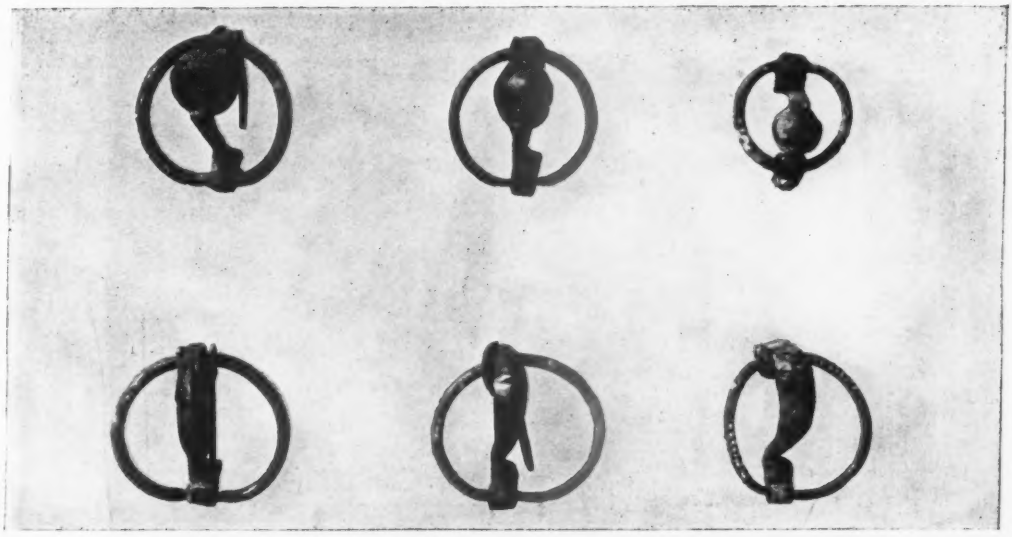


Fig. 16. Bronze brooches from Despeñaperros.

showing Celto-Punic influences, and these he very reservedly dates at between 400 and 200 B.C.

It may be asked how it happened that so large a number of brooches have been found in this sanctuary? To such a question it would be difficult to give a decisive answer. One can only, in this instance, judge by analogy and point to the survival of habits and customs as offering a possible solution of the problem. Herodotus tells us, in Book v. chap. 88, that "it is said further that the Argives and Eginetans made a custom . . . for their women . . . to offer brooches rather than anything else in the temples of these goddesses," and in his

Book of Brittany Mr. Baring Gould points out, when speaking of Guingamp, that there "are peculiarities noticeable there. In a side chapel is an image of S^te^ Catherine. Unmarried girls resort to this statue and stick pins into it. If the Saint shakes herself free during the night that is a token that she has heard the prayers offered and will obtain husbands for the girls who pricked her."[a] The same superstition attaches to the statue of St. Guerec, at Ploumanach,

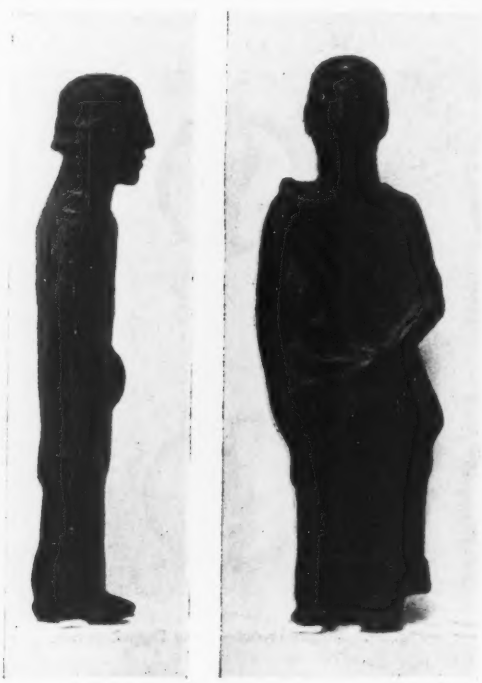
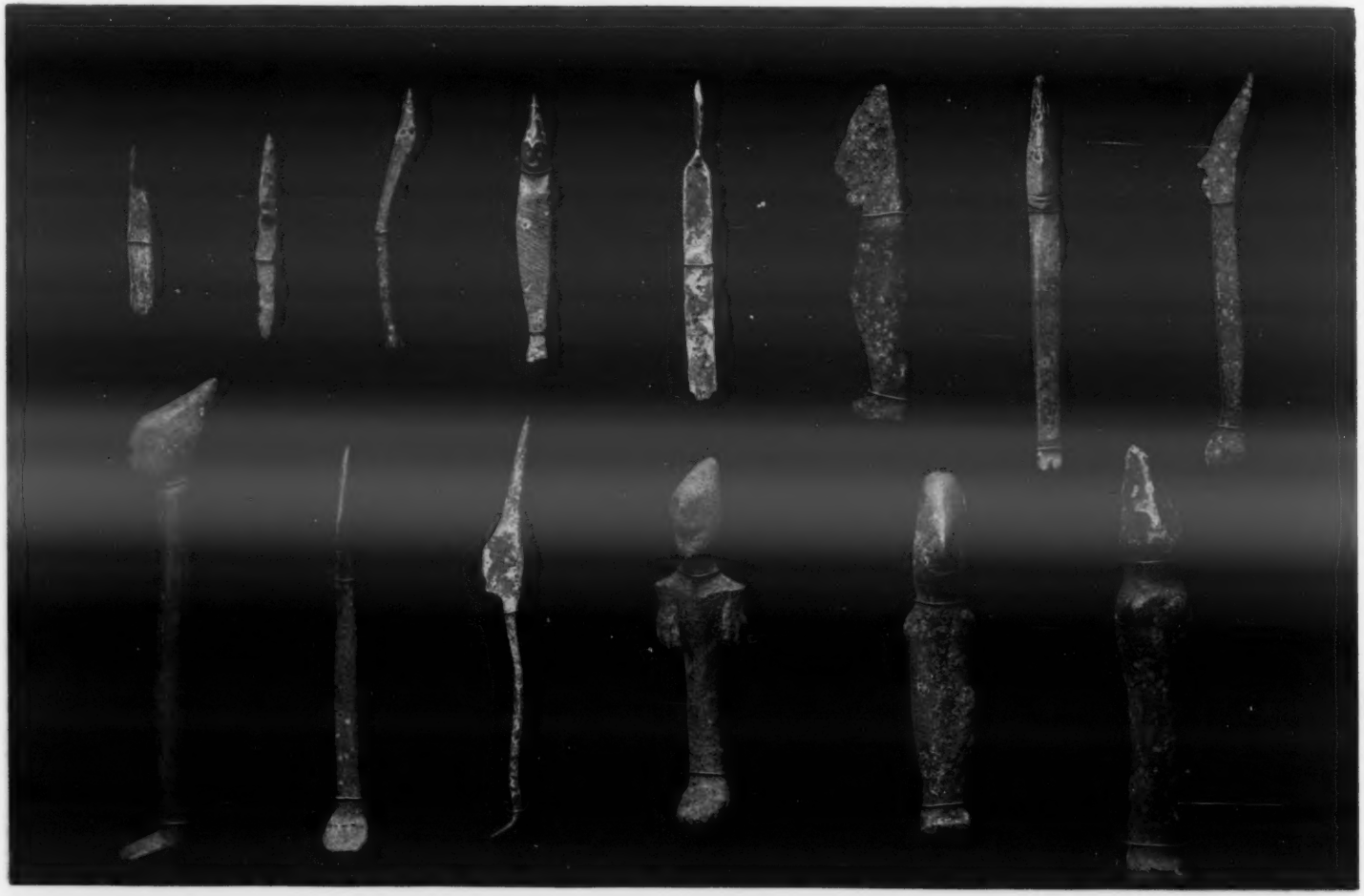


Fig. 17. Iberian bronze statuette.

also in Brittany. At the present day, and to come back to Spain, there is a shrine in Toledo containing an image known as the "Virgen de los Alfileritos" ("the Virgin of the little pins"), where the young Toledanas are wont to offer a pin to the Virgin in the hope of propitiating her, and thus obtaining a *novio*. May not the Iberian women have made their offerings of brooches at the Despeñaperros shrine with the same laudable object?

[a] S. Baring Gould, *A Book of Brittany* (London, 1891), 76.



PRE-ROMAN BRONZE VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM DESPEÑAPERROS, SPAIN (FULL SIZE).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

There are questions evolved from the study and consideration of the statues, and images, and objects which I have shown to-night, which will naturally and readily suggest themselves, but to which it is difficult in most cases to give decisive answers. I refer more especially to questions as to whether the statues represent divinities or votaries; as to the beginning of the period when this almost unknown phase in art was first developed in Iberia; and, as a corollary, how long it lasted there. Again, there is the question as to whether the works of higher artistic merit were produced at the beginning or at the end of that period, or, in other words, whether there was progression or retrogression in its many and varied forms and phases. With regard to the first question there can be no doubt that the statues represent "votaries" and not divinities. The expression of quiet devotion on many of the faces, the perpetuation of their chief characteristics, the frequent presence of the libation cup in the case of the statues from the Cerro, and the open hands which still hold the gift to the gods in the case of the Despeñaperros Sanctuary, all point to hieratic influence, and to the fact that the statues represented worshippers who were offering to the titular god of the Sanctuary. There is no evidence forthcoming to show who that divinity may have been; and so little is known of the mythology of the Iberians, beyond the names of some of their local gods, that it would be hazardous even to guess at the name. All that one can say is that the divinity was probably a god of their own, indigenous, so to say, and not introduced from abroad.

With regard to the period I will deal with the corollary first. I think that those best able to judge are of the opinion that there was retrogression and not progression in the art, and that the Dame d'Elche may be taken as a guide to the beginning of the period, which may consequently be dated from the end of the fifth century B.C. It is much more difficult to say how long it lasted. Two hundred years would bring it to the Roman occupation of Spain, but it must have lasted longer than that. There are unmistakeable evidences of the presence of the Romans at the Cerro de los Santos, and the same can be said of the Sierra Morena Sanctuary, where sherds of Roman pottery lie intermingled with the images, and where the only monies found are the small copper coins of the later emperors. As to the Cerro I have no personal knowledge. With regard to Despeñaperros I am of the opinion that the country was then very much as it is now; that it was, and that it had long been, an important mining centre where there was a large town, Cástulo, which had unquestionably been Carthaginian, and which remained for a long period in Roman hands, and where

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there was a large population which by tradition and in practice looked upon the Sanctuary as a hallowed spot to which, during many centuries, they were wont to resort to make their offerings. I hope some day, and I trust before very long, to clear the site, and to settle, once and for all, the interesting but not unimportant question as to the exact location and the form of the Sanctuary.

VI.—*The Loss of King John's Baggage Train in the Wellstream in October*, 1216.

By W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq.*, *M.A.*, *Assistant Secretary.*

Read 15th February, 1906.

The subject of this paper has been suggested by a well-known story, to be found in one form or another in many a popular History of England, that the young King Henry the Third was crowned at Gloucester in 1216 with a golden circlet, because the crown of King John his father had been lost with all his other treasures in the waves of the Wash.

That a circlet was so used we have the authority of Matthew Paris,[a] but whether by reason of the loss of the royal crown, or the more probable difficulty of obtaining the crown itself in the nine days that intervened between the king's accession and his coronation,[b] the historian does not say.

The coronation of the young King Henry is not, however, a matter that concerns us now, nor need we inquire whether the crown was otherwise than in safe keeping at Westminster, but I should like to submit to the Society for consideration certain points arising from that part of the story which relates to the loss of King John's treasures in the waters of the Wash.

That a catastrophe of an unusual character actually befell the king there can be no doubt, and it is a matter of legitimate inquiry where and how it occurred, and whether it can have any possible interest for us to-day.

[a] Matthew Paris has, as the heading of the account of King Henry's coronation: "De prima regis Henrici Tertii coronatione, quæ per quendam circulum aureum facta fuit, a qua coronatione computantur anni coronationis ejus." *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), iii. 1.

[b] John died on 19th October, and Henry was crowned on the 28th of the same month.

Before entering upon such inquiry it is desirable to review the king's acts for some little time before his death.

It will be remembered that no sooner had the Great Charter been wrung from the reluctant king on 15th June, 1215, than John began to plot how he might avenge himself on the barons. Instead of sending away his mercenaries, as he had promised in the Charter, he set to work to collect additional forces from abroad. He also procured from the pope the excommunication of the barons and a release from his oath to observe the Charter itself. The revolt of the barons followed, and though some of the more patriotic continued to side with John, the rest sought help from France, and invited Lewis, the son of King Philip, to come and be their king.

Lewis landed in Kent in May, 1216, and soon found himself master of great part of the kingdom, including most of its strongholds. But the castles of Dover and Windsor held out for the king, and to them Lewis laid siege.

John's movements day by day can be laid down with the greatest exactness from the evidence of the Patent and Close Rolls,[a] and from them we learn that he had retreated on the landing of Lewis, first to Winchester, and then by way of Ludgershall, Devizes, Wilton, Sturminster, and Wareham to Corfe Castle, where he remained from 23rd June to 17th July. Here he seems to have occupied himself in collecting a considerable army, drawn chiefly from the garrisons of his castles, with which, according to Roger of Wendover, he proceeded to ravage during harvest time the lands of the earls and barons, burning their houses and destroying their crops. The king's itinerary shows that he set out on this intent from Corfe on 18th July through Sherborne, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, and so on to Shrewsbury and Whitchurch and the Marches of Wales, where he stayed for about a fortnight, finally returning to Corfe, by the same way that he had set out, on 25th August. The king started off again the next day with the evident intention of relieving the Castle of Windsor, which had now been besieged for nearly two months. The castles of Old Sarum and Marlborough, which were directly in the line for Windsor, had been surrendered to Lewis by their castellans, the king was therefore obliged to follow a roundabout way through Sherborne, Wells, Bath, Bradford, Chippenham, Cirencester, Oxford, and Wallingford to Reading, where he arrived on 6th September. John stayed in the neighbourhood of Reading from the 8th to 13th, when finding apparently that his forces were

[a] See the Itinerary for his reign in *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, vol. i. part i., edited for the Commissioners of the Public Records by Sir T. D. Hardy, and published in 1835.

not strong enough to relieve Windsor Castle he marched northwards to intercept, if possible, the King of Scots, who had come south to do homage to Lewis at Dover.[a]

John reached Bedford on 15th September, and went on about thirty miles the next day to Cambridge, so as to put part of his forces athwart Alexander's way homewards; the rest seems to have gone on to ravage the lands of the Earl of Arundel, Roger Bigot, William of Huntingfeld, Roger of Cressy, and other barons in Norfolk and Suffolk.[b]

John was still at Cambridge on 17th September, but on the next day, Sunday, he was twenty-five miles away at Robert de Vere's castle of Hedingham in Essex, which he had captured earlier in the year,[c] and also at Clare in Suffolk, not far from Hedingham, where there was the strong castle of Richard Earl of Hertford, another of the rebel barons.

On tidings of John's misdoings coming to the ears of the barons who were investing Windsor Castle, they at once raised the siege, and having burned their engines of war,[d] hurried after the king in the hope of taking him prisoner. John seems to have heard of their pursuit of him while at Hedingham or Clare, for Monday the 19th is blank in the itinerary, a fact strongly suggestive of a hurried retreat and forced marches, with no leisure to think of anything save escape from his foes.

Roger of Wendover says that John betook himself to Stamford.[e] This would have entailed a journey of about twenty-six miles from Clare to Cambridge and over forty miles more on to Stamford. Roger's statement is, however, probably correct, for on the Tuesday John was at King's Cliffe, a few miles south of Stamford, and later in the day at William of Aumale's castle of Rockingham, hard by. He was still at Rockingham the next day, but on Thursday, 22nd September, he had reached Lincoln, over fifty miles further north, in order to

[a] So the Barnwell Chronicler in *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria* (Rolls Series 58), ii. 231; and Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series 84), ii. 193.

[b] *Flores Historiarum*, ii. 192, 193. Roger of Wendover transposes the raid on the Welsh border and the ravaging of East Anglia, or rather interposes the ravaging between two raids, but John's itinerary shows that so far as the king's movements are concerned the chronicler is not quite accurate.

[c] On 25th or 26th March.

[d] R. de Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum* (Rolls Series 66), 183.

[e] R. de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series 84), ii. 193.

relieve the castle, which was being besieged by Gilbert de Gant and others, who fled on his approach.

The barons in pursuit of John followed him as far as Cambridge and then returned to London.[a]

John having relieved Lincoln wasted with fire and sword the Isle of Axholme, while a portion of his forces was detached, under the leadership of Savaric de Malleone, to devastate the lands of Croyland Abbey, which were miserably despoiled and even the sacred vessels of the church carried off.[b]

The king meanwhile passed through the parts of Lindsey and Holland, and whenever he found lands belonging to his enemies gave them to pillage and to such burning as was never seen before.[c]

John's own movements can be readily followed from the Patent and Close Rolls. On 1st and 2nd October he was at Lincoln; on the 3rd and 4th at Grimsby. By the evening of the 4th he had reached Louth, and on the 5th he was at Boston. Thursday the 6th is blank in the itinerary, perhaps because the king was spending the day at Swineshead Abbey, hard by. On the 7th and 8th he was at Spalding, and by Sunday the 9th he had reached Lynn.

I have been at some pains to follow the king's movements at what may seem unnecessary length in order to show that he was not going aimlessly about the country, but that, on the contrary, he was accompanied by a considerable army, and striving to avenge himself on those who had abandoned his cause for that of Lewis. His army was largely composed of mercenaries, and by the time he reached Lynn the amount of loot and spoil that had been accumulated by his men must have been enormous.

Why John went to Lynn at all is not clear. The language of the Barnwell chronicler implies that a hostile force, which fled at his approach, had assembled against the town. It is however possible that the king's flight to Stamford had separated him from part of his forces, which had meanwhile continued its ravages in East Anglia, and that anxiety to reunite his army brought him southwards to Lynn.

[a] R. de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series 84), ii. 193.

[b] *Memoriale fratris W. de Coventria* (Rolls Series 58), ii. 231, 232.

[c] The account of the Barnwell chronicler, used later in the *Memoriale* of Walter of Coventry, says of this journey of John: "Ubicunque autem in hoc itinerario hostium terras reperit, direptioni eas dedit; factæque sunt in combustionem et cibum ignis, ita ut non meminerit ætas nostra tantillo tempore talem combustionem nostris in partibus factam fuisse." The use of the possessive pronoun is interesting in view of the nearness of Barnwell to the scene of operations.

John stayed at Lynn for three days from Sunday, 9th October, to Tuesday, the 11th, inclusive. But on the 12th he was at Wisbech, and later in the same day at Swineshead Abbey.

It was during this fateful journey from Lynn that there befell the king the disaster which forms the subject of this paper.

According to Roger of Wendover, John had been joyfully received by the townsfolk of Lynn and honoured with rich gifts. "Then, journeying towards the north, in the river which is called *Wellestrem*, by an unexpected accident he lost all his wagons, carts, and sumpter horses with the treasures, precious vessels, and all the other things which he loved with so much care; for the ground was opened in the midst of the waves, and bottomless whirlpools, which swallowed them all up, with the men and the horses, so that not one foot escaped to announce the disaster to the king. The king nevertheless, having barely escaped with his army, passed the following night at an abbey which is called Swineshead, where, as it was thought, there befell him so great grief of mind on account of the things swallowed up by the waves that he was seized with sharp fevers and began to be grievously sick. Moreover he increased the trouble of his illness by his baneful gluttony, and that night, gorged too full with the fruit of peaches and drinking of new cider, he strongly excited and inflamed the feverish heat within him. Notwithstanding this, departing thence at daybreak, although with much exertion, he went to stay at the castle of Lafford (*i.e.* Sleaford), whence weighed down by very great trouble of body, he on the morrow with difficulty reached on horseback the castle of Newark; at which place, the disease increasing, he received the counsel of confession and the Eucharist from the Abbot of Croxton. . . . . And afterwards on the night which next followed the day of St. Luke the Evangelist he died."[a]

[a] "Deinde versus aquilonem iter arripiens in fluvio, qui Wellestrem dicitur, carretas omnes, bigas et summarios, cum thesauris, vasis pretiosis et rebus omnibus, quæ propensiori cura dilexit, inopinato eventu amisit; aperta est enim in mediis fluctibus terra et voragines abyssus, quæ absorbuerunt universa cum hominibus et equis, ita quod nec pes unus evasit qui casum regi nuntiaret. Rex tamen cum exercitu suo vix elapsus nocte sequenti apud abbatiam, quæ Swinesheved dicitur, pernoctavit, ubi, ut putabatur, de rebus a fluctibus devoratis tantam mentis incurrit tristitiam, quod acutis correptus febribus cœpit graviter infirmari; auxit autem ægritudinis molestiam perniciosa ejus ingluvies, qui nocte illa de fructu persicorum et novi ciceris potatione nimis repletus febrilem in se calorem acuit fortiter et accendit. Veruntamen summo inde diluculo, licet cum labore recedens, ad castellum de Lafort hospitaturus perrexit, ubi maxima corporis prægravatus molestia in crastino vix ad castellum de Newerc equo vehente pervenit; quo in loco invalescente morbo, ab abbate de

Matthew Paris, as the interpreter of Roger of Wendover, gives in his *Chronica Majora* an account which is word for word the same as Roger's, but in his later *Historia Minor*, or *Historia Anglorum* as it is called, he has another version of the disaster headed "De jactura regis apud Wellestrem," which I have ventured to translate as follows:

> Afterwards King John journeying towards the north, while all the inhabitants fled from his face, as if from a rapidly approaching storm, ventured to cross without a guide the sea-water mixed with the river water, which place is called *Wellestrem*, but (himself) barely escaping he irrecoverably lost at the same spot the carts and sumpter horses carrying his booty and spoil, and all his treasure and furniture. For the ground was opened in the midst of the waves, and the sand, which is called quick, swallowed down everything, horses and men, arms, tents, and victuals, and the things which the king, next to his life, held too dear in the world.[a]

The monk of Coggeshall, who wrote the well-known chronicle attributed to Abbot Ralph, also gives an account of the king's loss, but with a somewhat different version of his illness. He says nothing about the king's journey to Swineshead, but describes his disorder as originating at Lynn in his intolerable gluttony, which brought on first indigeston and then dysentery. After being blooded at Sleaford the king recovered somewhat. "But here when the messengers of those shut up in Dover Castle had come and showed the cause of their coming, the disorder broke out again from the grief that seized him. Besides this a very great distress troubled him, because he had lost on that journey at the Wellstream his chapel with his relics, and certain sumpter horses with various household stuff, and many of his household were drowned in the sea waters and swallowed

Crocstuna consilium confessionis et eucharistiam suscepit. . . . . Qui postea in nocte, quæ diem sancti Lucæ evangelistæ proxime secuta est [19 Oct. 1216], ex hac vita migravit." *Rogeri de Wendover Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series 84), ii. 195, 196.

Matthew Paris has the same verbatim, in his *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 667, 668. Another and shorter version, based on and written by M. Paris, is given in the *Flores Historiarum* erroneously attributed to Matthew of Westminster. See Luard's edition (Rolls Series 95), ii. 161.

[a] "Deinde vero rex J. versus aquilonem iter arripiens, cum fugerent omnes incolæ a facie ejus, velut adveniente rapidissima tempestate, aquam marinam cum fluviali mixtam transire sine duce præsumpsit, qui locus Wellestrem dicitur; sed vix evadens, ibidem bigas, summarios prædas et rapinas portantes, et omnem thesaurum et supellectilem irrecuperaliter amisit. Aperta [est] enim in mediis fluctibus terra, et sabulo, qui vivus dicitur, et absorbuit universa, equos cum hominibus, arma, tentoria, et victualia, et quæ in mundo rex præter vitam possedit cariora." Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 44), ii. 190.

down in the quicksand in the same place, because incautiously and precipitantly they had pressed on before the tide had receded." [a]

On collating the three accounts it will be seen that they agree in these main facts:

1. That John himself and his army barely escaped disaster;
2. That his baggage train, which followed after, was lost in the quicksands of the Wellstream; and
3. That distress of mind at his loss so affected the king that it contributed to his death a few days later.

With this last fact we need not further concern ourselves, but there is ample room for inquiry as to the nature and extent of the disaster to the baggage train, and the place where it is said to have occurred.

But first a few words as to our authorities and their credibility.

Roger of Wendover's fame as an original historian is too well known to need further reference here. I would only point out that inasmuch as he was prior of Belvoir for some time before 1220 he was the contemporary and near neighbour of Adam the abbot of Croxton, who attended King John on his deathbed, and was no doubt acquainted with the details of the Wellstream disaster.

Of Matthew Paris there is also no need to speak. Bishop Stubbs calls him the interpreter of Roger of Wendover, whose chronicle he did not hesitate to adopt bodily as the basis of his *Chronica Majora*. But his *Historia Minor* is an independent composition, compiled from original sources, though not written until after 1250.

The writer of the Coggeshall chronicle is believed to have been Ralph, abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Coggeshall in Essex from 1207 to 1218, when he

[a] "Rex, comperto quod barones cessassent ab ejus insecutione, conversis habenis, reversus est ad Len, et præfecto ibidem Savarico de Malo-leone, Pictavino, coepit firmare Len. Sed ibidem, ut dicitur, ex nimia voracitate qua semper insatiabilis erat venter ejus, ingurgitatus usque ad crapulam, ex ventris indigerie solutus est in dysenteriam. Postea vero cum paululum cessasset fluxus, phlebotomatus est apud villam in Lindessi, quæ dicitur Lacford. Huc ergo cum venissent nuncii inclusorum castri Doveræ, et intimassent causam adventus sui, morbus ex dolore concepto recruduit. Præterea maximus dolor eum augebat, quod capellam suam cum suis reliquiis, et quosdam summarios suos cum varia supellectili, in itinere illo amiserat apud Wellestrem, et multi de familia ejus submersi sunt in aquis marinis, et in vivo sabulone ibidem absorpti, quia incaute et præcipitanter se ingesserant, æstu maris nondum recedente." *Radulphi de Coggeshale Chronicon Anglicanum* (Rolls Series 66), 183, 184.

resigned office. He was therefore not only a contemporary writer, but he must have been in a favourable position geographically to have known of John's raids in the Eastern Counties. Since, moreover, his abbey was of the same Order as Swineshead, the intercommunication between the Cistercians would soon have made him acquainted with the facts of the special note he has entitled "De Morte Regis Johannis." Oddly enough he does not make mention of any visit of the king to Swineshead itself.

The topography of the country near the probable site of the disaster has undergone such extensive changes, not only since the early part of the thirteenth century but almost within living memory, that at first sight it would seem hopeless to attempt to lay down the route taken by John and his army, that taken by his baggage train, or to fix the site of the accident that befell the latter. The task is, however, as I hope to show, not so difficult as might be supposed.

The route taken by John himself can be laid down with tolerable certainty. We know from the Patent and Close Rolls that he was still at Lynn on the 11th October, but on the 12th he was at Wisbech, and later in the day at Swineshead. Now the distance from Lynn to Wisbech is some fifteen or sixteen miles, and from Wisbech to Swineshead quite thirty-five miles more. For what reason John had decided to return into Lincolnshire does not appear, but he must have found it convenient to get on to Wisbech and break his journey there, and I suggest that he left Lynn on the 11th sufficiently early to enable him to reach Wisbech during daylight. He probably crossed the river at Lynn a little before noon, when it was low water, to West Lynn, and then rode on through Clenchwarton, past Terrington St. Clement's, through the two Walpoles and West Walton.[a] The king no doubt stayed the night at Wisbech Castle, and on the morrow, after transacting business, as testified by the Rolls, continued his journey "towards the north," *i.e.* into Lincolnshire, up the west bank of the Wellstream, through Newton, Tydd St. Mary, Long Sutton, and Holbeach, all old villages, arriving at Swineshead Abbey in time to attest more documents the same day. John's journey round by Wisbech was evidently unknown to the chroniclers, who were thus obliged to say that he and his army "escaped with difficulty" to account for his safe arrival in Lincolnshire. There may, however, be another interpretation of this.

[a] The king might have gone southwards from Lynn to Wiggenhall St. Mary's, where there was a ford, if not a bridge, and thence across the marshes by the old road to Wisbech. But the point is not material.

The route taken by the ill-fated baggage train is also easy to follow. That it did not go the same way as the king is certain, since it would otherwise not have been lost in the estuary of the Wellstream, and it is, I think, equally clear that it had orders to follow and overtake him by a more direct line.

It will be seen from the map that opposite King's Lynn, across the Ouse, there is a road extending westwards from West Lynn past Clenchwarton and Terrington St. Clement's to a place called Cross Keys, in the parish of Walpole St. Peter, whence its name. The medieval churches along the line are enough to prove that the road is an old one. Until the present bridge at Lynn was built in 1821 communication between King's Lynn and West Lynn was by ferry, but in 1216 the river that ran out into the Wash by Lynn was the Little Ouse, then a stream of no great volume, and it is very probable that it was easily fordable at low water. At the western end of the road was the estuary of the Wellstream, which, until quite recent times, extended inland nearly to Wisbech, and in 1216 it formed the outlet of all the larger streams then draining the Fen Country. Between Cross Keys and Long Sutton, on the Lincolnshire side, the Wellstream was four and a half miles wide, and at low water there was, even within living memory, a passage over the sands between the two places, across which horses and carriages were conducted by a guide carrying a pole or staff. From Long Sutton another old road again continues westwards.

This direct line from Lynn seems to have been that taken by the king's baggage train.

Before attempting to follow the misfortunes of the train itself it will be well to see what others who have been interested in the question have had to say as to the place of crossing.

The earliest notice I have been able to find in our later writers[a] occurs in the various Latin editions of Camden's *Britannia*, which were all published in his lifetime. In the first edition of 1586, and the later versions down to and including that of 1600, he thus describes "The Washes":

Æstuarium hoc est amplissimum & nobilissimum, intumescente æstu æquis offertum, defervescente, iter sed admodum periculosum præbet, quod Ioannes Rex suo damno didicit.

[a] Shakspeare, in his "King John," written in 1594, makes the Bastard Fauconbridge tell Hubert de Burgo:

"I'll tell thee Hubert half my power this night, passing these flats, are taken by the tide.
These Lincoln-Washes have devoured them, myself, well-mounted have escaped."

(Act v. Scene 6.)

Dum enim bello Baronico hâc iter faceret, subito irruentibus undis, ad Welstreame omnia impedimenta, et regium apparatum amisit, ut author est Matthæus Westmonasteriensis.

In the folio edition of 1607 the words "*Foss-dyle*[a] *&*" are inserted before "Welstreame," and a little further on is this added note:

Nec arenæ Syrticæ desunt quas attrahendi et constringendi vim admirandam habere & pastores & oviculæ subinde suo cum periculo sentiunt.

The above passages are thus translated by Gibson in the edition of 1695:

This Estuary is very large and famous, cover'd with water at every flowing of the tide, and passable again at every ebb, tho' not without danger; as King *John* to his own loss experienc'd: for whilst in the Barons war, he attempted to pass here, he lost all his carriages and furniture near *Foss-dyke* and *Wel-stream*, by a sudden inundation, as Matthew of Westminster tells us. . . . . Here are many quick-sands; and the Shepherds and their flocks are often with great danger made sensible, that they have a wonderful force in sucking in anything that comes upon them, and retaining it fast.

The next important notice occurs in the *Complete History of England*,[b] written by Dr. Robert Brady, and published at London in 1685. Dr. Brady was himself born at Denver, not many miles away from the reputed scene of the disaster. He was also Master of Caius College, Cambridge, and Keeper of the Public Records. His comments are therefore useful as coming from one who was a native of the Fenland district as well as a historian of some repute. His account of the event is taken directly from that of Matthew Paris, which he thus explains in a footnote:

By the *opening of the Earth in the midst of the Floods*, and the *Gulfe* of the *Abysse*. The *Monk* means and describes the *Washes* between the *Cross Keys* in the *Parish* of *Terrington* in *Marshland* in *Norfolk*, and *Fossdike* in *Holland* in *Lincolnshire*, over which at this day *Passengers* and *Travellers* go with *Guides*; and sometimes through the *Ignorance* or *Negligence* of the Guides they miscarry, either by falling into Quicksands; or being taken by the Tide: That is, the Tide coming too fast upon them in their passage, and over-flowing the *Washes*, That they lose their Way and Perish: And this was most certainly the Case with *King John's* Carriages. For this was the nearest way, and most direct passage from *Lin* to the *Cross Keys* and so over the *Washes* to *Fosdike*, from thence to *Sleford* and so to *Newark*, and the most secure from his Enemies, though the passage it self not so safe.

Another notice I will quote is from the Rev. Charles Parkin's account of the

[a] *Sic.* [b] Vol. ii. 516.

Parish of Walpole,[a] in his continuation of Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, published at Lynn in 1775:

> At a place called *Cross Keys*, in this parish, is a passage over the Washes, at the mouth of the river *Nene*, to *Long Sutton*, in *Lincolnshire*, (when the tide is out, and before its reflux,) for horses and carriages, and King *John* passing over here into *Lincolnshire*, a little time before his death, not observing this, lost most of his baggage, or carriages, by the reflux of the tide.
>
> Here is a guide always attending to conduct passengers over, bearing a wand, or rod in his hand, probably in imitation of *Moses*, who held a rod, when he conducted the Israelites through the *Red Sea*.

It will be seen from these extracts that from at least the middle of the thirteenth century down to 1600 the disaster was described as occurring in the Wellstream. In 1607 Camden, through a wholly unauthorised interpolation, confused the story by making the accident take place also at Fossdyke, which is miles away from the Wellstream on the western side of the Wash. Dr. Brady, though following Camden, gives us the traditional route taken by the train, while Parkin, who writes more positively, once more confines the disaster to the estuary of the Wellstream.

More recent local historians have dealt with the matter from their own standpoint. Thus in Walker and Craddock's *History of Wisbech and the Fens*, published in 1849, the authors, who seem to have been very sceptical as to John's recorded movements, are "inclined to believe that the scene of this historical incident was somewhere near Wisbech, perhaps between Wisbech and Walton Dam, where the estuary branched off to a much greater width."[b]

A still later work, also a *History of Wisbech*, by Mr. F. J. Gardiner, published in 1898, quotes the opinion of a local antiquary, Mr. G. T. Marshall of Tydd, that there was a ford over the Great Ouse or the Wellstream between Walsoken and Wisbech, and that this ford, "say between Newcommon Bridge near Wisbech, and the town, seems the most likely place for King John and his followers to cross to get into Wisbech, and it is here that he most probably met with the great disaster which cost him his life." Mr. Gardiner himself thinks it is "quite certain that this grievous misfortune occurred to King John's army in the immediate neighbourhood of Wisbech, if not actually within the limits of the borough."[c]

[a] Vol. iv. 722, and vol. ix. 121 of the reissue of 1808.

[b] Neil Walker and Thomas Craddock, *The History of Wisbech and the Fens* (Wisbech, 1849), 213.

[c] F. J. Gardiner, *History of Wisbech and Neighbourhood* (Wisbech, 1898), 5, 6.

These local theories are unfortunately of no value whatever, owing to the writers having ignored the plain statement of the chroniclers that John and his army escaped, and that it was the baggage train alone which got into difficulties. They have furthermore overlooked another point of vital consequence, the probable constitution and length of the baggage train itself.

John and his officers and attendants, and so much of the army as accompanied him, were of course all mounted men, and at the rate at which the king was wont to ride, often ranging, as it must have done, up to thirty and forty and even fifty miles a day, the horses could not have carried anything except their riders, and any led horses would only have been lightly laden with such necessaries as food and forage.

The whole of the baggage, consisting of sumpter horses, wagons, and carts carrying the tents and tent furniture, the heavier military equipment and ammunition, and other engines of war, the treasure-chests, the king's wardrobe and chapel, and all the other *impedimenta* of a considerable army, had therefore to follow the king at such a rate as was possible.

On the occasion under notice the baggage train, whatever its length, must have been largely increased by the spoil and loot accumulated during the ravaging of East Anglia by John's mercenaries.

We unfortunately have not any data upon which to base any calculation as to the number of John's army or the probable amount of baggage that accompanied it, but two Fellows of the Society have been good enough to favour me with their opinions on these points. Professor Oman does not think that the knights and crossbowmen who made up the army would have exceeded 2,000 or 3,000 strong. Major William Anstruther-Gray reckons that an army of 3,000 men would be followed by a baggage train quite two miles long, not capable of moving faster than two and a half miles an hour.

Even if these estimates be regarded as somewhat liberal, it is clear that any crossing of the Wellstream at a place of insufficient width to involve the whole length of the baggage train must at once, if we are to believe the chroniclers, be ruled out of court.

Notwithstanding, then, these local claims, it will be seen that the Cross Keys passage, to which tradition has always pointed, and that alone, is the only likely place where the great disaster could have occurred.

We have next to consider the various circumstances that led to the disaster itself.

The first question that arises is, what were the times of high and low water

in the Wash on the date under notice, which was apparently the 12th of October, 1216?

Mr. Clement Reid has been good enough to work this out for me as follows:

Sunrise - - -		6.20 a.m.
Low water -	about 12	noon.
High water -	about 6	p.m.
Sunset - - -		5.15 p.m.
New moon -	about 11	p.m.

Through the kind help of Mr. W. H. Wesley, of the Royal Astronomical Society, the time of low water has been independently calculated by Mr. Edward Roberts of the Nautical Almanac Office, to whom I am indebted for the following note:

. . . . *Now* it is high water at full and change at 6 h. 0 m. at Longsand Lynn Deep and 7 h. 30 m. at Wisbeach.

It is probable that the tide has not varied much since 1216 on the *open* coast. Assuming this to be the case it would be high water on Oct. 12, 1216, at about 6.30 p.m. and low water about noon, and on Oct. 8,[a] 1216, at about 3.30 p.m. and low water about 9 a.m. on the Wash.

The highest or spring tides would be those about Oct. 14, and at these times the *largest* amount of sand would be uncovered and *most favourable* for crossing, whilst about Oct. 7 the least amount; being neap tides. From this it would appear that Oct. 12 would have been the best time for crossing under *normal* weather. I assume the crossing took place in daylight.

The train most probably left Lynn about midday on the 11th, when the river there could easily have been crossed, and probably at the same time that the king and his company were starting to ride to Wisbech. It may then have gone straight on to Cross Keys, but at such a pace as it would have travelled the leaders could not have reached the estuary until within an hour or so of high water, when all that could be done was to wait till morning. It is therefore equally likely, that after crossing the river at Lynn, which it must have done, the train was halted at that end of the line ready to start early next morning. So long as the wagons and other baggage were safe across the river there would be

[a] That is, on the date when King John crossed over from Lincolnshire to King's Lynn.

no difficulty about the men in charge being ferried over at any state of the tide, or the train reaching Cross Keys in time for the passage of the Wellstream.

If the train left Lynn at sunrise the head of the column would have reached Cross Keys, which is about seven and a half miles from West Lynn, about ten o'clock, or a little after half tide. It should then have waited until noon, when it was dead low water, as there was not only the estuary to be crossed but the tidal channel of the Wellstream to be forded.

But Mr. Clement Reid, who knows the district well, has pointed out to me that in October the fenland roads are very bad, and a low mist commonly hangs over the fens for at least an hour after sunrise. If therefore the start was delayed till eight o'clock, as he suggests may have been the case, to allow for loading, breakfast, and for the fog to disperse, there was no margin of safety should anything happen to delay the train. Long before the return half-tide, 3 p.m., the river would be unfordable, and if the train reached its channel at 2 p.m. just too late for the crossing, there would be only an hour available during which to turn and extricate the heavy vehicles, before the crossing would be flooded and the track hidden.

So far as I have been able to learn, even in recent times there was no laid track or causeway across the estuary, but, as we have seen, the passage was made under the direction of a guide, who was no doubt fully aware of its dangers, and able to choose a safe path over the sands with the help of landmarks.

Now the chroniclers are explicit as to the manner in which the men in charge of the train began their passage. The Coggeshall writer says "they incautiously and precipitantly pressed on before the tide had receded," and Matthew Paris that they "ventured to cross without a guide."

Possibly the leaders had orders to join the king at Long Sutton as he rode north from Wisbech, and it is by no means improbable that John himself there impatiently awaited their coming.

The falling tide having left the estuary dry for some distance from the bank, it is very likely that a number of wagons and pack horses attempting to cross hurriedly without a guide would no longer keep to the single or double file dictated by a narrow country road, but on reaching the sands spread out in wider order. So long as the sands were firm all would be well, but a point must soon have been reached where the outspread waters of the Wellstream still covered the passage. Here would begin the great danger that a guide might have avoided, the quicksands which are still the terror of the Wash. If once the leading horses and vehicles got involved the fate of the train was sealed. The vanguard would

quickly become a struggling and shouting mass of men trying to extricate themselves and their charges, or to turn back, while the rest of the train would block the retreat and the rearguard continue to press on until halted by the horrible confusion ahead. Meanwhile carts and wagons, horses and men, would settle deeper and deeper into the quicksands, and any possible margin of time in which to effect a safe crossing would quickly pass. The turning of the tide would mean, too, the conversion into quicksands of much of the dry bed already traversed, and in them the rest of the hapless train would also become involved and so eventually perish.

If he did not go round by Wisbech the king may have made the passage himself a few days before on his journey from Spalding to Lynn,[a] but where an impetuous rider may cross in safety a slowly moving cart will often sink into a quicksand, and this in part may have been the cause of the catastrophe.

Roger of Wendover declares that not a man escaped to tell the king of the disaster, but the Coggeshall chronicler states more cautiously only that "many of the king's household" were drowned by the incoming tide or swallowed up by the quicksands. Both, however, are agreed as to the total loss of the train.

In any case the king must by some means have known quickly of the disaster, and it is by no means improbable that he himself witnessed it while awaiting the landing of the train on the Lincolnshire side. He and they who were with him may even have ridden out part way with the view of guiding the leaders or helping them out of their difficulties, but being threatened by the rising tide, themselves "barely escaped," as the chroniclers assert.

Whether the whole or only part of the men who accompanied the train perished is not a question that need further be pursued, nor is it necessary to discuss any alternative ways in which the disaster may have happened, but the undoubted fate of the wagons and sumpter horses suggests other considerations, and we have first to ask ourselves what would happen when they were abandoned to the rising tide. I think there can be little doubt that vehicles that had become involved in quicksands would go on sinking and eventually disappear in them. Such of the pack animals as were similarly entangled would likewise be engulfed, and with them their burdens. And whatever was swallowed up in the quicksands would continue to sink more and more slowly until a firmer stratum was reached. Some of the lighter vehicles may have been washed up stream by the tide, as well

[a] On the 8th October it would have been low water in the Wellstream estuary about 9 a.m. and a little later on the following day.

as any animals that had escaped being caught in the sands. But the greater part of the train, consisting of heavily-laden carts and horses, must have sunk as I have ventured to suggest. It is also more than probable that where they sank there they are still, and if they be there why should they not be sought for?

To begin with, what I have suggested as the line of the crossing, and consequently the approximate site of the accident, is no longer at any time under water.

On the Lincolnshire side a broad tract of land all round the north and east coasts of the district called South Holland had begun to be reclaimed as marsh for some considerable time before the seventeenth century, and the map in Sir William Dugdale's *History of Imbanking*,[a] published in 1662, shows that the marsh then extended eastwards from Long Sutton more than half-way across the old passage from Cross Keys.

On the Norfolk side, where the thirteenth-century limits of the estuary are defined, as they are also on the Lincolnshire side, by the sea wall or *vallum* attributed to the Romans, which gives name to Walsoken, Walton, and the Walpoles, systematic embanking was begun in 1721, and by 1783 had already included a narrow strip of the foreshore as far as Cross Keys. In 1830, after sundry failures, the river Nene, as the old Wellstream is now called, was finally restricted to a definite channel against the Lincolnshire border, and the sea was further shut out by an embankment across the estuary between Sutton Marsh and Cross Keys. Upon this embankment a road was made connecting Lincolnshire with Norfolk, and so the Cross Keys passage ceased to be used. By means of other embankments to the north more ground was reclaimed from the sea in 1846, and the site of the Wellstream disaster then became dry land.

At the point where the river Nene traverses the 1830 embankment, the road is carried over the stream by a bridge, and here a village called after it "Sutton Bridge" has since come into being. On the south side of the embankment there now runs, and like it parallel with the old crossing, the Midland and Great Northern Railway from Spalding into Norfolk, from which there is a branch line southwards to Wisbech from Sutton Bridge, on the Lincolnshire side of the Nene.

An important point which has not yet been raised is the probable line of the river channel in 1216.

As the whole of the train is said to have been lost, it must have got well on to the crossing and therefore some distance from the Norfolk bank; consequently

[a] See *The History of Imbanking and Draining of divers Fens and Marshes* (London, 1662), 219.

the leading horses and vehicles, supposing the train had maintained any semblance of its original order, would have arrived within two miles of Long Sutton. The river channel must therefore have been nearer the Lincolnshire bank. Since Sutton Bridge is nearly half-way between Long Sutton and Cross Keys, it cannot be very far from the actual site of the great catastrophe, and beneath the fields east and west of it probably lie the sunken baggage wagons of King John's army.

The next question that arises is, what are the nature and depth of the strata round Sutton Bridge?

Learning a short time ago that a new railway bridge had lately been made at Sutton Bridge, I inquired of the Great Northern Railway, which now works the line, if anything was known as to the old crossing or of the nature of the subsoil in the district. In reply I received the following:

The Great Northern Railway,
Engineer's Office,
King's Cross, London, N.,
30th December, 1901.

Dear Sir,

Great Northern Railway between Long Sutton and Cross Keys.

In reply to your letter of the 17th instant, I have made enquiry of one of my assistants who has always lived in this locality, and he reports as follows:

"I regret that I am not in a position to throw any light on the subject raised by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope. The line between Long Sutton and Cross Keys (or Sutton Bridge) was made by the old Norwich and Spalding Company, and when it became Great Northern the plans were not transferred. The line is about an eighth of a mile to the south-west of the passage or wash-way referred to, and it is not likely that the latter would be interfered with at its construction. Judging from a similar road over the sands across the estuary of the Welland a little further to the north which was in existence not so many years ago, I should imagine that there was no laid track or corduroy road across the estuary of the Nene. That over the Welland was without one, and the sands are alike in both cases; in addition, if there had been one, traces of it would have come to light at various times and remained among local traditions, but I have never heard of such traditions, and I have known the district thoroughly almost since childhood, and my impression is that the subsoil is silt to a great depth."

Yours faithfully,
A. ROSS.

In reply to a further inquiry as to what had been found during the construction of the new railway swing bridge over the river at Sutton Bridge in

1887, Mr. Ross referred me to the Midland Railway Company, whose engineer, Mr. J. Allen McDonald, has obligingly furnished me with a section of the whole of the strata passed through in making the bridge. On the west side the cylinders that carried the pivoted section of the bridge were driven down to a depth of 56·56 feet below Ordnance Datum, and those on the eastern side, 70 feet away, to a depth of 55·15 feet. Above the Datum level is a considerable bed of silt and clay which extends to 4 feet below Datum, and then continues as silt only for a further depth of 19½ feet. Under this is a bed of sand and shells 9 feet thick; then about 3½ feet of loamy sand, which rests at a depth of about 32 feet from Ordnance Datum on a bed some 5½ feet thick of "ballast with shells."[a]

The Nene has now excavated for itself at the bridge a channel 240 feet wide and 27 feet deep at low water, but before it was confined within banks the mere fact that it was fordable when the tide was out proves that while it could shift its course about the estuary it was of no great depth. It is consequently unlikely that anything that once was engulfed in the quicksands has been washed out of them since.

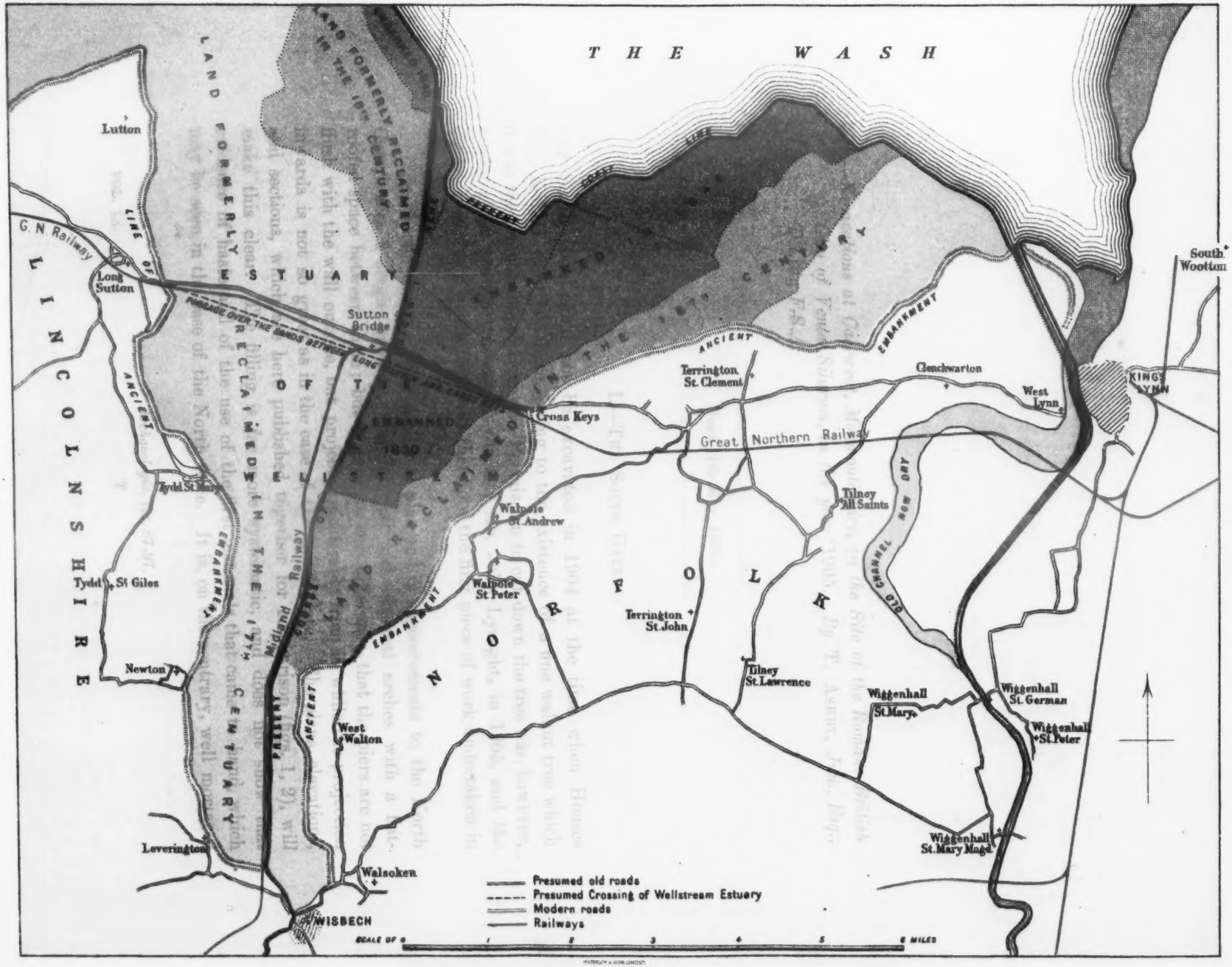
How far it would be practicable to sink shafts over a considerable area in search of the remains of a thirteenth-century baggage train laden with loot and spoil I am not prepared to say, but in view of the great interest and value attaching to whatever might be found, it would be worth while at any rate to make a trial attempt.

The section of the strata at Sutton Bridge is not likely to differ much for some distance round it, there is consequently a thickness of some 23 feet of silt below Ordnance Datum into which the objects could have sunk. Whether their downward course would have been arrested before or by the 9-foot bed of sand and shells below, or whether they would have continued sinking through this and the underlying beds until stopped by the ballast bed at 32 feet from Ordnance Datum, are questions which I must leave to others to discuss.

[a] Under this again are

	Feet.	Inches.
Loamy clay and peat	3	6
Fine red ballast mixed with clay	3	6
Blue and grey clay mixed with sand	5	9
Ballast	1	0
Silty sand	4	6
Ballast with flint and stones	1	6

resting on stiff grey clay of unascertained thickness.



CONJECTURAL MAP OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN LYNN AND LONG SUTTON IN 1216.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

CONJECTURAL MAP OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN LINN AND FOSDYKE IN 1810.

VII.—*Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the year* 1905. *By* T. Ashby, *Jun., Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A.*

Read 17th May, 1906.

I.—The South Gate.

The South Gate could not be excavated in 1904 at the time when Houses Nos. X-XIII were laid bare, owing to the existence of a fine walnut tree which it was then impossible to remove. Permission to cut down the tree was, however, kindly given by the trustees of the late Mr. John Lysaght, in 1905, and the uncovering of the South Gate was therefore the first piece of work undertaken in that year.

The South Gate is closely similar in plan and in measurements to the North Gate,[a] with a single opening, and internal and external arches with a flat-roofed space between them; but it exhibits this difference, that the piers are not flush with the wall outside, but project considerably from it, while the projection inwards is not so great as in the case of the North Gate. The plans, elevations, and sections, which are here published together for comparison (figs. 1, 2), will make this clear. The filling is far more systematic, and does not show that evidence of haste and of the use of the first materials that came to hand, which may be seen in the case of the North Gate. It is, on the contrary, well mortared

[a] *Archaeologia*, lix. 87-97.

in, and well faced on the inside with small stones, like those used on the outside of the city wall.[a]

The filling is traversed by a box drain, 1 foot 3 inches in width and 1 foot

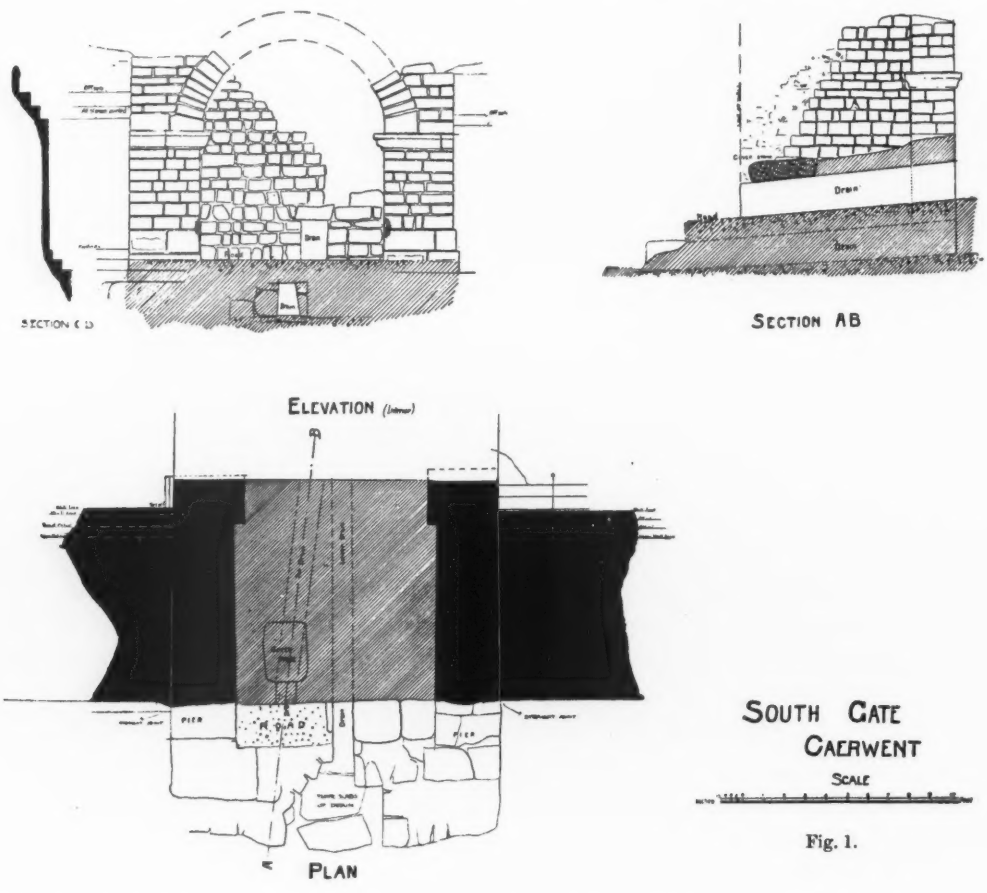


Fig. 1.

9 inches in height, roofed with large covering slabs, which runs slightly askew to the axis of the gate. It must have been left for the drainage of the accumulation

[a] From the evidence of coins it must be attributed, at earliest, to the time of Valentinian I., one of whose coins was found 4 feet below grass level, 12 feet north of the east pier of the gate. A coin of Helena was also found here, and one of Constantine the Great, 7 feet below grass level, 5 feet north of the west pier; and on the road level, 15 feet north of this pier, a coin with the legend URBS ROMA.

of earth[a] which was formed after the gate had been filled in, but it is curious that no definite drain channel leading to it could be found, though there was some darker soil in front of it. Its floor is the roadway which passed through the gate, 5 feet 8½ inches below the bottom of the impost. This roadway has a bed of stones, with iron slag and clinkers intermixed, 1 foot 5 inches thick, and then hard marly stuff with stones for 5 inches more.[b] Where it rests on the mound (see

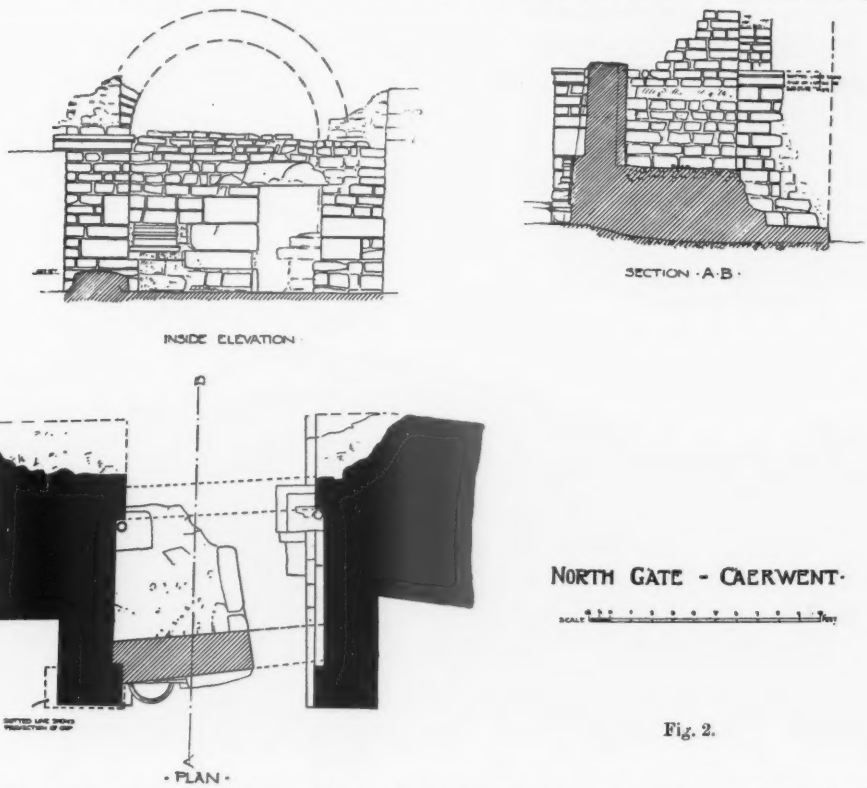


Fig. 2.

below) it is only 1 foot 6 inches thick. It falls 7 inches in passing through the gateway, as measured through the upper drain.

Below the roadway is another drain, also a box drain, 1 foot 7 inches high and 11 inches wide, which again cannot be traced further north; and, though it

[a] In this accumulation (no doubt rubbish thrown in) a considerable number of small whelk, oyster, and mussel shells were found, also some charcoal, some of the earth showing traces of burning.

[b] It was no doubt this layer that was taken to be an "earlier road level" in 1904. (*Archaeologia*, lix. 310.)

was right under the solid roadbed, *i.e.* it had not been touched when the gate was filled, a flat slab of stone was found blocking it up at the north end. The earth in it was examined, but was not found to contain anything of importance.

The South Gate occupied the same position as an earlier opening in the *enceinte* formed by the mound. This is clear from the discovery, on the west side of the road, of the extremity of the mound sloping away in all directions.



Fig. 3. External view of the South Gate.

A clearing across the roadway in front of the drain produced four second brasses, one of Commodus (not very fresh), the rest illegible, and the slope of the mound was apparently reached under the road. This was also seen 4 feet 3 inches below the footing of the west pier, going under the wall, and this would correspond with the slope of the extremity of it, on the west of the road a little further north. Attempts to find it outside the gate, however, were unsuccessful. The road cannot be traced either, as the field has been brought down to well below the Roman level, the foundations of the wall being

exposed. The soil has probably gone to fill the ditch, which we may presume to have existed on this side also.

The pointing is good in the east pier at the top, but nowhere else. The rest of the pier, and the whole of the west pier, are somewhat roughly constructed. The imposts are in two parts, which, on the west pier, do not correspond perfectly with one another. The lower blocks of each pier are large, and show slight "rustication," and there appear to be traces of axle marks upon them on the inner side.

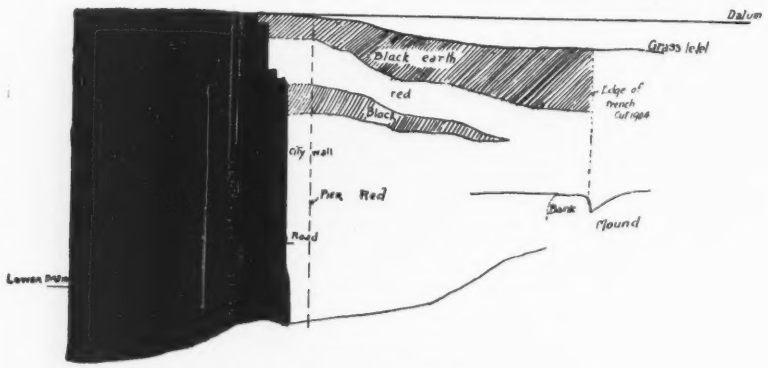


Fig. 4. Internal view of the South Gate.

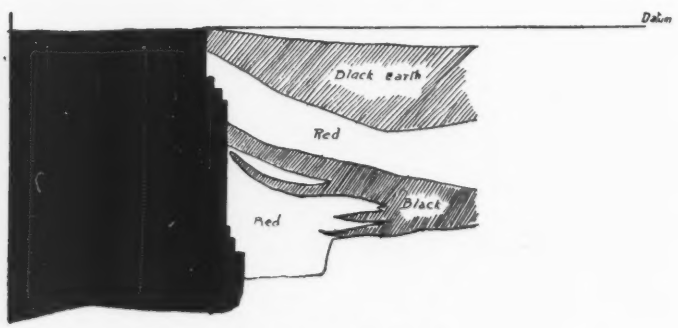
It must be noted that the imposts stop flush with the outer angles of the piers, and their mouldings are not continued round the outer sides, and that the angles where the piers join the wall are quite rough, especially on the west side. This is due to the fact that the city wall was an embanking wall, and did not stand free on the inside; and the same state of things may be observed at the North Gate. The profile of the bank of red earth which comes against it may be clearly seen on each side of the gate, and is marked by a layer of black earth

above it. (Fig. 5.) It terminates somewhat abruptly in a little bank towards the road, which, like those passing out of the other gates, must have run through a kind of cutting, owing to the fact that the level within the walls was (and is) considerably higher than outside.

The loose voussoirs from the inner arch were all found fairly high up, a fact which seems to indicate that this arch had collapsed comparatively recently,



Section west of South Gate.



Section on east of South Gate.

Fig. 5.

and had been much damaged when the walnut tree was put in (about 70 years ago, perhaps), for no less than 16 voussoirs were found in its roots. The outer arch, on the other hand, had probably fallen long before, with the piers which supported it.[a]

[a] A worn halfpenny of George III. dated 1805 was found 2 feet below grass level under the tree.

By the west pier, 1 foot below the top of the impost, was found a small altar of sandstone 1 foot 6 inches by 8 by 7½ inches, without inscription. (Plate XVIII. fig. 1.)

Two feet below the grass level, and 4 feet to the north of the pier, a sandstone block with moulding, measuring 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 6 inches by 6½ inches thick, was found. (Plate XVIII. fig. 4.) Some way further north, 2 feet 6 inches down, another block 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 6 inches by 7½ inches thick, but with a different moulding, was found. (Plate XVIII. fig. 8.) Both these may have come from the upper part of the gate, and to this would also belong the roofing tiles, mostly of old red sandstone, which have been found in the course of the excavations.

The set-offs in the main wall are quite different on the two sides of the gate, and it is clear, from the continuance of the pointing at the top of the east pier where the wall comes up to it, that the east pier was built before the wall. The west pier, on the other hand, seems to be bonded in on the inside, though not on the outside. The difference in time is no doubt only a matter of days, showing that the work was begun by different gangs of workmen at different places. Another indication of this is the fact that the offsets on the inner side of the wall are quite different to the east and west of the gate respectively.

Fifteen feet to the west of the gate is a counterfort,[a] 13 feet 3 inches in width, projecting inwards about 1 foot 5 inches to 2 feet 6 inches. It is of bad construction, with large interstices and roughly laid blocks; its style is hardly inferior to that of the city wall, and it seems to be bonded in at both ends, though the offsets of the wall are the same on each side of it. It has itself no offsets; an apparent one, 12 feet 2 inches from the top of it (as preserved) is due to the giving of the foundations.

II.—Houses Nos. XII N-XV N.

The rest of the work of the season of 1905 was devoted to the exploration of a section of Lord Tredegar's property, which had not yet been attacked, lying to the north, north-east, and east of Houses Nos. IX N, X N, XI N, the site of which is now occupied by the playground of the village school, and to the south of Houses Nos. IV N and III N.

[a] This was not discovered in time to be shown on the plan in *Archaeologia*, lix. pl. lxvi.

House No. IX N.

A slight addition has to be made to the plan of this house.[a] (Plate XVII.) Immediately to the west of the north-west angle of the court is a large entrance with double doors; the socket stones are still preserved, with fragments of the iron socket itself in that on the east, and the arrangement is similar to that of Houses Nos. III N, XIII N, and XIII. The width is 8 feet 6 inches from socket hole to socket hole.

To the west of this gateway a wall runs on almost to the west boundary of the field, with no return southwards, though this may of course be hidden beneath the modern road.

House No. XII N.

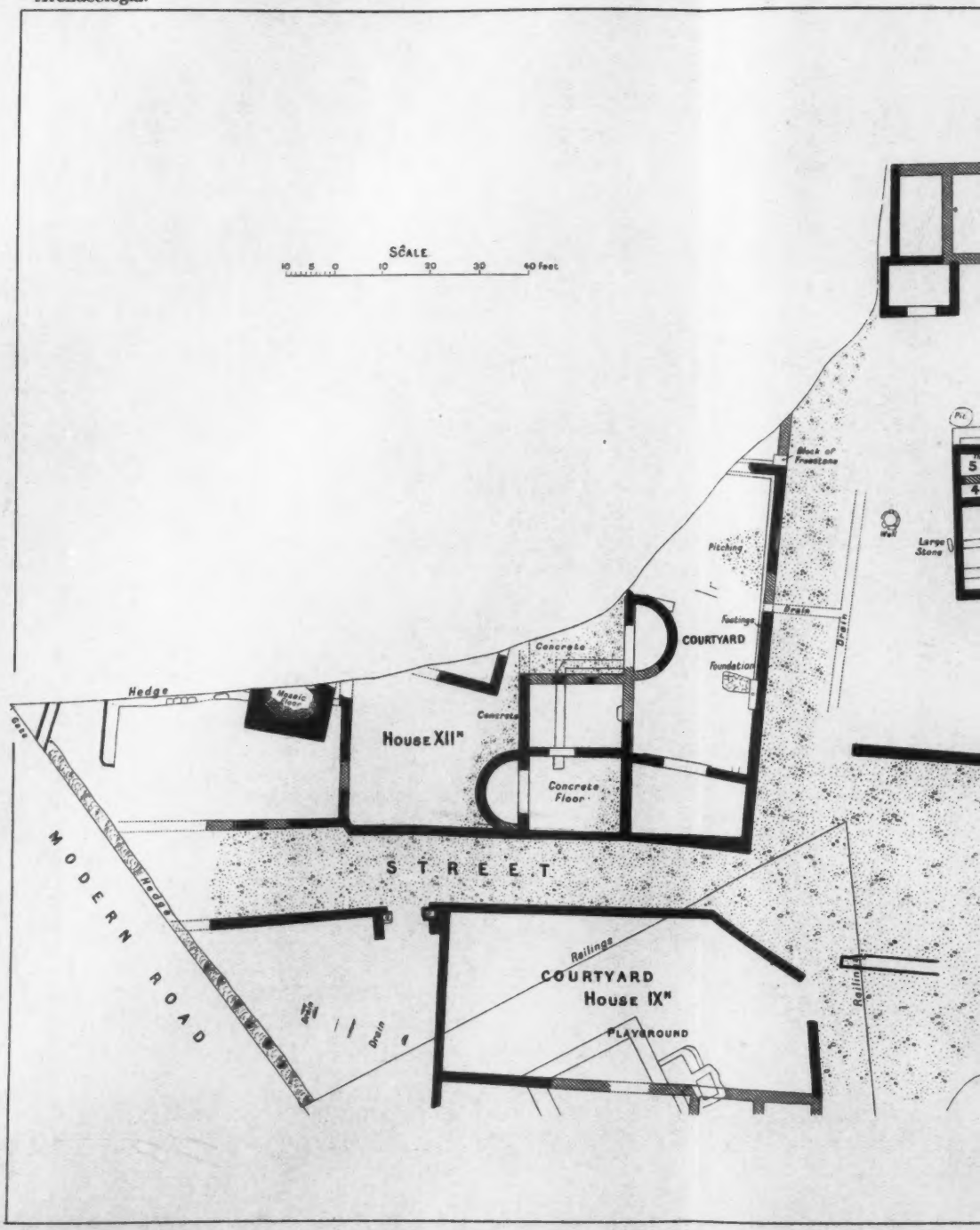
A comparison between the plan now published (Plate XVII.) and that in *Archaeologia*, LIX. Plate IX., will show that the east wall of this building falls into the same straight line as the east wall of that which we have called House No. II N.; and it is not at all improbable that we have here in reality only two parts of one large edifice, perhaps a set of baths. Until, however, it has been possible to verify this supposition by excavation (and the intervening space has not as yet come into our hands) it will probably be safer to treat the two separately, though no attempt has been made to number the rooms of this southern portion.

To the extreme west, at the entrance into the field, two short stretches of wall have been found, which cannot be followed either to the north or the south, as their extremities pass beyond the boundaries of Lord Tredegar's property. The easternmost of the two seems to terminate at the north end of a doorway, though no respond is visible; to the south of it, as well as between the two walls, is a concrete floor, 2 feet below the modern grass level, 6 inches in thickness, with pitching 6 inches below it again.

The space to the east of these walls appears to have been a courtyard, and had a concrete floor also.

Into it projects a square building of extremely solid construction, and, on the sides which are visible, entirely isolated, except for much ruined fragments of

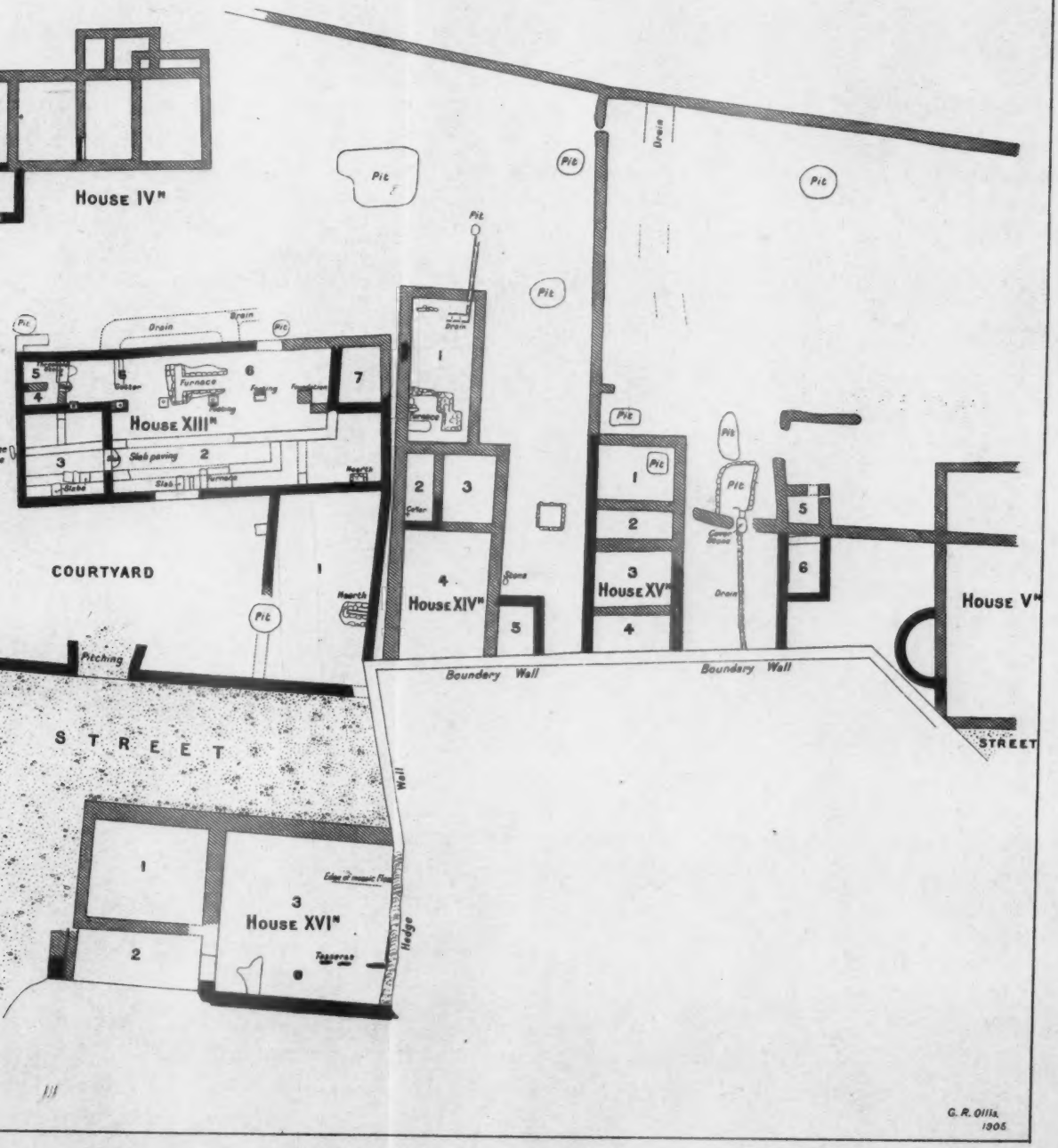
[a] *Archaeologia*, lix. 113, fig. 11.



C.F. KELLS SON, LIT.

CAERWENT.—PLAN OF HOUSES

Published by the Society of



SES XIIN, XIIIN, XIVN, XVN & XVIN

y of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

foundation on its west and east sides, which are, however, of later date than the building itself. Its outer walls are coated with white plaster splotched with red, an interesting instance of external decoration, and on the west wall are scratchings in the plaster: units, represented by vertical lines about 2 inches high, and tens represented by longer lines about 1 foot in height. (Fig. 6.) There is no indication of the object for which this tally was kept. The number reached amounts to 122; the second hundred has been begun a little higher up. The

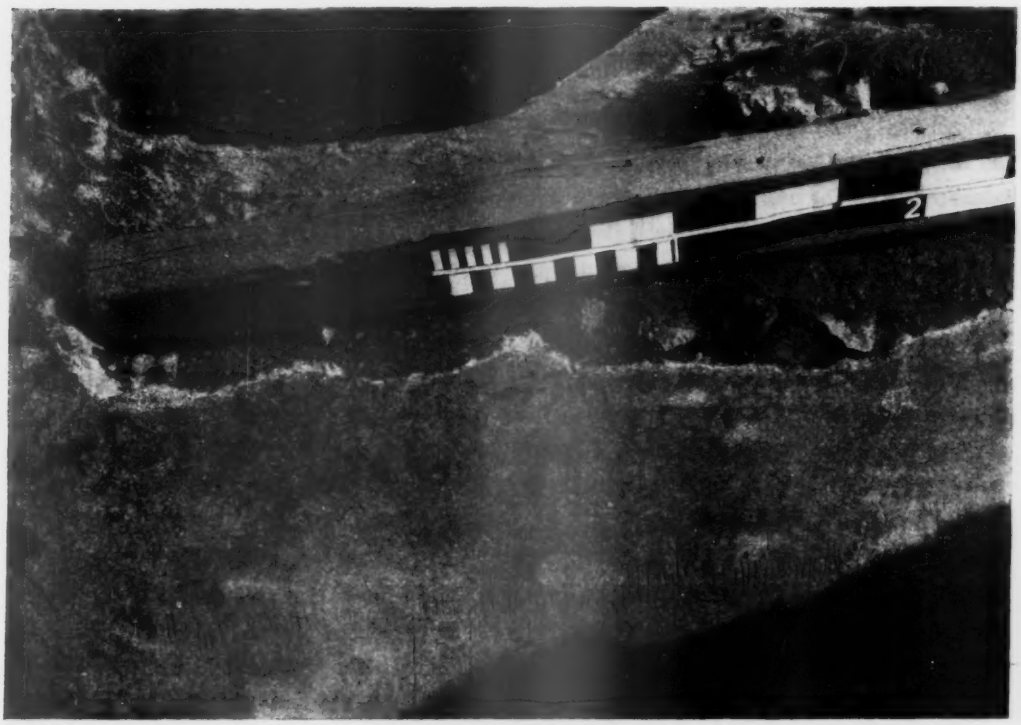


Fig. 6. Inscribed plaster in House No. XII N.

interior is octagonal, the sides being of almost equal length (4 feet 4 inches); the octagon is, however, not quite regularly set in the square. It is lined with a very hard cement, 1½ inch thick, in which small fragments of brick are largely present, and well calculated to hold water. At the foot of the walls is a quarter round moulding.

The floor was paved with mosaic: first, 16 rows of brown *tesserae* 1 inch

square, then 27 rows of smaller white *tesserae*. The middle is entirely gone, and may have been removed by previous explorers; for the *débris* within has all the appearance of having been moved comparatively recently,[a] and few finds of Roman objects were made within it. In the rubbish near the floor, 4 feet below grass level, were four or five pieces of red pottery with green or yellow glaze. But one Roman coin and some black pottery were also found.

The walls are preserved to a height of 3 feet 8 inches, and the entrance, no doubt by steps, must have been on the north side. The building must, one would suppose, have been a bath; an irregular hole which may have served for the egress of the waste water (though it has been enlarged later) is to be seen on the west side.

The orientation disagrees somewhat with that of the rest of the building, and is not quite in accord even with that of the walls forming an angle a little to the east; but the explanation of these divergences cannot be given until the exploration of the garden to the north is possible.

The walls enclosing the open yard in which this building lies on the south and east seem to be of earlier date than those further to the east of them, as may be seen at the south-east angle of the yard, which has a floor of mortar (perished) 1 foot 9 inches below grass level, where the south wall of the eastern portion of the building curves in irregularly to join the pre-existing wall.

Very little can be made of the arrangements of this portion of the building. It appears to be a large courtyard, in the middle of which is a rectangular block of rooms, with an apse projecting from each side of it, though the two apses are not opposite to one another; for it seems clear that the major axis runs from north to south, a further argument for its connection with House No. II N. There seem indeed to be no traces of its being accessible from the south side.

In the middle portion of it are traces of earlier foundations, the position of which seems to make it clear that the apse on the east forms no part of the original plan; and indeed on its north side there is a small piece of straight walling which runs immediately under it, and just to the north of that a fragment of foundation wall parallel to it. The western apse, too, looks like an afterthought, to judge by the way in which its south angle joins the other walls.

The southern portion of this rectangular structure contains near its south wall

[a] The following reasons may be adduced: (1) it is full of loose stones; (2) there are pieces of modern pottery at various depths; (3) the greater part of the paving has gone, but yet there are few loose *tesserae* to be found; and (4) the modern boundary wall above the portion not now excavated has at some time been removed.

many old red sandstone *tesserae*, none of them *in situ*; a concrete floor with quarter round moulding, preserved in the rest of the room, seems to be rather a floor than a bedding for mosaic. There were apparently two other floor levels traceable below this. The *tesserae*, it may be noticed, lie irregularly both above and below this floor level, which at this point has either subsided or been broken away, as though they had been thrown in at random. There is a small piece of red plaster *in situ* on the east wall.

The middle portion has no floor preserved, but it is clear from the level given by a fragment of a threshold on the east side that the wall traversing it from north to south cannot have continued to exist in its later state. Concrete floors at the earlier level may be observed on both sides of this wall. The northern portion has a concrete floor 5 inches thick, resting upon the remains of an earlier wall parallel to its north wall. There was apparently another room with a concrete floor at a slightly higher level just to the west of it; this floor rests upon an earlier wall, upon which a small portion of red plaster may still be seen, and slopes from east to west.

In the south-east angle of the building is a trapezoidal room, entered from the north only, and to the north of it again an unroofed space into which projects the eastern apse. This space is entered by a doorway from the street leading to the north gate. The sandstone threshold, measuring 6 feet by 1 foot 8 inches, is still *in situ*. The space is pitched, the pitching resting on a hard gravel concrete bed about 1 foot in depth, and against the threshold is a very solid foundation of mortared stones, the existence of which made us suspect a pit beneath. This did not as a fact prove to be there, but in the soft ground to the north of the foundation, which is about 3 feet in depth, a considerable amount of bones of cattle, all split for marrow, and a boar's tusk, were found[a] and also some interesting small objects, including a clay statuette of Venus (at a depth of 3 feet 9 inches below grass level, *i.e.* at about the level of the bottom of the foundation) of the same type, and indeed, very likely, from the same mould as one in the Guildhall Museum.[b] Other specimens of these statuettes which appear to have

[a] Mr. E. T. Newton, to whom some of the bones were submitted for examination, reports that "many of these bones were clearly portions of a small ox, about the size of *Bos longifrons*. The whole contents of the box may have belonged to this species. All the bones were much broken, even the limb bones being in fragments, ... indicating that the flesh and marrow had been used for food."

[b] *Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum*, p. 71, No. 33, and pl. xv. 2.

been largely manufactured in the Allier valley in Gaul, whence they were imported to Britain, have been found at Carlisle, Richborough, Canterbury, Chesterford, Colchester, York, and Silchester. They are assigned by M. Déchelette to the first half of the first century A.D.[a]

A little to the north an earth drain, 15 inches in width, and 13 inches in depth (probably of very late date), passes through the east wall of the building and across the road. We have just been able to reach a cross-wall going west from the eastern wall of this building, and just north of it a large block of freestone has been built into the wall. Close to this stone a silver coin of Antoninus Pius was found 5 feet down. The road just outside shows four different surfaces, possibly only successive layers: the first cobbles, the rest gravel, giving a total thickness of 2 feet 5 inches. The street from the north gate is about 12 feet in width, the same as the width of the street going at right angles to it, between Houses Nos. XII N and IX N, at its narrowest point. A base was found in taking a section across it, 6 inches below grass level. (Plate XVIII. fig. 5.) On its east side runs a drain excavated in the earth, about 1 foot wide by 9 inches deep, west of the south wall of House No. XIII N, and wider further north. Above it is a layer of stone débris about 2 feet 6 inches deep.

One is half inclined to think that this marks the line of the lost west wall of the courtyard of House No. XIII N, but the fact that it can be traced going under the road-bed opposite the entrance into House No. XII N militates against this supposition.

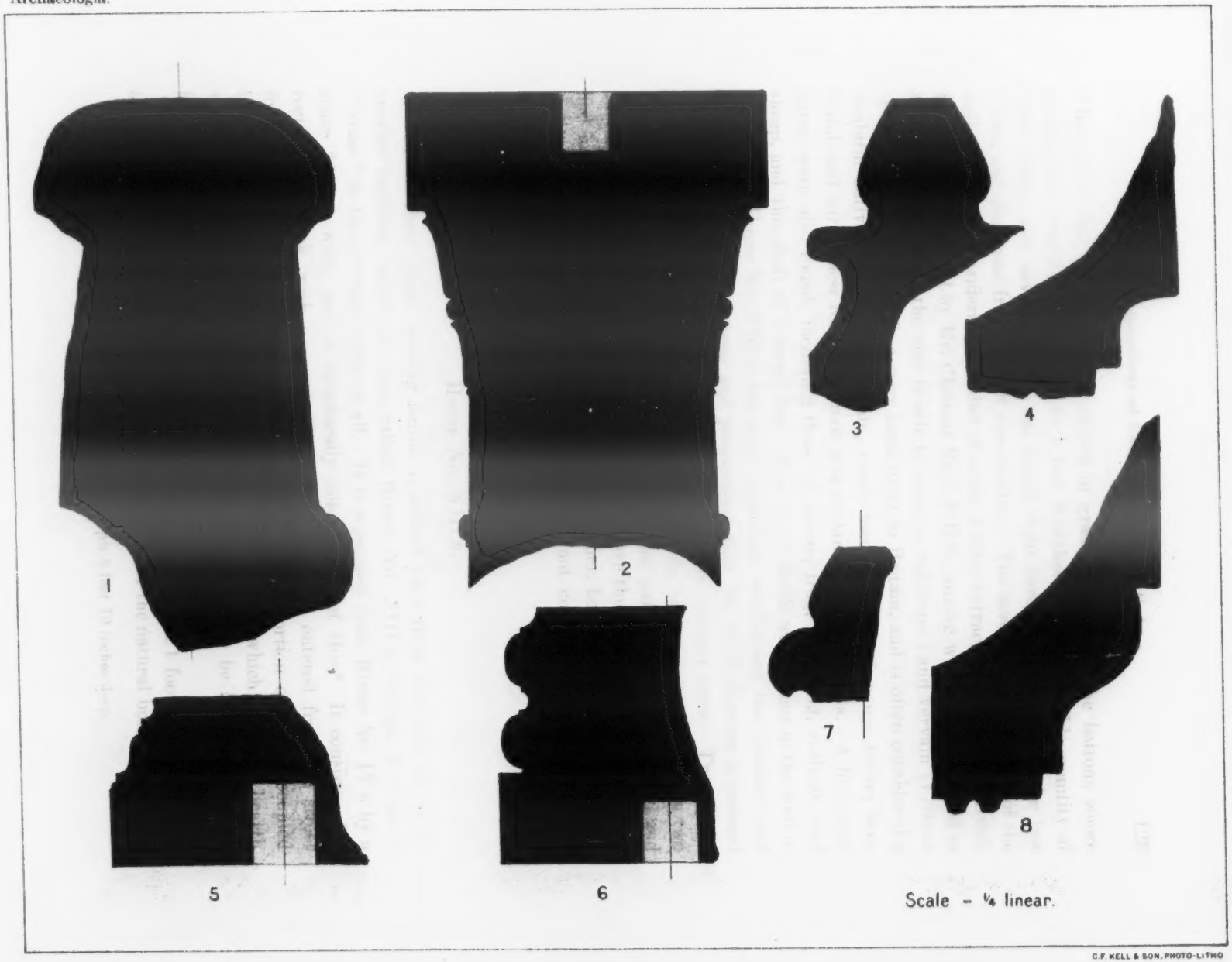
Near the south-west angle of House No. IV N an iron collar, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, was found 6 feet below the ground level on the line of this drain; but no others were discovered in it until we get to the east of House No. IX N.[b]

Further south, nearly opposite, a remarkable fragment of bronze was found, apparently the handle of a vessel.

To the east of this drain is a well, lined with stonework to within 2 feet of the bottom, which was found to be 19 feet 6 inches below the grass level. The last two feet were taken through the clay, and at the bottom was hard gravel. The water came in from 11 feet down, but in a small quantity. The well was 2 feet 6 inches in diameter at the mouth; at 15 feet down its diameters were

[a] See Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. 48-75; *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, xv. 504-505; *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, xxxviii. 386-391.

[b] See *Archaeologia*, lix. 93.



C.F. KELL & SON, PHOTO-LITHO

CAERWENT.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND IN 1905

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906

FRAGMENTS OF ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND IN 1905

3 feet and 3 feet 3 inches, but it closed in gradually towards the bottom, where it measured from 2 feet 4 inches to 2 feet 8 inches. A considerable quantity of cows' bones, with several skulls, was found right through, especially in the last 9 feet, and also some fragments of shoe leather. The mud from the bottom of the well contained a considerable number of seeds, kindly extracted by Mr. A. H. Lyell, F.S.A., and examined by Mr. Clement Reid, F.R.S , among which may be noted as especially interesting the star thistle (*Centaurea calcitrapa*) and vervain (*Verbena officinalis*). The former is a very local plant in Britain, and is often considered a doubtful native; whilst the vervain, much used in magic, has not before been found, and our earliest record till now was contained in the herbals. A few small bones were also found, including those of mouse, frog, hare, dog, roebuck, and sheep, and the skull of a large dog. Five dogs' skulls were found in the well to the east of House No. VIII N, but were somewhat smaller and less slender: and they differed so much in size and proportions that Mr. E. T. Newton is inclined to suppose that they represent at least three or four distinct races. Two of the skulls, he notices, had been broken during life. In one case there had been two blows, one across the nose, breaking in the upper part of the nasal bones, and another breaking into the frontal sinus, just above the orbit. The broken bones had in each case healed during life. In the other, however, the braincase itself had been broken just behind the orbit, and had not completely healed before the animal succumbed.

House No. XIII N.

To the east again, passing across a pitched yard from the well, we reach another building, which we have called House No. XIII N, though it is not a "house" in the ordinary sense at all. It is separated from House No. IV N by a space 36 feet wide, and is structurally independent of this.[a] It consists of a rectangular block, with a courtyard on its south side entered from the street by a double gateway 11 feet in width; the eastern portion of it is occupied by a smaller trapezoidal enclosure (1), on the east side of which an open hearth was found. The western wall of this enclosure seems to be interrupted by a pit 8 feet in depth containing pottery, etc.

The courtyard itself has pitching at an average depth of 1 foot below the grass level. Below it are big stones and a mortar layer, and the natural bottom lies some

[a] Outside its north-west angle is a small pit 5 feet 10 inches deep.

$4\frac{1}{4}$ feet below grass. Along its south wall was found a small sandstone finial. (Plate XVIII. fig. 7.) Its west wall is, as has been said, missing. Near its south-west angle, in a shallow pit, a brick 3 inches in thickness was found bearing the letters AVG (fig. 7), a fragment no doubt of a stamp of the Legio II. Augusta quartered at Caerleon. It does not correspond exactly with any of those figured by Lee,[a] nor with any of the specimens in the Caerleon Museum. There was also found a bit of a yellow pot with scratched letters ART (?).



Fig. 7. Stamp found on a brick.

From the courtyard a doorway, the precise width of which is uncertain, led into the main block. This appears to have consisted of a colonnade of seven inter-columniations, the six columns being about 10 feet apart from centre to centre.[b] A base, 11 inches across, was found on the cross wall between Rooms 3 and 4 (Plate XVIII. fig. 6), but it is doubtful whether it belonged to the colonnade, as the westernmost column appears to have been abolished, and a capital with necking, belonging to a column $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, was found to the north of the next socket-stone to the east. (Plate XVIII. fig. 2.) There has, however, been considerable alteration in the southern portion of the building, two different south walls being traceable at a lower level; and if the right angle turns at the east end of each of them be any guide, it may be necessary to suppose that they represent two earlier stages in the history of the colonnade, which underwent, in this case, a gradual extension eastwards. The original north wall, on the other hand, seems to have been slightly further to the north than the later one, but only a fragment of it is preserved. The later wall has been much forced outwards, probably by the giving of its foundations. Both the earlier south walls mentioned lie beneath the pavement, of old red sandstone slabs, of the space (Room 2) in front of the colonnade. At a later date two open hearths were inserted in this room, one close to its south wall near the doorway, and another, similar to that found in Room 1 of House No. I,[c] a good deal further to the east, while a T-furnace, resembling that found in House No. XIII[d] was introduced into Room 6, to the north of the line of columns.[e]

[a] *Isca Silurum*, plate xxiii. figs. 15-19.

[b] The socket stones exist in four cases; they measure from 1 foot 4 inches by 1 foot 7 inches to 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 10 inches, and the dowel holes about 4 by 6 inches.

[c] *Archaeologia*, lvii. 298.

[d] *Archaeologia*, lix. 308.

[e] In Room 6 was found the stone finial shown on Plate XVIII. fig. 3.

To the west of this furnace is a V-shaped gutter cut in the clay, which was covered with large slabs of limestone. There was no trace, however, of its passing through or under the north wall of the house, and it does not quite correspond in line with another similar gutter just outside it, which runs in the same direction. Further east another V-shaped gutter, 1 foot 2 inches deep and 1 foot 3 inches wide at the top, was found at about 6 feet below the grass level, containing a considerable amount of pottery. Its eastern termination could not be found. A similar channel was found in Room 7, $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot to $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot deep, which contained some Roman pottery and coins.

In the course of the transformations which the building underwent the west end of the colonnade was also abolished, and three rooms were formed there (3-5). Room 3, approached by a door from Room 2, had a floor of old red sandstone slabs, resting upon a perished concrete floor, this in turn lying above the earlier walls which traverse it. Its formation involved the suppression of the first column on the west, the socket-stone of which is built into its north wall. In Room 3 were found two fine iron spear-heads and part of a large platter of Kimmeridge shale. Outside its west wall a large kerbstone of curious form, and much worn, is fixed into the pitching of the yard.

The relation of Rooms 4 and 5 to one another is somewhat uncertain. Room 4 cannot have been entered from Room 3, and it is possible that Rooms 4 and 5 should be regarded as one, in the later building at any rate.

House No. XIV N.

Immediately to the east of House No. XIII N, and separated from it by a very narrow interval (8 inches to 2 feet) is a building which we have called House No. XIV N. Its extent, and that of the building to the east of it (House No. XV N), cannot have been appreciably greater than that shown on the plan, inasmuch as the street from east to west must pass only a few feet to the south of the modern boundary wall.

The internal arrangements of the building, which should perhaps be called block rather than house, are not easily recoverable, as the walls are hardly, if at all, preserved above foundation level, and the floors have perished. Room 1 has a drain in its northern portion, the object of which is not clear. After running east and west for a little way it soon turns at right angles and passes through the

north wall of the house by an aperture which seems to be broken through the wall. It is first built of yellow sandstone slabs, and is 1 foot wide, 9 inches deep, then it begins to be formed of old red sandstone slabs converging at the bottom; here it is 8 inches in width at the top and 11 in depth. After a course of 16 feet from the point where it turns northwards it reaches a pit, the bottom of which is 4 feet 6 inches below grass, with three old red sandstone slabs upon it. Further to the south are the much ruined remains of a furnace or furnaces. Upon one of the sandstone blocks a molten bronze coin, entirely illegible, was to be seen.

The other rooms contained no objects of interest, except that in Room 2 a pipe collar $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth was found 1 foot 3 inches below grass level, also a small bronze sphinx.

Along the east wall of Room 4 is a standing block, like the drum of a column of old red sandstone, 1 foot in diameter and 1 foot 11 inches high, the object of which is quite uncertain.

A space about 16 feet wide, narrowing at the south end to about half that width, separates this building from House No. XV N.

In the space is a walled enclosure, with a wall only one stone thick, 4 feet square, a kind of rubbish pit, with a partly perished concrete floor about 2 feet below grass level. Below the concrete floor a bronze ring was found.

In the open space to the north of the house, between it and the wall which runs from Block E N to the Amphitheatre, several pits have been discovered. The largest and westernmost, a pit some 10 feet by 16 at the top, contained many fragments of pottery, and a whole pear-shaped vase of gray pottery, covered with a fragment of amphora, and full of small fragments of bones. The bottom of it lay just 4 feet below the grass level. Another similar but smaller pot was found on the same level, and also a coin of Constantine (Cohen, 463) and a coin of Valens (Cohen, 72); and just below these pots was a large stratum of bones, apparently of animals, and all broken.[a]

[a] Mr. E. T. Newton, who was kind enough to examine these bones, reports that "among the very fragmentary pieces of bone contained in the first pot, all of which had evidently been burned and much cracked, there are a few which can be recognised as human, and most probably all are portions of one individual. There can be no doubt that this was a funereal urn containing the ashes from a human cremation," and considers that the fragments in the second pot, though none of them certainly identifiable, were of a similar nature.

All the animal bones, as far as they were recognisable, belonged to small oxen (possibly *Bos longifrons*), and the animals had most likely been used for food. As he remarks, the discovery of two burial urns in this pit needs some explanation.

The natural earth was reached at from 7 feet to 8 feet below the modern level; just above it a silver coin of Julia Mamaea (Cohen, 25) was found.

To the east of the north-east angle of House No. XIV N is another pit 6 feet 6 inches in depth from the grass level, but much smaller in size, only about 4 feet by 3 feet at the bottom. Some pottery was found in it, and a coin of the Constantinian period 2½ feet down. To the north of it is another pit, 6 feet 3 inches in depth.

House No. XV N.

The main portion of the building which we have described as House No. XV N is a range of four rooms, which must have led into one another; but here again the floor levels are not clearly marked.

The northernmost, Room 1, contained a small pit, and just outside its north wall was another, which produced some good pottery, including a perfect bowl of unglazed red ware, a fine glass cup (in fragments), a fragment of a small column, and a boot-sole with hobnails. Its total depth was 8 feet 3 inches, and it measured 4 feet by 2 feet at the bottom.

The west wall of the building is prolonged northwards to join the wall running from Block E N to the Amphitheatre.[a]

To the east of Room 2 an irregular wall runs eastwards. It has been broken through by a small drain, about 6 inches wide and 1 foot deep (originally roofed with slabs, of which one remains at the north end), which runs from south to north and empties itself into a pit which is surrounded on three sides by walling one course thick.

The pit was not, however, constructed for this drain, but for a far larger box drain, 2 feet wide and 1 foot 4 inches high, which runs beneath it. This was cleared out for a distance of about 24 feet, when it was found to be obstructed by a fallen stone. The slabs of which it is constructed are of considerable size, the cover slabs being a foot thick. In the drain was found Roman pottery and bones, and a coin of Constantine (?). The pit overflows into an earth drain, the course of which is not very clearly traceable. To the west, about 9 inches below grass level, was found the lower half of a large grey pot *in situ*.

To the east of the space through which the drain passes are two other small spaces, rooms one can hardly call them. That on the south shows traces of

[a] This is the branch referred to in *Archaeologia*, lix. 105, note [b].

reconstruction, the original north wall having been suppressed. The wall dividing them goes on to join the west wall of House No. V N.

Some way to the north is another pit, 6½ feet deep, which produced no finds of great importance.

House No. XVI N.

Of this building, whatever its nature, an inconsiderable fragment only has so far been discovered; but it appears to have been of some importance.

Its walls have been to a considerable extent removed to provide material for the village school, erected in or about 1856; and the portion now excavated consists only of three rooms. Of Rooms 1 and 2 little need be said, except that their floors are of concrete. The west wall of Room 2 seems to have been strengthened internally at a later period, and a later floor may be seen about 6 inches above the earlier, which is on a level with that of Room 1, and upon which the "strengthening" referred to rests directly.

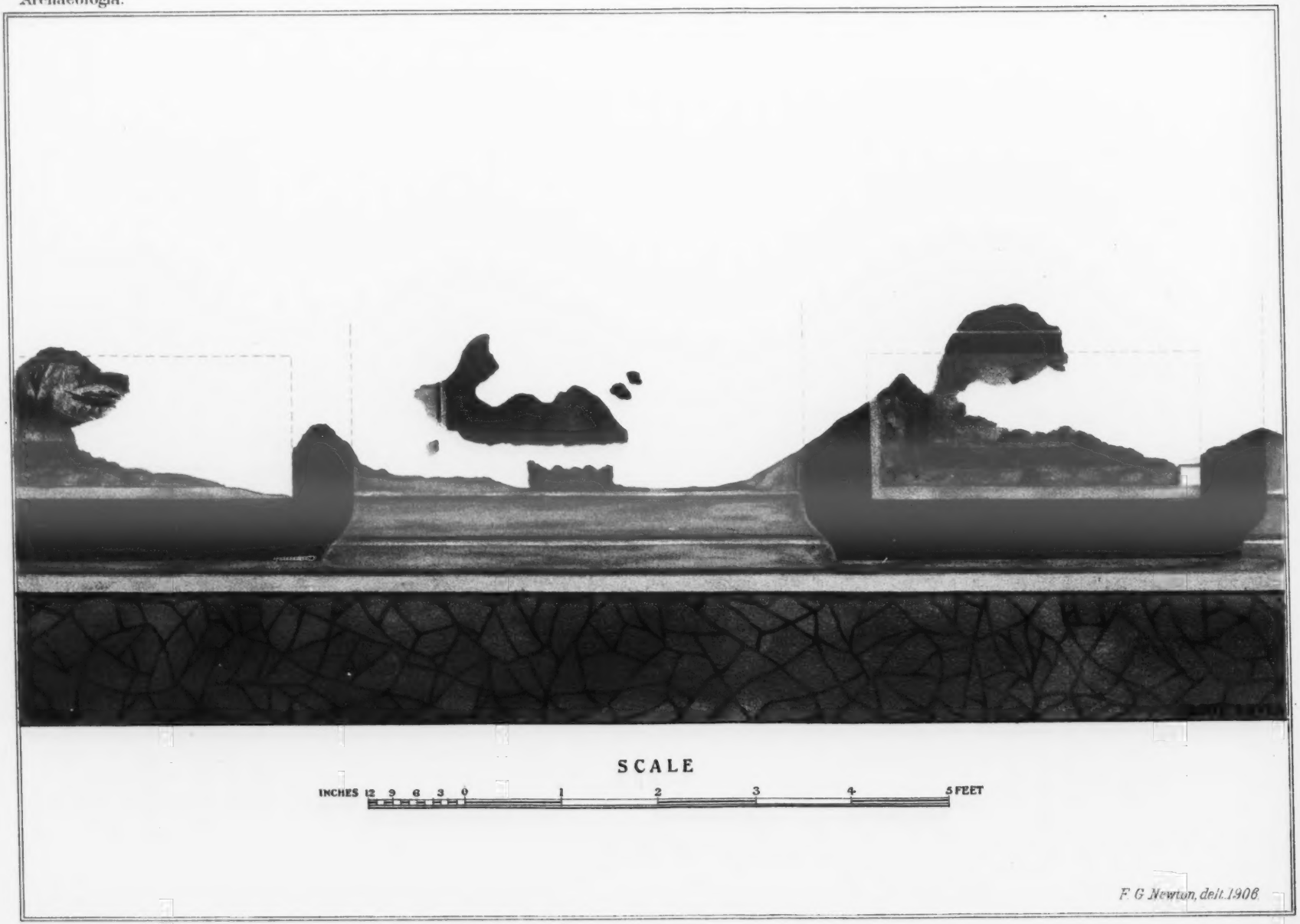
Room 1 seems to have been accessible only from Room 3; a doorway also led from Room 2 into Room 3, which was, perhaps, entered from the east side as well. Room 3 is a very large room, 32 feet from north to south, by 36 feet at least from east to west, and was paved in the middle with mosaic, which has almost entirely gone, only a few fragments of the border, of small black and gray *tesserae*, being preserved. The edge for 7 feet on the south and 8 feet on the north side of the room was floored with concrete.

The south wall is preserved to a height of 13 feet 9 inches, and is 2 feet 6 inches thick. Painted plaster is preserved upon it, the upper coat almost entirely gone, the lower, much hacked to make it take the upper, in a better state (Plate XIX.), but both are much ruined by elder roots, and many loose fragments have been recovered. Upon several of them which can be joined together the inscription shown in fig. 8 has been rudely scratched. The text may run somewhat as follows:

(D) OMIT (ILLA) | VI(CTOR)I SVO | . . . . I PVNIAMIN(I).[a]

It would thus be a message from a female slave to her lover, another hand having afterwards written below "may you be punished!" The reading, how-

[a] The fragment with the letters VI upon it does not fit into the rest; and its position is therefore conjectural. Its present place in the illustration is due to a mistake.



CAERWENT — PART OF A WALL PAINTING IN HOUSE Nº XVI N.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

ever, as regards the last line cannot lay claim to certainty, though I had the great advantage of Dr. Christian Hülsen's opinion on the subject.

A fragment of cornice cut in brick was also found in the room, and about 6 inches above floor level 39 coins were found. They comprise 3 of Claudius II., 10 of Tetricus, 3 of Gallienus, 4 of Victorinus, 1 of Quintillus, 1 of Licinius, 1 of Diocletian, and 16 uncertain; those of Tetricus, Victorinus, Licinius, and Diocletian are in excellent preservation. The meaning of the vertical slits in the wall, corresponding to shallow channels in the concrete of the floor, is not altogether clear. The walling shown in outline, projecting northwards from the south wall of the room, must be an addition of quite a late date.



Fig. 8. Inscribed plaster from House No. XVI N.

The street to the north of this house is 1 foot 10 inches below the grass level, and apparently 14 feet wide, not including the spaces paved with gravel on each side, which were probably footpaths, 5 feet 3 inches wide on the north, and 4 feet 6 inches on the south. The core of it is extremely hard, formed of pebbles set together in fine sandy stuff. Below this are stones set on end, and then flat stones, giving a total thickness of 1 foot 2 inches. Below this comes the surface of an earlier road, with a bed 8 inches thick, of pebbles and sandy stuff, and then the hard natural bottom.

The well to the east of House No. VI N, which had been cleared to a depth of

18 feet in 1903,[a] was excavated to the bottom, which was reached at a depth of 25 feet 6 inches. The mouth measured from 2 feet 3 inches to 2 feet 5 inches in diameter, and so did the bottom; but at 18 feet from the top the well widened, and measured from 2 feet 9 inches to 3 feet in diameter, beginning to narrow again at 21 feet 6 inches. The masonry was good throughout; the bottom was sandstone.

The objects discovered included two or three fragments of a human skull, several ox skulls, and other bones, fragments of a wooden bucket, pieces of pottery, and several shoes with hobnails. In the mud a considerable number of seeds were discovered by Mr. Lyell and examined by Mr. Reid.



Fig. 9. Plan of Caerwent, showing discoveries down to November, 1905.

[a] See *Archaeologia*, lix. 112.

VIII.—*The Palace of Westminster in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.*

By W. R. Lethaby, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.*

Read 25th January, 1906.

THE SAXON, OR OLD, PALACE.

We do not know when the English kings took up their residence at Westminster. Some slight indications suggest that Canute may have first established himself here. It is clear from the name Westminster that the Abbey was first in place, and this is confirmed by the position of the Palace, built along a narrow marshy strip between the better ground of the Abbey precinct and the river. Holyrood seems to be a parallel case of a famous religious house drawing the king's palace to its side. There is no certain evidence for the existence of the Abbey itself until the opening of the last third of the tenth century. The points in favour of Canute's residence at Westminster are as follows. His son Harold was buried in the Abbey, and according to the traditions of the house he was a great benefactor to it, presenting it with many relics, and being much attached to the Abbot Wulnoth. Gaimar, a twelfth-century writer, says that the dispute as to the tide happened at Westminster. "He was in London on the Thames, the tide was flowing near the church called Westminster, and the king stood at the strand on the sand." The first positive evidence as to the Saxon palace is contained in William of Malmesbury's Chronicle, which tells how King Edward the Confessor was wearing his crown at Westminster, and while sitting at table one Easter Day, surrounded by nobles, he

saw a vision. After the tables were removed, while he was unrobing in his chamber, he told how he had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus turn in their slumber.[a] Another piece of firm testimony is to be found in the embroideries of the Bayeux tapestry, where the Palace is figured in its proper position to the east of the Abbey. Apparently with a view to showing their immediate contiguity a man is depicted reaching from the Palace to the weathercock of the middle tower of the Abbey church.

THE NEW PALACE.

In the last decade of the eleventh century William Rufus built the great hall which, with presumably some attached buildings, formed the New Palace. Of this hall there are still some remnants, and it is certain that the lower parts of the present walls are of Norman work, and that Richard II. only altered the hall of Rufus without enlarging its area. Besides the structural evidence, which is quite conclusive, there is in a MS. at the Heralds' College a note written *circa* 1300 giving its dimensions as 270 feet long by 74 feet wide.[b] It is really about 239 feet long by 67 feet wide, but this very dimension noted *c.* 1300 is given also by Stow as the size the hall was reported to be.[c]

At the present time the original Norman strip-buttresses, almost totally recased, may be seen along the exterior of the west side above the modern attached building. It is worth noticing these, because they give an objective reality to the mighty hall of Rufus that no mere record could do.

The details of this piece of Norman architecture are especially worthy of study from the intrinsic interest of the subject, and from the fact that being a royal work in the capital it must have been in the most advanced style of the moment, also because its date is made absolutely sure by sufficient record. In the Saxon Chronicle, under 1097-8, we are told how the king levied oppressive taxes for his

[a] In this passage we have the use of hall and "chamber" carried back to the time of the Confessor.

[b] MS. 30 Arundel. "Longitudo Aule Westmonasterii est CCLXX. pedes. Latitudo LXXIIII."

[c] The relative proportion is fairly maintained in these excessive dimensions, and we are reminded that ancient dimensions of old St. Paul's, also reported by Stow, were equally in excess of the facts. Do these dimensions represent some old standard, such, for instance, as "the foot of St. Paul's"? On the other hand, the bays of the hall are nearly 20 feet from centre to centre, and it seems probable that the hall was designed as twelve bays long, each of 20 feet span: 240 altogether.

works at the Tower and at the king's Hall which was being built at Westminster, and many men perished of want. In 1099, according to Henry of Huntingdon, William Rufus came over to England and kept court for the first time in the new palace at Westminster. This was at Whitsuntide, we are told by Florence. The great size of the hall and the oppressive levy of the king were deeply impressed on the popular mind, and a story sprang up which is usually taken quite seriously, but which I have no doubt is a myth, a myth of extravagance. The germ of it appears already in Henry of Huntingdon, who says that while the king was inspecting the new hall with his attendants one of them remarked that it was much larger than necessary, "to which the king replied that it was not half large enough." In the later chronicle of Matthew Paris the story reappears in an amplified form, and the reply of the king is said to have been that "it was not half so large as it should have been, and was only a *thalamus* compared to the building he intended to make." Stow, in quoting this form of the story, adds, "Paris saith that a searcher might find out the foundations of the larger hall stretching from the river to the highway." But I fail to find the passage, and the growing story has all the characteristics of a myth. William of Malmesbury has a page on the prodigality of Rufus, and gives the following parallel story, while he does not mention that about the hall. One morning, while putting on his boots, the king asked what they had cost, and when told, cried out in a rage, "Three shillings![a] What a price! Bring me a pair worth a mark of silver!" And so another pair was brought which was said to have cost so much, but these boots were really inferior. "Eh!" said the king, "these will do." Thus his chamberlain used to charge him what he liked. Gaimar gives what is evidently a legendary story of the elaborate service of the table at the inaugural banquet in Westminster Hall.

We have just seen the work of Rufus called the New Palace by the nearly contemporary Henry of Huntingdon. The title Old Palace was in use in the thirteenth century for the range of buildings to the south of the great hall which doubtless were on the site of the Confessor's house. A description of the preparations for the coronation of Edward I. in 1273 tells how temporary buildings for the feast were erected on the open ground[b] "on the south side of the old palace." The still current names of Old Palace Yard and New Palace Yard we may conclude date from the time of the building of the hall of Rufus.

[a] About the cost of a pair of oxen.

[b] Riley, *Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs.*

THE INTERIOR OF THE GREAT HALL.

When Sir R. Smirke restored the great hall in 1834 he found several portions of the Norman windows which had pierced the side walls, and of a wall gallery running at the level of their sills throughout the east and west sides, and also returning on the south end. The north end was not fully examined, but it was thought probable that there was a similar gallery here.

From the evidence then found,[a] his brother, S. Smirke, made a conjectural restoration of the side walls of the hall which it is the main purpose of this part of my paper to amend. We owe it to his most careful discrimination between what was actually discovered and his conjectural reasoning thereon, a model of precision, that such advance is possible.[b] The facts are these. The jambs of Norman windows, and portions of the arcaded gallery, were only found where they had not been destroyed by the later windows of Richard II.'s work. Smirke proceeded to make his restoration by putting a window in the *middle* of each of the obliterated spaces. This resulted in an irregularity of relation between the windows and the arches of the wall gallery, which neither he nor more recent writers have been able to explain; and the theory that the fragments of the Norman windows discovered were later in date than the arcade has been resorted to. The report of the Committee on Westminster Hall reads: "This arrangement seems to point to the fact that there was intended to be a continuous arcade, and that the larger openings were insertions not according to the original design; why at such irregular intervals it is impossible now to conjecture."[c] The *irregular* disposition of the windows is an assumption which follows from Smirke's theoretical restoration. Where actual remnants of windows were found they were at approximately equal distances from one another, distances agreeing with the dimensions of the bay divisions and with the spacing of the wall arcade. I shall show that by following the evidence and discarding Smirke's faulty assumption all becomes clear, and we can bring back with certainty much of the original appearance of the

[a] *Archaeologia*, xxvi. and xxvii.

[b] See the reproduction of his survey in *Archaeologia*, l. plate i.

[c] Report from the Select Committee on Westminster Hall Restoration, 1885, p. 159.

hall. In *every case*, three in all, where a window jamb was discovered together

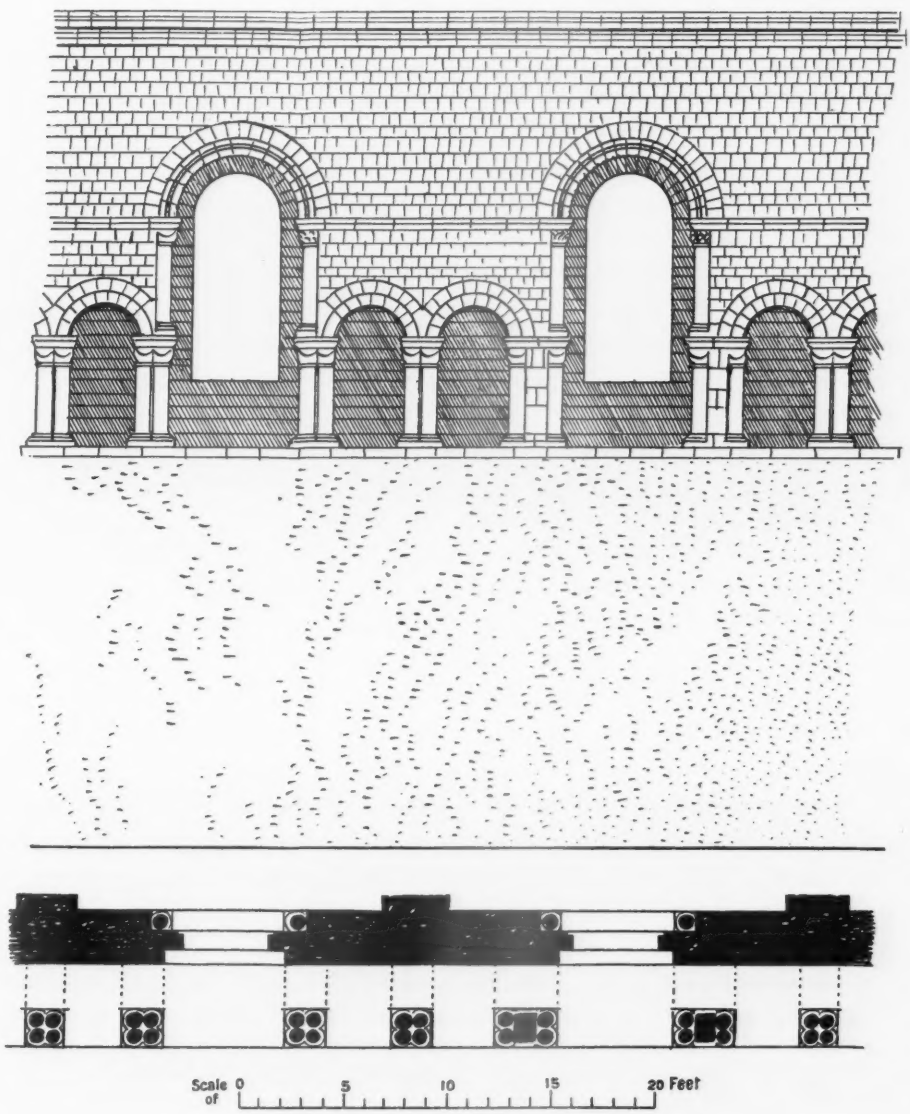


Fig. 1. Bays of the Interior of the Norman Hall : Restored.

with a neighbouring part of the arcade, the window and the arch were close

together. Instead of accepting this rule all Smirke's conjectural windows are pushed away from the arches. If following the facts we experiment afresh, we reach the solution shown in my fig. 1, and this model will be seen to account for every indication found. In some cases an arch of the passage was separated from the window by a narrow strip as shown on the right; in other cases they came quite close as shown on the left. Authority for this slight variation is given by Smirke's survey of actual remnants. Considering further the disturbances produced by Richard II.'s work, it is clear that the traceried windows then inserted occupy the positions of the Norman windows, except that those of the east side at least were all pushed further to the north, so that in every case it is the south jamb of an original window which was preserved. One of the small arches in each bay was destroyed by the encroaching and widened window, and consequently in no case were the *pair* of arches which intervened between neighbouring windows intact.[a]

Smirke discovered an internal cornice in position, and at its level a second passage ran across the south gable end. This doubtless communicated with the external passages behind the parapets; they were served by a turning stair, of which remains were found in the south-east angle. There were two plain round-headed doors found at the south end of the great hall by which access to the inner palace was gained. There were also two similar doors towards the north ends of the flank walls; one of these latter at least Smirke thought was an external door. Probably they were like the north and south doors in the nave of a church.

There is no certain record of the finding of any foundations for internal pillars; nevertheless it is clear that the hall could not have been roofed in one span, and it must have followed the usual type of internal division shown by the halls of Oakham and Winchester Castles.[b] This division may have been formed by wooden posts, like the great tithe barns.[c]

[a] One reason for the modifications in the spacing seems to be that the south wall of the hall is not set square to the rest of the work, and the west side is longer than the eastern. Irregularities still appear in the spacing of the present windows on the east side; in two cases they are as much as 16 inches out of centre (towards the south). In the end bay to the south the window is close to the wall-truss, and is smaller than all the rest.

[b] In the Castle grounds at Guildford there is a large base which can hardly be anything else than a part of one of the pillars of the Great Hall.

[c] Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has referred me to the Norman Castle Hall at Leicester, illustrated

We are now able to obtain a fairly complete view of the interior of this hall, one of the greatest in the world. The side walls were of plain rubble up to a height of nearly 20 feet from the floor; then came the continuous gallery some 220 yards (an eighth of a mile) in circuit. This gallery passed around at the level of the sills of the windows which occupied the upper space of the walls. The gallery and windows were like the ordinary arrangement of a Norman clerestory, as, for instance, that of the transepts in Winchester cathedral church. The height to the cornice of the flank walls from which the roof rose was about 40 feet.

The rough wall below the arcade was of course plastered. Smirke tells us that the passage was coated with thin plaster and "jointed with brown lines. The columns and imposts were painted with bright colours, amongst which red and black were discernible. The general surface of the wall, both above and below these arches, was similarly finished and ornamented with rich and minute painting, probably of some subsequent date." Such painting was done in preparation for the coronation of Edward I. by Stephen, the king's painter,[a] and again for the coronation of Edward II.[b]

THE EXTERIOR OF THE HALL.

In 1883 the west wall of Westminster Hall was laid bare throughout its whole extent by the destruction of attached buildings, and excellent accounts of what was then found of the original Norman walls were laid before this Society and printed in *Archaeologia*.[c] A second survey was published in the Report of the Select Committee appointed by the House of Commons to consider what should take the place of the destroyed buildings. In this latter survey the several ages of the

in Mr. James Thompson's *Account of Leicester Castle*, as having a close resemblance to what has been shown was the probable form of the roof over the Great Hall at Westminster. Following this I have shown posts on the plan. He has also given me accurate measurements of the interior width of the hall, which is 67 feet 2 inches at the north end and 68 feet 2 inches towards the south, where the modern steps begin.

[a] Issue Roll, 1 Ed. I.

[b] Brayley and Britton, 116.

[c] Vol. l. 1-16.

remains are distinguished by separate colours. The south-west angle of the hall is covered for a distance of about 15 feet by the angle and stair-turret of the Houses of Parliament. From thence there was distinct evidence of ten consecutive Norman buttresses. Then came a space double the width of the rest in which no evidence of a buttress was found, but it is probable that it had been cut away, for there is no doubt that there was a window in the most northern bay, as Soane found this window beneath the roof of the upper part of the Exchequer Court, which later abutted against this bay. We thus have certain evidence that the Norman hall was twelve bays long. The great flying buttresses of Richard II.'s work were placed opposite alternate divisions, thus making six wide compartments instead of twelve. For three bays from the south end their position is exactly opposite the alternate old buttresses, but further towards the north, the new bays fall short of the older ones by a foot or two. Of the eastern side wall of the hall and its buttresses there is no such accurate survey. From Capon's plan, which is the best authority, it appears that neither the earlier nor the later buttresses are exactly opposite those of the other side. The bays, however, averaged about 17 feet in the clear, and the old buttresses were 2 feet 9 inches and 2 feet 10 inches wide. At the two south angles were wide buttress piers, and there were doubtless similar angle piers at the north end.

We can establish the form of the exterior of one of the bays from three principal authorities. The first is a careful drawing of one of the windows at the north-west, drawn by Sir John Soane in 1823, and preserved in his collection. This gives us the widths of the windows and details of the capitals of the nook-shafts.[a] The second is a fragment of the south-east angle, engraved by Gage Rokewode[b] which shows the upper string, courses of masonry set in chequers, and the moulding of the window arch. The third is a small view by T. J. Smith of another window found behind St. Stephen's belfry on the east side, from which we obtain the approximate height of the window, and the fact that the jamb started from a second string notched like the other. Above the ground was a chamfered plinth. These facts are brought together in my restoration of the exterior (figs. 2 and 4). The walls were 6 feet 8 inches thick, the core being of concrete-like rubble with a casing of small square stones. The chequered masonry beneath the parapet

[a] Smirke says: "On the outside a column seems to have ornamented the angle of the reveal, with its base resting on a string course."

[b] *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi. plate xxvi.

was of two varieties of stone, Caen and Reigate. A detail of the notched string is given by T. J. Smith, and is also shown by Rokewode.[a]

When the west wall was exposed it was described in *Archaeologia*[b] by Mr. Somers Clarke as being "built of wide-jointed masonry," and showing "an intermixture of two sorts of stone. The builders seem to have valued the effect so produced, making an imperfect chequer work on their wall." The wall was

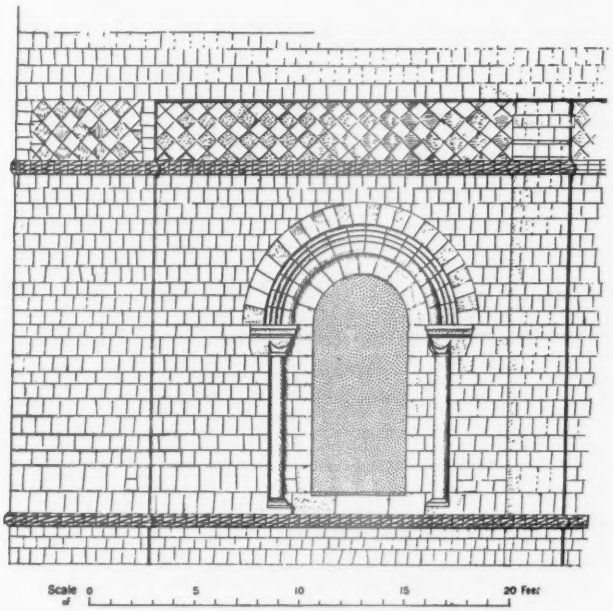


Fig. 2. Restoration of South Bay on east side : Exterior.

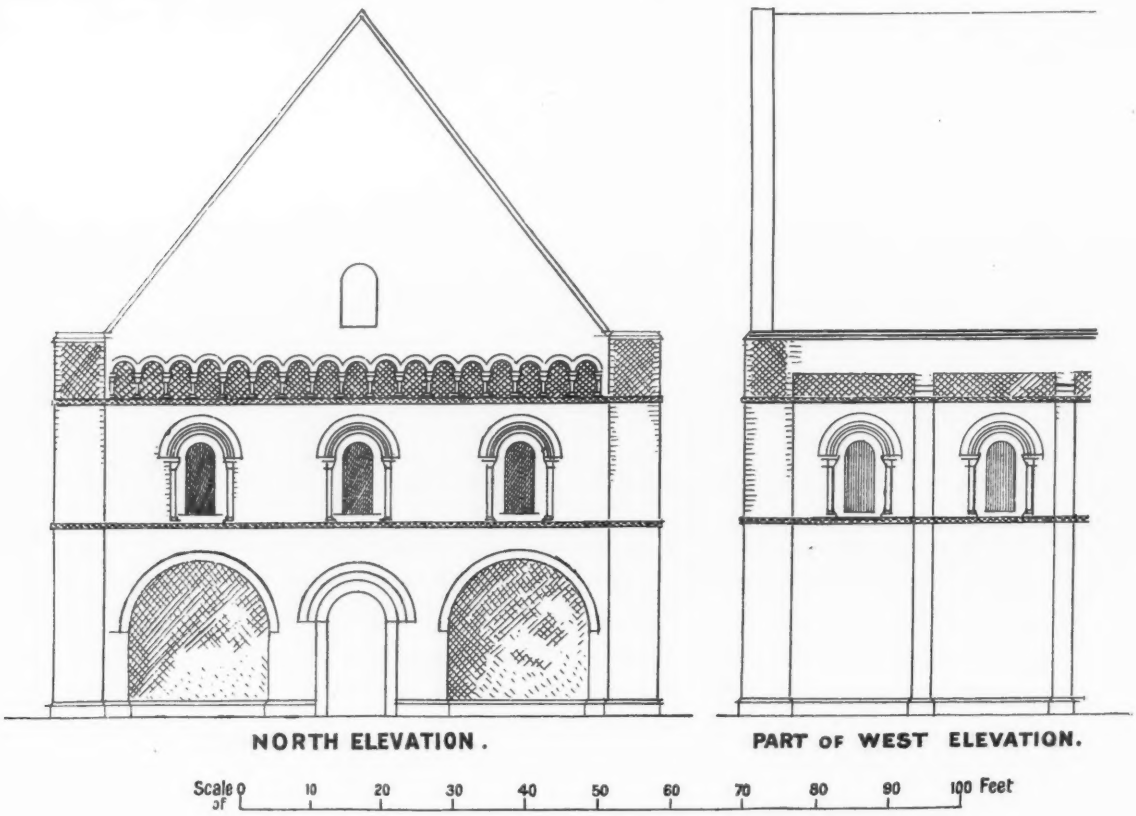
covered with masons' marks, which were fully described by Dr. Freshfield in the same volume.

In the angle of the small cloister at the Abbey there is a piece of chequered lozenge-walling exactly like that of the palace. It was a favourite method of decoration in early Norman work.

[a] At the entrance to the Abbey Chapter House are preserved a number of carved capitals, some of which are the same as those figured by Smirke as having been found at the hall. Mr. Wright some years since told me that they came from the hall. Another of these capitals is now in the office of the Clerk of Works to the Houses of Parliament. A cast of a fragment of the notched string is at the Soane Museum.

[b] Vol. l. 12.

Besides the chequering of the top of the side walls this system of decoration appeared also on the gable ends. Smirke found the remains of an external arcade on the south front at a height considerably above the windows; there were 6-inch shafts, and the wall surface between was formed of alternate lozenges of Reigate



Figs. 3 and 4. Conjectural Restorations of the Exterior of the Great Hall.

and Caen stone. At the north front, again, on each side of the central entrance, was a wide blank arch filled with similar masonry.

From all the data before us we may even venture to put together a restoration of the north gable end. (Figs. 3 and 4) Setting out the arches just spoken of in relation to the total width of the front, some 80 feet, we find that they fall properly into place, leaving a suitable space at the angle for a wide buttress-pier such as was

found at the south-east angle. Then we have the heights of the two string-courses and the parapet from the side elevation. As to the windows, Smirke tells us that two were found similar to those on the flanks on either side of the great south window, and they are indicated on Brayley's Plate X. On transferring these to the opposite gable they come just above the broad blank arches, and, indeed, give a satisfactory reason for the spacing of those arches. Putting, now, a central window as well, the three space at intervals very similar to the side bays, and such an arrangement, moreover, would be required by the interior division, which we must assume existed, although there is only the slightest direct evidence for it. The wall arcade with the lozengy background, which is said to have been "considerably above the height of the windows," would find its place perfectly above the second string, and when we see that this exactly ranges with the chequered masonry of the flanks, we may regard this position as proved. We only now have to add a supposititious line for the pitch of the gable, and we have the gable-end represented in my figure. It is at least possible that the old pitch was followed in Richard II's new roof, and some confirmation of this is to be found in the simple agreement for the new masonry then required, which provided for raising the walls two feet. This diagram is in itself sufficient to prove, I think, that the roof cannot have been broken into central span and side aisles, leaving a space for a clerestory. The large size of the windows, thirty at least of which formed a continuous range around the hall, gives a confirmation to this view.

The exterior of the roof was originally covered with shingles, as we know from entries for its repair in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. There is no doubt that these were of wood, for in 13 Edward II. a *carpenter* was employed cutting shingles for the roof of the great hall.[a]

[a] Brayley and Britton, 121.

SAINT STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.

To the south of the great hall stood the domestic hall of the palace, generally called the Little Hall; its east wall was in line with the east wall of the great hall. The ends of the two were separated by an interval of over 20 feet. Other buildings projecting to the east and west of this space enclosed it as a court; and here were the stairs which served for access from the lower level of the great hall, and the undercroft of the lesser hall, to the upper floor. To the east of the court Saint Stephen's Chapel jutted out towards the river, and to the west the chamber best known to us as the Court of Wards projected towards the Abbey.

Saint Stephen's Chapel is said to have been founded by King Stephen, and this seems likely from the dedication. It is often mentioned in records of the time of Henry III., and Stow tells us that King John, in the seventh year of his reign, granted to Baldwin of London, clerk of the Exchequer, the chapelship of St. Stephen's at Westminster. A charter was dated "from the King's Chapel at Westminster" in 1184,[a] and the chaplain of the chapel of Westminster is mentioned in the Pipe Roll for 23 Henry II.

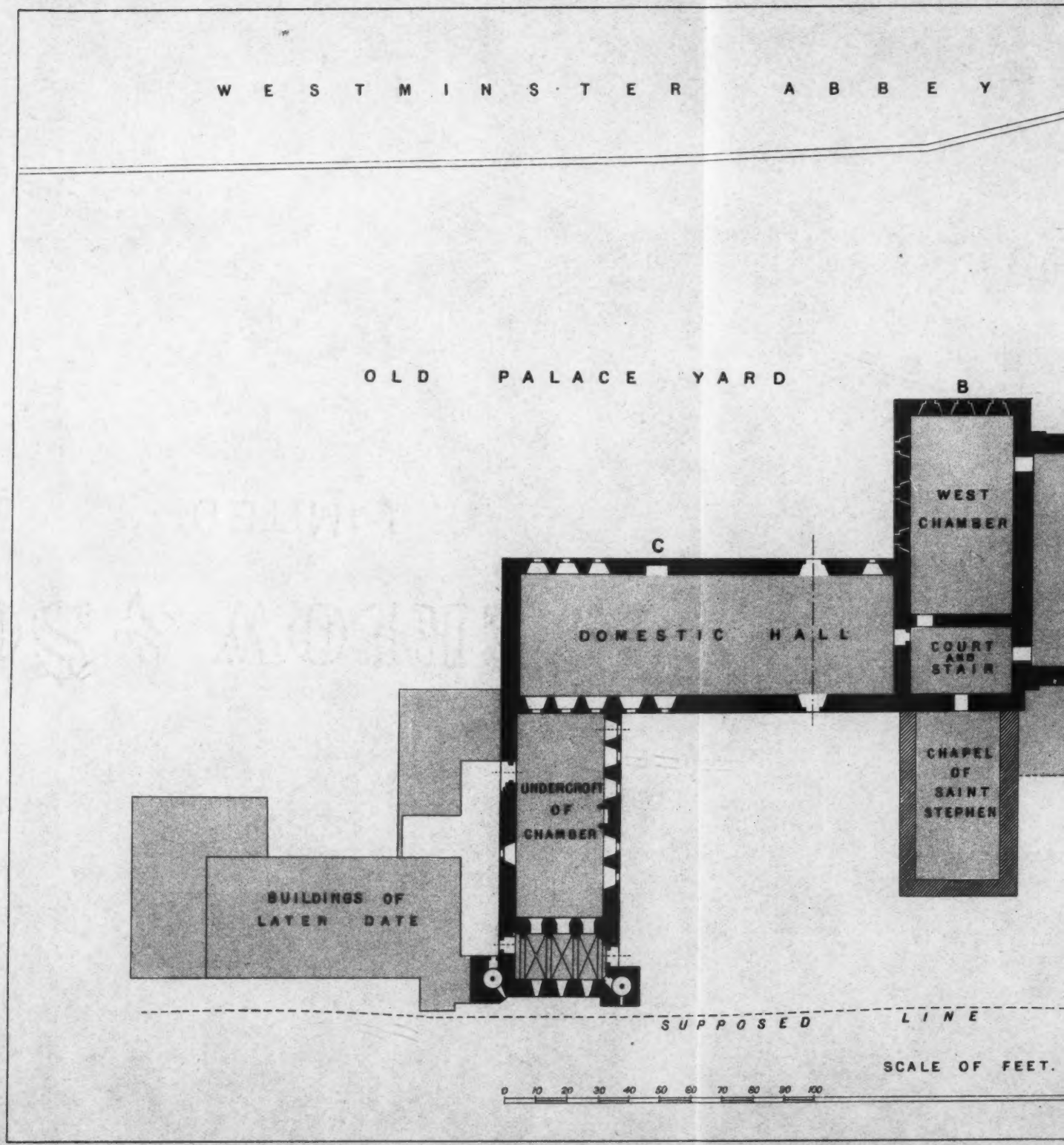
From a notice, cited by Gage Rokewode, we gather that one descended to the chapel,[b] and it appears that the early chapel must have been nearly at the same level as the undercroft of the little hall, which, as I shall show, was probably the domestic hall of the early Norman period. The size as shown on the plan (Plate XX.) is conjectural, and therefore the walls are distinguished by hatching.

THE LITTLE HALL.

The little, or lesser, hall, so called in the time of Henry III., may very well have stood on the site of the Confessor's hall. Although no part of a

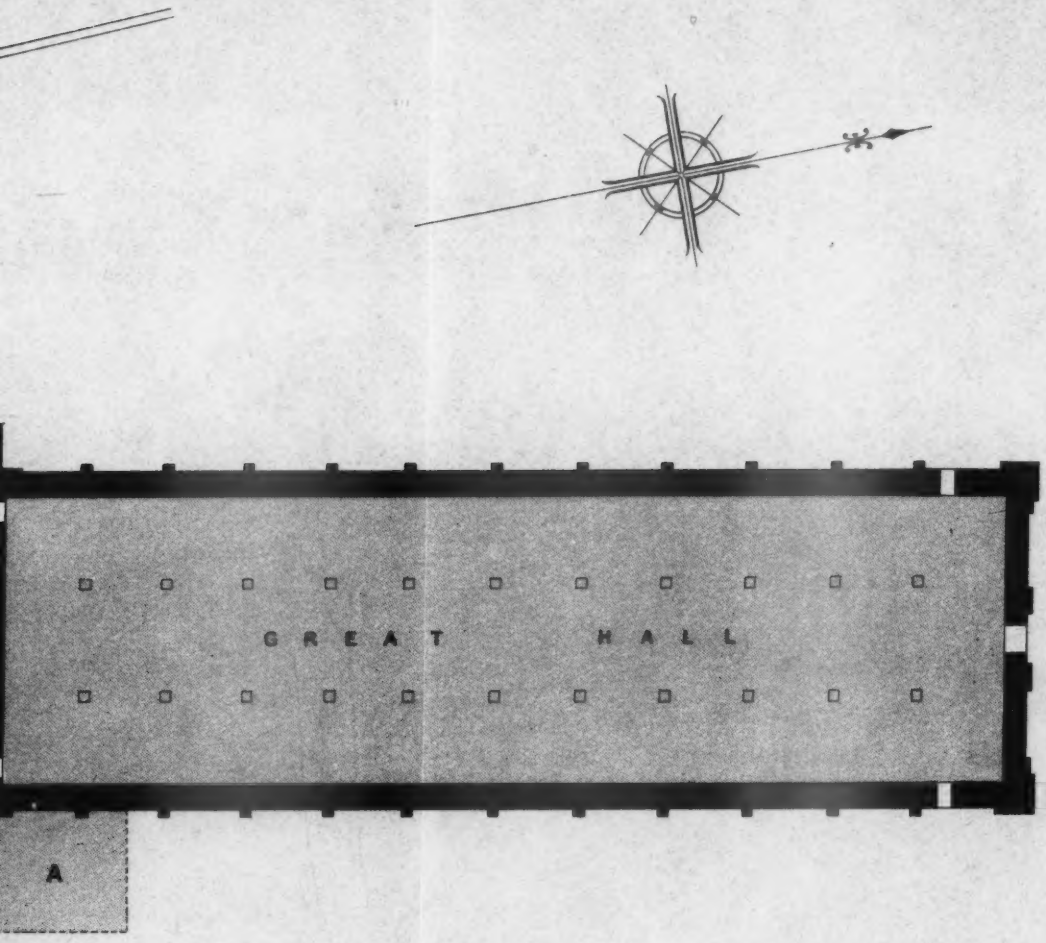
[a] Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, 14. Mr. Hall wouldi dentify a lodging in the palace, spoken of about this time, as a tower near to the river, with the tower which at a later time stood on the west side of the great hall, but the evidence is against the latter being earlier than the fourteenth century.

[b] Part of the staircase between the great hall and the still existing undercroft of the later chapel was found to be of Norman work.



PLAN OF THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER AT THE END

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of



A. Supposed site of Exchequer Chamber.
B. Windows are conjectural.
C. Supposed position of Fireplace: Figs 6 & 7.

It is suggested that the Kitchens and domestic offices formed a detached range in old Palace Yard.

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pre-Conquest hall can have survived to days of which we have record, there is evidence that some of the undercroft of the little hall was of Norman work earlier than Henry II., who, as we shall show, rebuilt at least the hall above it. The undercroft, like the hall, was 120 feet by 38 feet, and its walls were about 6 feet thick. Towards the north end of the undercroft were doorways opposite to one another, allowing of a passage across it which was maintained up to the last. On Capon's plan it is called "Passage to Cotton Garden." Sandford's plan seems to indicate that this north end, with the doorways, was screened off from the rest in the manner well known to us in the typical plan of a medieval hall. It formed, I have no doubt, the chief entrance to the private palace.

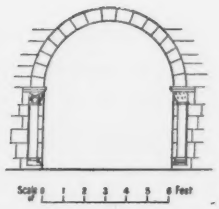


Fig. 5. Fireplace.

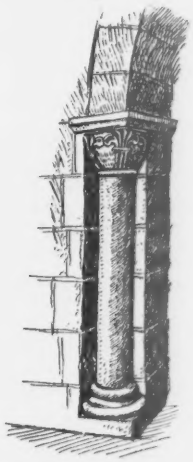


Fig. 6. Detail of Jamb of Fireplace.

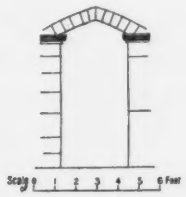


Fig. 7. Doorway.

Another archway in this undercroft is figured in Rokewode's Plate XXVI., and better as to detail in Rickman's "Attempt." From the latter I have made my fig. 6. The arch was a semicircle of 6 feet 3 inches span, rising from pillared jambs only 3 feet 9½ inches high to the top of the abacus. Comparing it with fireplaces of Norman date,[a] I am convinced that this was the fireplace of the undercroft. According to Rokewode's text the masonry was of "early construction," and "filled up in the west wall of the crypt." In Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, he shows old foundations of a small projection against this west wall of the

[a] For example that of Rochester Castle, which is almost exactly like this.

undercroft which *might* represent a deep fireplace, which would have been cut away at some time when modern buildings were built against the exterior and the arch closed with masonry. But this projection may not have been of early work, and on my plan I have not retained it.[a] The arch and the jamb seem to have been of earlier character than the work of Henry II., and Rickman thought that they were part of the work of Rufus. (Fig. 6.)

Carter gives also an illustration of a doorway which he says came from the crypt beneath the Court of Requests (the late name for the little hall), which had impost mouldings of early Norman character, although the arch above it was pointed. (See my fig. 7.)

It is probable, I think, that this undercroft was the earlier Norman hall. The floor between it and the little hall above was not vaulted. It was repaired in 1307, being "newly planked and strengthened below in various parts with great timber."[b]

The "little hall" proper, above, was lighted at the south end by an important group of three windows surrounded by zig-zag mouldings. These are well represented in Smith's volume by a wood-cut, but only two of the windows were visible at the time that it was drawn. Supplementing this from an engraving in Rokewode we get the result shown in my figure 8. There were no windows below in the undercroft. Carter says it was plain wall from the ground to the string with the "diagonals." Rokewode also gives a view of the interior while it was in ruins, which shows that the inner walls were panelled into a series of blank arches. This upper hall at least was the work of Henry II. According to FitzStephen, Archbishop Thomas, in the year 1163, repaired Henry II.'s Palace in London with great rapidity. Brayley and Britton argue that London cannot be stretched to cover Westminster, and that the work in question must have been at the Tower. In another place, however, they quote from Matthew Paris how Edward the Confessor was "buried in London" in the church he had built. And many old instances could be adduced showing this to be a common expression.

It is certain, in any case, that a considerable part of the inner palace was rebuilt by Henry II., including the little hall. In the Pipe Roll for 8 & 9 Henry II. (1162-3) is an entry for work for the king's hall at Westminster. In 12 Henry II.

[a] In early days there would not have been a deep chimney, and perhaps in any case this position would push this Norman chimney arch too far out of the middle of the length of the hall.

[b] Brayley and Britton.

there is a record of the expenditure of the large sum of £190, and Alnoth, the *ingeniator*, is mentioned in connection with the works. In the next year £64 is entered as spent on the works for the "new hall" and the "queen's chamber." In the fifteenth year Alnoth is again named. In 1172 works at the "king's houses" and the "aqueduct" are mentioned, and according to Rokewode Alnoth

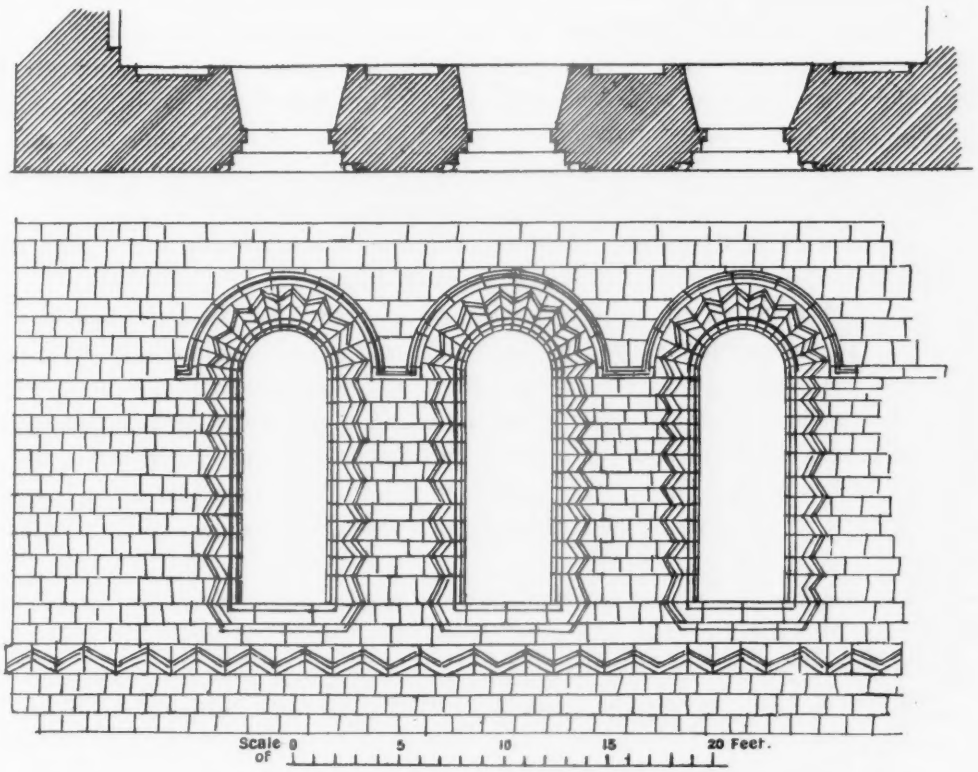


Fig. 8. Windows at south end of the Little Hall: Exterior.

was still employed in the years 1177-8 (23 & 24 Henry II.). In this year the "king's chamber" was repaired, and £5 1s. was spent on the "king's wardrobe." In the 30th year Henry II. the quay of the king's *curia* was repaired and the floor of the great hall was raised. The "lavatory in the king's hall" was begun to be restored in this year at a cost of £28, and in the following year £50 was spent upon it. This is possibly the same as the "conduit of water in the

king's court at Westminster" mentioned under the first year of Richard I.[a] The king's quay mentioned above was the landing place for New Palace Yard and was more usually called "the king's bridge." I find it already called *Pons Regis* in the Pipe Roll for 1189 (1 Richard I.). It was in later days at least a projecting wooden platform resting on stone piers like those of a bridge. Foundations of it which were found in 1839 are described in the *Archaeological Journal*.[b] The king's chamber of Henry II., mentioned above, probably occupied the position of the painted chamber of Henry III., the undercroft of which had some vaults at its east end which seem to have belonged to the latter half of the twelfth century, judging from the representations of them given by Rokewode and others.

There are some indications on Capon's careful plan that the undercroft of the chamber was later than that of the little hall, some of the windows of which appear to have been blocked by the chamber. This again confirms the view that the basement of this hall was earlier than the time of Henry II.

I do not know of any evidence which would show that the buildings to the south of the chamber had existed in the twelfth century, although a claim for great antiquity has been made for the undercroft of the old House of Lords, mainly on account of a door which had what is usually called a triangular arch. This door, however, only gave entrance to a small garderobe, and was hardly more than 2 feet 3 inches wide. There is not sufficient reason to suppose that it was earlier than the rest of this part of the building, which seems to have been of Henry III.'s work.[c]

The chamber called the Court of Wards in Sandford's plan of 1685, placed as it was between the little and great halls, was, I have no doubt, in existence at least as early as Henry II.'s time.

For one other portion of the building of this time we have the evidence of records. This is the Exchequer House, which was a two-storied building between the great hall and the river. The basement was an assay office, and the upper floor a court room. The Exchequer at Westminster is mentioned as early as 1164,

[a] For entries from the Pipe Rolls of 23 Henry II. and later I am indebted to Mr. Hubert Hall's *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, 237. He says that Alnoth appears in the London Pipe Roll almost every year as receiving sums of about £7 10s., his fee I suppose.

[b] Vol. vi. 71.

[c] If this door were proved to be of Saxon work I would much rather suppose that it was refixed here than that it was part of the Saxon palace *in situ*. In the Confessor's time I should think this point was not only close to the river but in it.

in which year, as shown by a passage quoted from FitzStephen by Mr. H. J. Round, John the marshal was in London, "engaged at the quadrangular table which, from its counters of two colours, is commonly called the Exchequer, but which is rather the king's table for white money, where also are held the king's pleas of the Crown."[a]

I have suggested on my plan that the Exchequer House occupied the angle between St. Stephen's Chapel and the great hall. In later days it certainly abutted against the other end of the hall, but early in the fourteenth century the receipt office of the Exchequer is more than once said to be near to St. Stephen's Chapel. Thus, in 1319, the roof of St. Stephen's near the Receipt was repaired, and in 1341 a scaffold was put up to the chapel of St. Stephen near the Receipt.[b] In 1348 the *new* house of the Receipt is mentioned as being near the Star Chamber. This title, I suppose, marks its erection on the new site. Again, in the account of the great fire of February 17th, 1263, given in the *Chronicle of the Mayors and Sheriffs*, we are told of the destruction of "the lesser hall of his lordship the king, the chamber, the chapel, and the *Receptaculum*." This last can hardly be other than the Receipt of the Exchequer, and it cannot, *then*, have been separated by the whole length of the great hall from the domestic buildings which were burnt.

I have shown that in the twelfth century the private palace had a hall in two storeys with a chamber projecting at one end and a chapel forming a similar wing at the other end. There was also a separate queen's chamber. The aqueduct, which is mentioned as of this time, was probably the conduit of later days, which seems to have been situated in Old Palace Yard,[c] around which as a court were most likely grouped the kitchens and offices, as low buildings detached from the main body of the inner palace, which is nearly completely represented I think by the buildings we have discussed. To the north of this private palace was the great hall and the Exchequer, with a forecourt (New Palace Yard), which already had, projecting into the river, its little landing stage called the King's Bridge, or Westminster Bridge. The whole palace area was surrounded by walls, as we learn from FitzStephen's reference to the splendid palace by the river surrounded by a battlemented wall.

The narrow strip of low damp ground hardly 300 feet wide, squeezed between the Abbey and the river, was an extraordinary site on which to rear the chief

[a] *The Commune of London*, 64.

[b] Brayley and Britton, 122, 161.

[c] Not the great conduit of New Palace Yard.

palace of the kings of England. In the days of which I have been writing the river probably came right up to the end of the king's chamber, as pointed out by T. J. Smith. This would give the reason why the vaulted passage-way with opposite doors was arranged across the end of the undercroft as a thoroughfare. (See Plate XX.) The land, like the name, of the palace must have been obtained from the neighbouring abbey Westminster.

I had hoped to reconstruct some part of the palace as it was in the time of Henry III. from drawings I have found at the Soane Museum and the Bodleian, but I hope to return to this on another occasion, and meanwhile I content myself with these notes on the palace in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

IX.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in* 1905.

By W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq.*, *M.A.*

Read 31st May, 1906.

I have the honour of laying before you to-night, on behalf of my colleagues, the sixteenth detailed report of the Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund, that for the year 1905.

The excavations last year extended over the six months from 19th May to 18th November, and were carried out under the direction and supervision of our colleague Mr. Mill Stephenson, to whom we have again to express our grateful thanks for his ungrudging and freely given help.

The portion of the site selected for the year's work was a broad strip along the western side of the pasture or grass field near the middle of the town. The strip in question was known to cover the greater part of the sites of two *insulæ* and of portion of a third. The remainder of these *insulæ* lie in the large tract of arable land on the west, and were excavated when the sites of the *basilica* and *forum* were re-examined in 1892. Certain foundations were then laid open which belonged to buildings extending under the grass field, and it was one of the objects of last year's work to pick up and follow the lines so disclosed. The results were satisfactory enough, but they necessitate some modifications in the deductions drawn from what was found in the previous excavations.

The northern of the two *insulæ* had already been numbered V. It was practically square, and measured some 236 feet from north to south, and the same from east to west, and was surrounded on all sides by streets. (Plate XXI.). The north-

west corner of the *insula* was occupied by a building of somewhat interesting character. In our report for 1892 the foundations then laid open were described as "portions of a large house occupying the angle, with corridors lining the streets." But now that we have the complete plan it is not easy to claim that the building was a house, and it will be safer to call it Block I. It consists of a main portion lying north and south, 85 feet long and 33½ feet wide externally; with a corridor or colonnade about 8 feet wide along the western side, abutting on the street there.[a] The main block consists of three principal divisions: (1) a transverse passage 29 feet long and 8 feet broad; (2) a large hall 35 feet long and 29 feet wide, with a colonnade of three spans with brick piers down the middle to help carry the roof; a series of four rectangular chambers (3, 4, 5, 6)[b], one of which was paved with coarse red mosaic. As there were no traces of paving in any of the other divisions of the building their floors may have been boarded. Projecting from the north-east corner of the building was a small chamber (7) measuring about 10½ feet by 7 feet, with foundations of blocks of ironstone.

The walls of the block, so far as they remained, were constructed throughout of flint with lacing courses of tile, but along the eastern side of the hall, where the masonry stood highest, the tile-work largely predominated and was overlaid by a course of massive ironstone blocks. Most of the tile used in the building consisted of fragments of large and thick tiles taken from some older structure.

Along the east side of the hall (2) was built a mass of brickwork, 20 feet long and 7½ feet deep, as the base of a number of long flues running back to the wall, but of these the remains of one only were left, which had escaped through having a firmer foundation than the clay that underlay the rest. Against the west wall was found a pair of similar long flues in fair preservation.

A comparison of the features just described with those of other buildings of similar plan in *Calleva*, especially those found in 1894 in *Insulæ* IX. X. and XI. and in particular with Block III. in *Insula* IX.[c] all point to this building in *Insula* V. having been, like them, a dyeing-house. Mr. Fox suggests that the hall (2) was possibly an open court as regards one half, in which operations could be carried on out of doors, and that the western corridor may have served as a

[a] Along this wall, as described in our Report for 1892 (*Archaeologia*, liii. 569), is a long drain, square in section, and formed entirely of large tiles. It runs southwards for at least 120 feet.

[b] The dimensions of these were: 3 and 4, about 15½ feet square; 5 and 6, 15½ feet by 11½ feet.

[c] *Archaeologia*, liv. pl. xlv.

drying place. The room (4) with the mosaic pavement he thinks may have been the dyer's office, and the other three chambers his store rooms.

At 18 feet to the south of Block I. appeared the foundations of, possibly, an earlier structure of much the same general plan. It stood, however, east and west, instead of north and south, and consisted of one main block, measuring externally about 80 feet by 34½ feet. Across the west end, which abutted on the street, was, probably, a portico (1) 6 feet deep, and in rear of it an open court (2) about 31 feet square.[a] This may have had wooden pentises along one or more of its sides. To the east of the court was a series of chambers[b] divided into two groups by a corridor 4½ feet wide which ran between them.[c] On the north of the corridor were two rooms: a smaller (3) and a larger (4). The latter seems originally to have been subdivided, but the partition wall was taken down and a red mosaic pavement carried over and about 6 inches beyond it from the east end of the enlarged apartment. On the south of the corridor were two rooms (5, 6) of equal size, and between them and the court an extension of the corridor southwards (7) but only 3 feet wide. This no doubt contained a wooden staircase to an upper floor. The foundations separating the stair from the court and those of the rooms north of the corridor seem, from their thinness, 12 to 15 inches, to have carried wooden partitions.

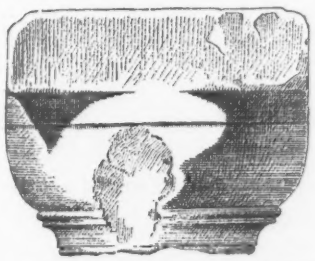


Fig. 1. Capital of a small column found in House No. 1, *Insula* V. in 1892. (⅛ linear.)

Nothing was found in or about the building to suggest its use, but as the chambers in the eastern half were apparently living rooms, it may be called House No. 1 of *Insula* V.

The small capital of a column shown in fig. 1 was discovered in 1892 in the portico of the building, but can hardly have belonged to it.

In later days House No. 1 seems to have been either gutted or partly dismantled. Occupying the sites of rooms 4 and 5 were the remains of a wrecked hearth, enclosed by a later wall overlying the inward limits of the northern group

[a] Two breaks in the dividing wall between court and portico may indicate the places of doorways.

[b] The dimensions of these in feet are: (3) 12½ by 10; (4) 13 by 26, but originally two rooms, one about 8½, the other about 16½ long; (5) (6) 11½ by 15½.

[c] In the western part of the corridor and near its north wall is a length of foundation of the same date which seems to belong to some abandoned plan. It may, however, possibly have carried a narrow stair to an upper storey.

of rooms, but extending clear beyond them eastwards for 4 feet, and then returning southwards for 19 feet and abutting against an older structure attached to the south-east angle of the house. Just to the north of this the later wall passed over the remains of a pavement of red *opus signinum*.

The older structure above referred to did not belong to House No. 1, but formed an entrance or porch to a series of chambers attached to another and much larger building (House No. 2) which occupied the south-west corner of the *insula*.

This building resembles Block I. in plan, in that it exhibits a large enclosed area or court, with a transverse chamber at the west end, and a corridor or colonnade to the street along one side; in this case the south as the main building stood east and west.

The transverse chamber (1) was 33½ feet long and 12½ feet wide. The large area (2) was 50½ feet long by 33½ feet wide; in its north-east corner a rectangular space (2*) measuring 11 feet by 6½ feet has been walled off. The corridor or colonnade (3) was 8½ feet wide, and as most of the side next the street has disappeared there may have been there a line of wooden posts. The corridor extends beyond the main building to a block of chambers to be described presently. Between this block and the court, and built on to the latter, was a passage (4)[a] about 7 feet wide leading from the corridor to the chambers before mentioned on the north-east.[b]

These chambers seem originally to have been two in number, and of about equal size. The southern has, however, been subdivided into a narrow (5) and a broad (6) inner rooms, leaving a space (7) on the east to serve as a passage to the northern chamber (8) beyond.[c] These new inner chambers had floors of *opus signinum*. The northern chamber has a block of solid masonry of unknown purpose projecting into its north-east corner, and to the same corner is attached externally the entrance porch (9) already noticed. From a comparison of the plan of this building at *Calleva* with those of others in Pompeii, which are known to have been *tabernæ*, Mr. Fox is of opinion that this too was a small inn. The area (2) he suggests was a yard, with stabling (1) at the west end and a watering place (2*) at the opposite end. The corridor (3) may have served as a shed for

[a] This covers the site of a well 14½ feet deep with a wooden tub lining the bottom.

[b] Underlying the western part of these chambers is part of a wall of earlier date.

[c] The dimensions of these rooms in feet were: (5) 21 by 8; (6) 17 by 13½; (7) 17 by 16; (8) 25 by 19¼; (9) 10½ by 9.

carts, for which there is also ample room in the open space north of the building. The block of chambers on the north-east probably had other rooms over them and formed the living part of the house. From its proximity to the *forum*, an inn at this spot would be very conveniently placed.

Whatever was the use of the series of chambers north of House No. 2, in later days they evidently were done away with, as they were partly overlaid by the gravel foundations of a large rectangular enclosure extending westwards towards the street.

It has been noted above that the corridor south of House No. 2 terminates eastwards against another building. This structure, which may be called Block II., is about 25 feet square on plan, and was subdivided into a larger and a smaller room (1, 2), with a narrow space (3) on the east.[a] Mr. Fox suggests that the building was a public latrine.

Along the northern margin of *Insula* V. and occupying about half of the available space east of Block I. was an interesting example of a house of the corridor type (House No. 3). It showed towards the street an unbroken front of 106½ feet, behind which was a series of five or six rooms with an external corridor of communication facing south. Unhappily the eastern end of the building partly underlies the modern road through the town, and the walls towards the north-east corner have been destroyed by ditch-making and hedge-planting. The westernmost chamber (1) had originally a pavement of fine mosaic bordered by the usual coarse red *tesseræ*, but only some patches of the latter remain against the west wall. There was nothing to show how the next room (2) was floored, but well below the possible floor level are the foundations of a destroyed or projected cross wall. Room 3 has round it considerable remains of coarse red mosaic, but the middle of the room, which may have had a fine mosaic panel, was covered with the roots of a large tree and could not be examined. Room 4 has a patch of flintwork on one side and remains of some burnt tiling on the other, and perhaps formed the kitchen. Beyond it is what in the absence of partitions seems to have been one large room (5), but it is quite possible that it was subdivided, and that here may have been the winter rooms.

The corridor (6) traversing the southern side of the house was 8 feet wide. It was originally open from end to end and paved with coarse red mosaic with a middle panel of drab sandstone. But there were subsequently formed in its western portion, by the simple process of building cross walls, two chambers,

[a] The area of these in feet was: (1) 15 by 12; (2) 15 by 6¼; (3) 21 by 3¼.

each 16 feet long. The innermost (7) had a pavement of fine mosaic, with an unusually narrow border of only two rows of coarser *tesseræ* along the walls, but had been almost entirely broken up and destroyed.[a] The other room (8) had for its floor the banded red and drab mosaic of the original corridor. East of it the corridor seems to have received a new pavement, formed of red *tesseræ* only, laid directly upon the older floor. Towards the further end the corridor had lost its original character, and its 18-inch outer wall of flint-work gave way to a broader 2-feet foundation of chalk blocks. The change occurs on the other side of an opening about 6 feet wide, opposite the entrance to the kitchen, with a broad flint foundation for a sill, which extends westwards some feet further. The eastern end of the corridor has gone, and in its place are the gravel foundations of a room (9), about 17 feet square, the southern half of which retained part of a mortar floor. In the external angle formed by this room and the corridor was another added apartment (19), but of smaller area, also marked by gravel foundations.[b]

A little to the south-east of House No. 3 are the foundations (Block III.) of another of the mysterious square buildings that were so common at *Calleva*. This measured internally 16 feet by 19 feet, and had walls of flint rubble, with ironstone blocks at the corners. The entrance was apparently by a wide opening in the east side. There was nothing to show how the building had been floored, but in and about it were found quantities of gaily painted wall plaster, chiefly red, with blue, yellow, and white flowers, and many fragments of roofing tiles.

About 30 feet to the east of Block III. was an oblong excavation 9 feet long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, and 8 feet deep, apparently a saw pit.

The rest of the *insula* was devoid of buildings, etc. but a short length of foundation was met with near its southern margin, and east of it, close to the street, was the wreck of one of the usual small round hearths. The street boundaries on the north, east, and south sides of *Insula* V. must have been formed by hedges or palisades which have left no definite lines behind.

Insula VI. was separated from *Insula* V. by a street about 25 feet broad, the surface of which was laid with the usual hard layer of gravel. Down the middle of it was a roughly made trench about 3 feet wide, and varying in depth

[a] Only a fragment of a braidwork border remained.

[b] The dimensions of the various rooms of House No. 2, in feet, were as follows: (1) $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 17; (2) $16\frac{1}{2}$ by 17; (3) $14\frac{1}{2}$ by 17; (4) 16 by 17; (5) $?2\frac{1}{4}$ by 17; (7) (8) each 16 by 8; (9) 17 by $6\frac{3}{4}$; (10) 10 by $7\frac{3}{4}$.

from a foot towards the west to 6 inches towards the east. This trench is a continuation of a drain which was found in 1892, issuing from beneath the eastern gate of the *forum*.

From the position of the buildings north and south of it the western end of the street seems originally to have been 30 feet wide, but the direction of the street was subsequently altered towards the east, as is shown not only by the drain down the middle, but by a line of later wall forming the northern boundary of the *insula*. From this it can be seen that *Insula* VI. measured 231 feet from north to south, and a return of the boundary wall down the east side fixes its breadth at about 270 feet. Like the *insula* north of it, *Insula* VI. was bounded by streets on all four sides. (Plate XXI.)

The north-west angle is occupied by the foundations of a somewhat puzzling structure (Block I.), part of which was uncovered in 1892. It consisted in the first instance of a L-shaped block, 65 feet long towards the west, and about 100 feet towards the north, with a corridor or colonnade $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide covering both street fronts. On the north the outer margin of the corridor ran on for a considerable distance, probably as a boundary wall to the *insula*. It was also prolonged in like manner southwards for about 40 feet, but then turned inwards; the return is, however, partly covered by a later building.

The western limb of the block contained a series of four chambers, the southernmost of which was floored with coarse red tile *tesseræ*. There may have been other chambers in continuation southwards, but the earlier arrangement in this direction has been obliterated by a series of alterations which were thus described in our report of the excavations in 1892: "The fourth chamber has been enlarged westwards to twice its former area, and the destroyed chambers on the south replaced by a range of three large and two small[a] rooms, set forward on the old line of the street. These open into each other by doors. The two end rooms had oblique openings or drains through the back walls, and in the southernmost through the end wall also, which seem to show that some trade was here carried on in which water was used. From the discovery just outside these chambers of a number of fragments of thin veneers of Egyptian red porphyry it is possible that a lapidary or marble-worker may have had his workshops here. South of these chambers, in what must have been an enclosed yard, was a pit or well, the bottom of which appears to have been covered by a board pierced with

[a] Under the eastern of these were the remains of a hypocaust of the earlier building, which also here terminated southwards. [Original note.]

holes. To the south of the yard are fragments of a house,[a] which it is presumed occupied the south-west angle of the *insula*, but only some traces of walls and part of a large hypocaust remained."[b]

The northern limb of Block I. contained six divisions, of which the middlemost was a passage 5 feet wide, or it may have contained the staircase to an upper storey. The westernmost division was a room measuring 23 feet by 17 feet, and the other four had a uniform length of 17 feet, and were each 10 feet in breadth. In none of the divisions of the building except that already noted was there any indication of the flooring; possibly therefore it was of wood, the removal of which has left no traces behind. As the building seems hardly of a domestic character, and no clue to its use was found in or about it, it can only be conjectured to have formed an extensive range of shops, from one to another of which the good folk of *Calleva* could have passed under cover of the external colonnade.

As Block I. stands back from the altered lines of the streets, it may have been destroyed before the changes noted above were made.

In tracing the foundations of the northern limb of Block I., which were about 13 inches deep, it was noticed that those of the easternmost chambers (7-10) had been laid upon, or in trenches cut through, a remarkable deposit of bones. This deposit extended some feet south of the building, and eastwards as far as an adjoining house, and consisted almost entirely of the lower jaw bones of oxen, with which were intermingled fragments of the usual Roman pottery. A more detailed account of the deposit by Mr. E. T. Newton, and of the deductions to be drawn from it, is given below.

A few feet to the east of Block I. begin the foundations of a large building (House No. 1) of more than usual interest, with a frontage to the street of 111 feet.

Its plan at first sight seemed to consist of two distinct wings of unequal size lying on opposite sides of a cloister or enclosed courtyard, but a closer examination of the remains showed that the western wing was originally a distinct house to which the courtyard and eastern wing had been added subsequently. The result is a plan approximating more closely to that of a Pompeian house than is usual in these northern climes.

The earlier house was of the corridor type, and consisted of a block of five

[a] Block II. on plan, see Plate XXI.

[b] *Archaeologia*, liii. 570.

rooms standing north and south, with one end on the street, with a corridor along the east front, and other rooms connected by a corridor on the western side.

The house was probably entered from the street by the square chamber or lodge (1) at its north-west corner, from whence a passage or ante-room (2) paved with red and drab mosaic led to the corridor of communication (3) beyond. Another corridor (4) led southwards from the lodge to two rooms (5) (6), with pavements of red mosaic, at the south-west corner of the building. From the main corridor (3) opened out two nearly square rooms (7) (9) with a narrower one (8) between, and at the south end there was a wide opening with brick jamb-piers into another square room (10). The section of corridor in front of this seems originally to have been cut off from the rest to form an ante-room (3*) to it.[a] All these rooms, as well as the eastern corridor, were paved with red tile *tesseræ*, but that in room 8 had been broken up. There were no signs of flooring in the lodge (1) or in the passage (4) leading southwards from it.[b]

The addition to the first house was carried out in the following manner. The longer section of the eastern corridor (3), which was exactly 50 feet long, was taken to form one alley of a quadrangular cloister or courtyard (11) laid out to the east, and from it wide openings were made into other alleys north and south of the courtyard, the one (12) paved with drab *tesseræ* with a red border on the south side, the other (14) with red *tesseræ* only.[c] From the northern alley (12) another (13), paved like it with drab mosaic with one red border, was returned southwards for 33½ feet as far as an arch or other contracted opening carried by square piers. The southern alley (14) crossed this opening and then returned southwards in line with the east alley for 39½ feet (15). This extension was also paved with red mosaic, with patches of drab, probably the result of repairs.

Eastwards of this new south alley lay the main block of the added building. Like the earlier house to the west it stood north and south, and had a total length of 87 feet, thus extending further southward than the western block by about 17 feet. It contained only four subdivisions. The northernmost (16) measured 30 feet by 19½ feet, and had at one time a mosaic floor, formed wholly or in part of drab stone *tesseræ*, but this had been broken up. Within the room

[a] The red mosaic floor of this ante-room had under it the remains of another, of fine chalk *tesseræ* with a border of coarser red, and below this was an earlier floor of *opus signinum*.

[b] The probable level of this was covered with a list of clay, derived no doubt from that which filled the half-timber work of the walls.

[c] The mosaic floors of the north and south alleys were carried through the openings from the older corridor and joined the mosaic floor of that with very definite lines.

had also been inserted a hearth or hearths of some kind, but so fragmentary were the remains that they can not be indicated on plan. The next room (17) was only half as large as 16, but nothing was left to indicate the nature of its floor, which may therefore have been of wood. The next room (18) to the south was of ample proportions, 24½ feet long by 20¼ feet broad, and had originally a panel of fine mosaic, 10½ feet square, in the middle of the floor, with a broad border of the usual coarse red mosaic. Owing unfortunately to its nearness to the surface the finer panel had been greatly injured, and the white ground of soft chalk had practically dissolved away, leaving behind only the harder black *tesseræ* of a fretwork pattern, and the pink and black of the braidwork bands that bordered and divided the design. An unusual feature about this mosaic is that most of the pink *tesseræ* in the braidwork were made of pieces of the so-called Samian pottery, instead of the more usual fragments of red tile. Beneath the eastern margin of the flooring of this room were found traces of an earlier pavement of drab stone mosaic. The southernmost division of the block (19) was only 8½ feet broad, and may have been a passage. There was nothing to show how it had been paved or floored.

The two northernmost rooms (16, 17) of the block were overlapped on the east by a corridor or pentise (20) 9½ feet wide and 46½ feet long, the floor of which had been destroyed. At its southern end was a continuation of it (21) of somewhat interesting character. It was 8½ feet wide, and at least 17 feet long, but all beyond has been utterly destroyed. What remains formed apparently part of a steeping-tank, about 3 feet deeper than the level of the mosaic floor in room 18, and floored and lined with wood. The sides had been entirely removed, but the floor still remained, of thin boards about a foot wide, but badly decayed, laid upon rough balks from 5 to 6 inches square. These balks extended from side wall to side wall, but the boards were stopped off 14 inches short of the walls, as if the tank had sloping sides. In places there were indications of the floor having consisted of a double layer of the thin boarding. When first discovered the bottom of the tank was covered by a deposit of clay 2 feet thick, from which was extracted part of the shaft of a small and much decayed stone column, and various pieces of pottery.

The purpose for which the tank was constructed is quite uncertain. Inasmuch as any water used in connexion with it must eventually have found its way into the immediate vicinity of the baths discovered in 1903, any such process as tanning or fulling is at once ruled out, unless it may be assumed that the baths were then disused, and that the tank belongs to a late alteration.

Another matter difficult of explanation, not only with regard to the house under notice but to every other domestic structure in *Insulæ* V. and VI., is the absence of any trace of winter rooms. In no case have we found any vestiges of a hypocaust, or of the rarer fireplaces in the walls. The destruction of so much of the flooring would of course obliterate any possible traces of open braziers, such as have occasionally been met with, but in the absence of both hypocausts and fireplaces it can only be suggested that such was the method of warming.

Reference may here be made to another matter in connexion with the house. In the south-west corner of Room 17 (in the eastern wing), and parallel with the south wall, there was made an unexpected discovery in the shape of a shallow grave under the floor level, containing the bones of a human skeleton. Although most careful search was made, nothing whatever was found with the remains, a description of which appears in Mr. Newton's note below. The skeleton lay at a depth of 4 feet from the present surface, and 2 feet below the top of the foundations of the house.

Before leaving House No. 1 it should be noticed that immediately to the south of its western block were uncovered parts of the walls and foundations of some rectangular structure (Block III.) of uncertain extent and use.

The only other building of importance in *Insula* VI. stood along its southern margin. This was a house (No. 2) of a type somewhat rare in Calleva, with a L-shaped plan, forming a transition from the corridor to the courtyard type. The main section of the building consisted of a row of four chambers abutting upon the street with a frontage of nearly 100 feet. In rear of the western half of this was the rest of the house, comprising a short block of chambers with a corridor on each side, and a transverse wing at the north end.

This wing contained two rooms (1, 2) each about 17 feet square, and paved with coarse red mosaic. The block south of them consisted of a room (3) also floored with red mosaic, a passage (4) 8 feet wide, and another room (5) which probably had a wooden floor. The passage had down the middle a mosaic panel with a simple pattern of interlocking rectangles, alternately of red and drab, with bordering stripes of the same colours, all effectively executed in the usual coarse *tesseræ*. The corridors (6, 7) flanking these rooms had also coarse mosaic pavements of red-tile *tesseræ*.

From the southern end of the eastern corridor (7) there was a return corridor (8), which had a pavement of drab-stone mosaic with red borders. It extended eastwards for 33 feet behind the chambers lining the street, and led to a long narrow room (9) at the north-east corner of the block. There was nothing

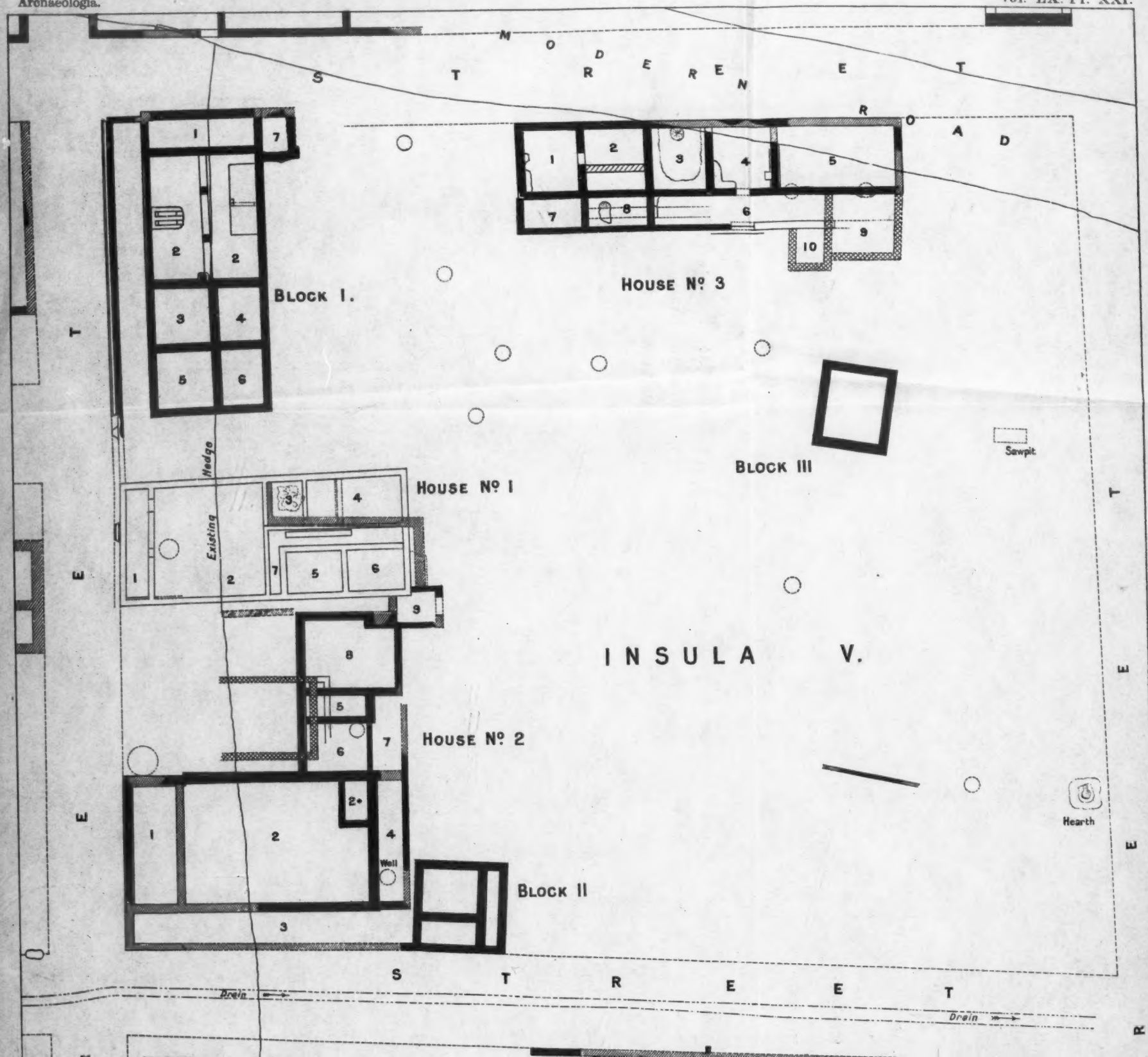
to show how this room had been floored. The easternmost (10) of the chambers lining the street was 33½ feet long and 18 feet wide. Its flooring had completely disappeared, but against the north wall were the remains of a circular hearth. The next room (11) was 18 feet square and had also lost its flooring. The rest of the block seems originally to have consisted of two square chambers (12, 13), one at least of which (12) was paved with red mosaic. But at some later date the two seem to have been thrown together, forming one large room 36 feet long and 18 feet wide.

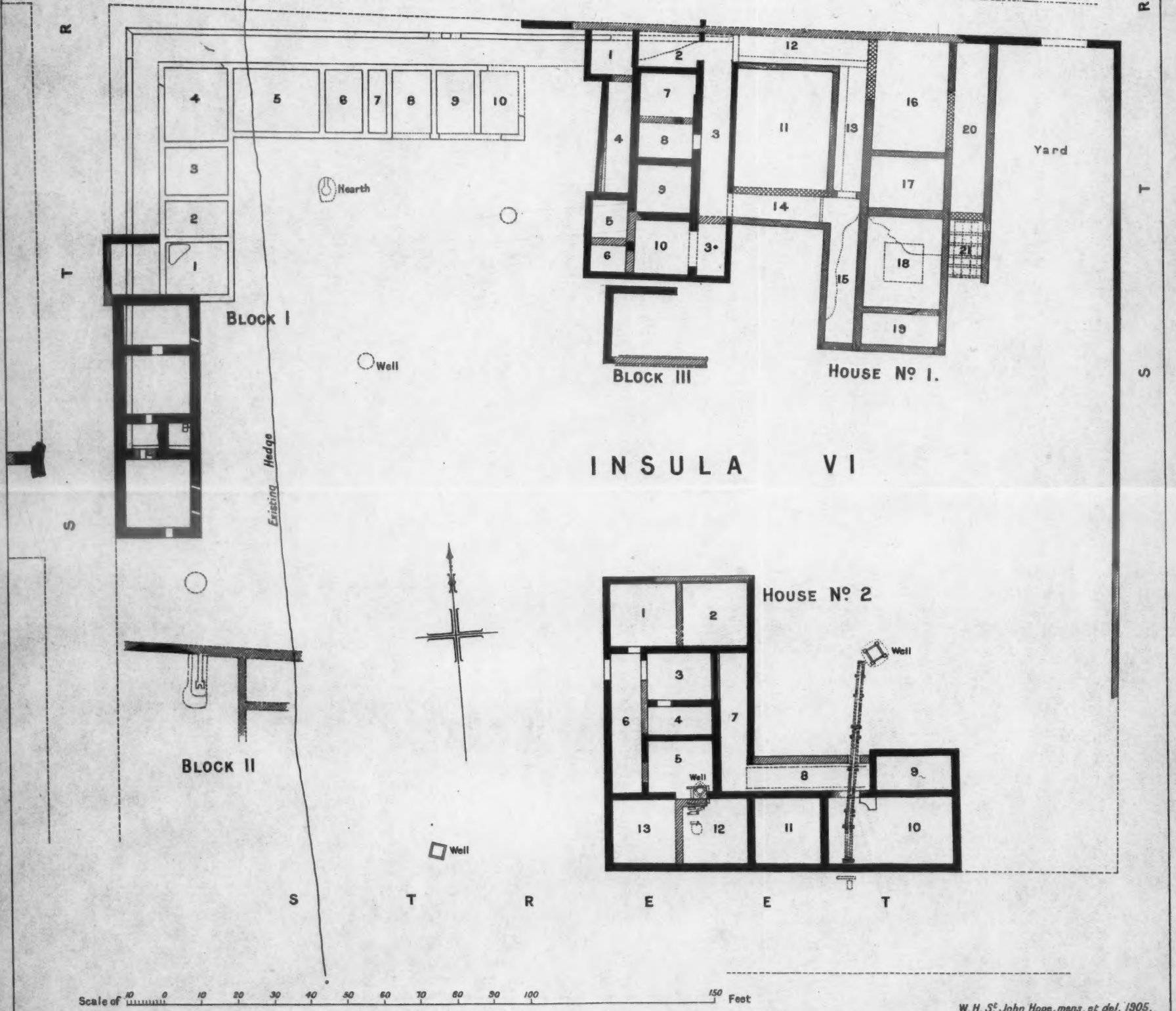
It will be seen from the plan that the wall which once divided these rooms was returned at the north end in a somewhat odd way in front of a break in the main wall. Within this break was found, at 21 inches below the level of the corridor pavement, a framework formed of stout baulks of wood enclosing a space from 3 to 4 feet square. Within and beneath this appeared the mouth of a well, only 27 inches square. The well, however, was not set square with the framework nor was it in the middle of it, but partly under its northern side. It was lined throughout with oak boarding to a depth of 7¾ feet, or 9 feet from the top of the framework above. Owing to the small size of the well the clearing out of it was a difficult and dirty job, and much hampered by the inflow of water. Nothing of interest was found in it but a few fragments of pottery.

The unsymmetrical disposition of well and framework suggests that the one was constructed above the other for some reason quite unconnected with the use of the well. What the reason was it is very difficult to say. The woodwork is clearly older than the house, since the timbers pass under the foundations of its walls. There were also found below the floor level of the room to the south, at the same level as the framework, a number of other pieces of worked timber in the positions shown in the plan. Beyond recording the facts of the discovery it seems hard to deduce from them any reasonable theory in explanation.

Connected indirectly with the house under notice was another find of some interest.

A little to the north-east of the building there was found, at a depth of 30 inches from the present level, the top of a wood-lined well. This well was constructed in somewhat unusual fashion. The upper part, for a depth of 4 feet, measured 42 to 45 inches across, and had at each corner an upright post, about 3 inches square, into which the boards lining the well were grooved. The lower part was of much smaller dimensions, 30 by 34 inches, and lined like the upper part with oak boards, each about 15 inches wide. The total depth of the well was 10½ feet, with a hard gravel bottom. Nothing of interest was found in it.


MODERN STREET
MODERN ROAD
BLOCK I.
HOUSE Nº 3
BLOCK III
Sawpit
Hedge
Existing
HOUSE Nº 1
INSULA V.
HOUSE Nº 2
Hearth
Well
BLOCK II
STREET
Drain
Drain
STREET



C.F. KELL & SON, LITHO.

SILCHESTER.—PLAN OF INSULÆ V AND VI.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

In digging round the well a number of pieces of boarding and timber came to light, more particularly to the south and south-west. Further investigation showed that some of these were loose pieces of worked and unworked stuff, not unlike those found by the well within House No. 2. The uncovering of one piece of boarding led, however, to a curious discovery. The board itself was followed southwards for 19½ feet, and was then seen to be joined by another in line with it. This in turn extended in one piece for 24½ feet, and was followed by a shorter length of 10½ feet, which was not quite in the same straight line. On both sides of these boards, or rather planks, were others set on edge, so that the whole formed part of a long wooden trough. The bottom planks were 12 inches wide and supported at irregular intervals by cross bearers, which were long enough to carry the sides also. The planks forming these were 15 inches wide and 3 inches thick, and the pair that edged the middle section of the trough were each 25 feet long, and had evidently been sawn out of the same tree. All the planking, etc. was of oak. The bottom planks were joined by a bevelled lap, but the sides had halved joints without any traces of pegs or pins. How the sides had been kept upright there was nothing to show, nor were any definite traces found of any covering to the trough. The trough itself was 2½ feet below the top of the well, or 5 feet from the present surface, and began about 2 feet to the west of its southern corner. The remaining portion was 55 feet long, but seems originally to have extended further. As will be seen from the plan, its southern half is overlaid by part of House No. 2, the building of which seems to have caused the shortening of the trough and its consequent disuse. The object of the trough, which had only a slight fall, seems to have been to carry off the overflow of the well in the direction of the marshy ground southwards. Where it has been cut off by the later house, the southern wall of the latter has been built upon piles. Nothing of importance was found in the clearing out of the trough save the much decayed fragment of a short stone column.

Some 40 feet westwards of House No. 2 was another wood-lined well. It was 3 feet 9 inches square and 9 feet deep, with boards from 6 to 8 inches wide. Nothing but rubbish was found in it.

Yet one more well was found in *Insula* VI. in its north-west quarter. It was 12½ feet deep and had at the bottom a much decayed wooden tub, 6 feet 3 inches high, formed of 25 staves. Round this was a mass of clay pugging, no less than 3 feet thick. In the well amongst other odds and ends were an iron knife, portion of a human skull and other bones, and a perfect example of a pick formed of a stag's horn.

It had been our intention originally to extend the season's work to the ground south of *Insula* VI. which had been partly investigated in 1892, but as the excavations proceeded southwards an unlooked-for difficulty was experienced. This was the increasing depth of the soil that overlay most of the buildings in *Insula* VI. In places the depth was as much as $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but the soil was by no means evenly distributed. It consisted throughout of the same black stuff which overlies so much of the south-east quarter of the town, and was suggested in last year's report as having been formed at the bottom of a large and long stagnant

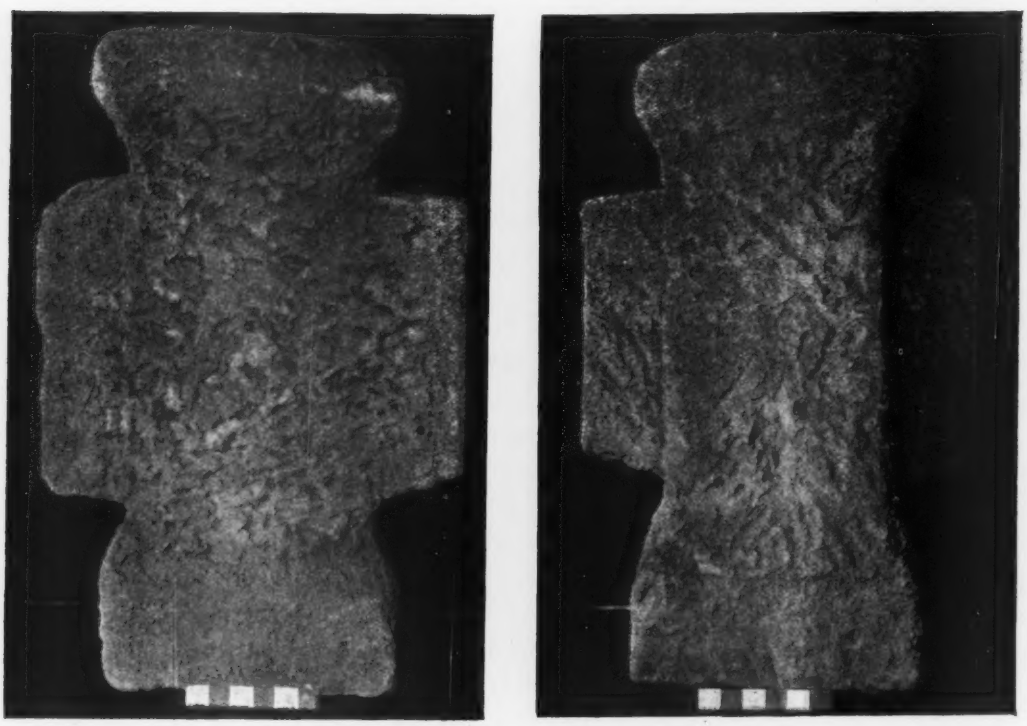


Fig. 2. Unfinished winged altar (front and back views) found in *Insula* V.

pond. But the difference in level would hardly permit of this having extended over *Insula* VI., and the irregularity in the depth of deposit there points rather to its having been removed as thick mud from the pond in question and spread upon the higher ground that bordered it. The trenching of this deposit took up so much more time than had been reckoned for that the further excavations southward had to be postponed to another season.

The comparatively few pits found in *Insulæ* V. and VI. did not yield many objects of importance. From those in *Insula* V. came the large *pelvis* or mortar exhibited, a curious little object carved in chalk, and several of the better specimens of glass; also a quantity of plum and cherry stones.

From the trenches in *Insula* V. came also an unfinished example of a winged altar (fig. 2), and another unfinished stone figure of a couchant lion (fig. 3). The latter was probably intended for the gable of some important building. The winged altar is of considerable interest, not only on account of its unusual character, but because the unfinished condition of both it and the lion shows that such objects were carved at *Calleva* from blocks of stone brought into the town in the rough. Mr. Fox thinks that the wings of the altar are constructional, to enable the altar to be built in to and form part of some architectural composition.

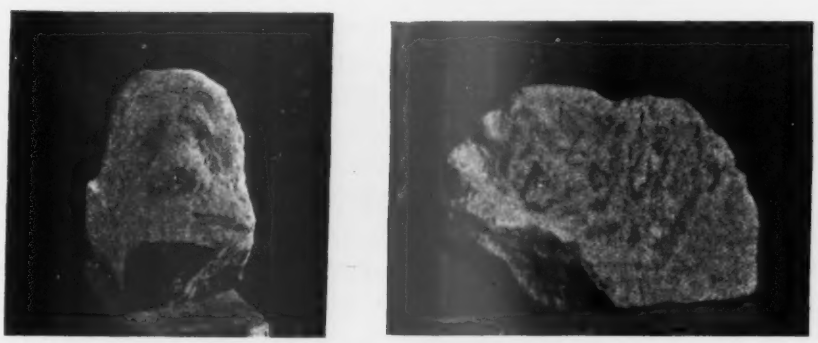


Fig. 3. Front and side views of an unfinished image of a couchant lion found in *Insula* V.

The casual finds of objects in bronze, iron, and bone do not call for any special notice, but the glass, though fragmentary, is noteworthy for the number of colours represented as well as for the rarity of some of the fragments themselves. Among them is a large piece of another bowl of the beautiful sapphire blue mottled glass, like that of which all the fragments were recovered in 1895, as well as nearly the whole of a flanged bowl of clear glass, of similar form to bowls hitherto found only in pewter and pottery.

A short length of fine gold chain, part of a figure of Venus in white clay, portions of some large trays of Kimmeridge shale, and a fragment of a small white marble statuette were among the more miscellaneous objects.

The pottery is not so well represented as regards quantity as in some former

years, but a number of interesting vessels have been recovered, and in quality some of the fragments are of quite special character, especially those belonging to red-ware vases with decorations in slip, or grooved by the action of a wheel.

The patient examination by our colleague Mr. A. H. Lyell of the contents of pits, etc. for seeds and other vegetable remains has been continued, and the results checked by Mr. Clement Reid, F.R.S., who has kindly furnished the following note upon them:

"Mr. Lyell's search for plants has again yielded a large number of seeds; but most of the plants have already been recorded. We can only add six species to the list, and all but one are wild plants of little interest. The novelties are

Ranunculus aquatilis, Linn. (Water-crowfoot.)
Stellaria uliginosa, Murr.
Ilex aquifolium, Linn. (Holly leaves.)
Anethum graveolens, Linn. (Dill-seed.)
Cnicus palustris, Hoffm. (Thistle.)
Alisma plantago, Linn. (Water-plantain.)

Four out of the above six plants are aquatic species, which suggests the close proximity of a pond.

Attention was drawn last year to a peculiar seed allied to parsnip, which could not be satisfactorily identified. It has now been discovered that this seed, which occurs not uncommonly, and is generally associated with coriander, belongs to the dill. Dill-seed, like maw-seed (opium-poppy) and coriander, is still much used as a condiment."

Mr. E. T. Newton, F.R.S., has also been good enough to examine, as before, the mammalian and other bones found in the course of the season's work, and has favoured us with the following report:

"As in previous years a large number of bones have been exhumed during the excavations, most of them belonging to the common forms which have already been recorded, as will be seen from the list appended. Among these, however, there are some which call for special notice.

Human Remains.—An entire human skeleton was found in one corner of a room (17 in House No. 1, *Insula* VI.), and the position of the bones and their proximity to the walls makes it almost certain that the body was buried in the

room. It is well nigh impossible that the excavations for the foundations of the two walls forming the corner of the room should have just escaped touching the skeleton, if it had been there when the walls were built. But whether the burial took place when the room was entire, or after it had become a ruin, there is no evidence to show. These human remains await a detailed examination; but in the meantime it may not be without interest to note that they belonged to a fully adult person with well-worn teeth. The skull is broad (*brachycephalic*) and the shin bones (*tibiæ*) are flattened (*platycnemic*).

Portions of the skull and arm bones of a child about 12 to 14 years of age were also met with in a tub-lined well in *Insula* VI.

Cats.—The remains of cats have been found on several occasions during the explorations at Silchester;[a] but, as the Romans were thought not to have known the domestic cat,[b] these remains seem to have been regarded as of post-Roman date. Some of these feline remains were, however, found in certain of the pits which were examined, and at such a depth from the surface as makes it very unlikely that they were other than Roman.

During the present year (1905) cats' bones have again been found; and these, together with much Roman pottery, were met with at some depth from the surface in Pit 2, in *Insula* V., making it in the highest degree probable that they are of Roman age. It may be further stated that, like the feline remains referred to in the earlier reports, these bones cannot be distingished from similar parts of our modern domestic cat.

Dogs.—Many skulls and bones of dogs have been found, and indicate several different kinds similar to those mentioned in earlier reports; like them they differ not only in size, but also in their proportions. The large number of canine remains from Silchester, now stored in the Reading Museum, would be of great value to anyone working out the different varieties of dogs known to the Romans.

Oxen.—A remarkable deposit of ox bones, or rather of ox jaws, has been unearthed this year, the nature of which has yet to be explained. This deposit was met with in four adjoining rooms, 7, 8, 9, 10, in Block I. *Insula* VI. when the trenches were made along each side of the walls, and it was present over the whole of these rooms and extended outside the walls for about 4 feet to the south, and eastwards for about 20 feet to the wall of the adjoining house. The deposit, at one place where it was measured, was about 14 inches thick, and occurred at a

[a] See reports for the years 1891 and 1899, *Archaeologia*, liii. 287, and lvii. 111.

[b] See Rolleston, "On the Domestic Cat," *Scientific Papers*, etc. 1882, ii. 503.

similar depth from the present surface of the ground; this may be taken as the approximate condition over the area of the four rooms, but there was no indication of the floor-level. The fact that this deposit contained little else besides ox bones had already been noticed by Mr. Arthur H. Lyell and Mr. Mill Stephenson; and when I visited the excavations in August a portion of this deposit (about 3 or 4 feet square) had been uncovered, so that it might be dug out in my presence. The result was very striking, for scarcely any bones but the lower jaws of small oxen were turned out, and these in such numbers as practically to constitute the mass of the deposit. A few portions of *scapulæ* were noticed, but no other parts of oxen. One or two bones of horse, sheep, pig, and dog were found. No fewer than 71 *rami* were counted, dug out in my presence from this small area, which was little more than a square yard of the deposit and about 14 inches thick.[a]

Upon close examination we found that in a few cases bones could be traced passing beneath the walls; but on the whole the base of the walls corresponded with the bottom of the deposit of bones. From this we conclude that these bones were in place when the foundations of the walls were laid, and that the deposit had been cut through in order to lay the foundations on the ground which underlies the deposit of bones; but in a few instances some of the bones were overlaid by the foundations of the walls. It seems pretty clear, therefore, that there was an accumulation of ox jaws at this place when the walls were built, that is at some time during the Roman occupation of Britain. The deposit is not necessarily pre-Roman; but it seems probable that it was of considerable antiquity when the foundations of these walls were laid, otherwise such an accumulation would scarcely have been allowed to remain as the floor of a room. Fragments of Roman pottery, etc. were found among the bones, and point to the deposit being of early Roman date; these include Samian ware, also an iron finger ring with a paste gem, and some odd fragments of bronze.

It is difficult to account for this accumulation of lower jaws (with a few *scapulæ*), and practically of no other parts of the skeleton, unless they were brought together for some particular use, perhaps for purposes of manufacture. The deposit can hardly be a kitchen midden. The thinner parts of the jaws and of the *scapulæ* may have been used for making bone buttons (some such *scapulæ*

[a] My Lyell has calculated that if the total area covered by the jawbones averaged 50 feet by 25 feet (= 1,250 square feet), and 9 square feet yielded seventy jaws representing thirty-five oxen; then 1,250 ÷ 9 = 139, and 139 × 35 = 4,865 oxen. Allowing for a deduction of forty per cent. for an average thickness, this gives a possible total of 2,520 oxen represented by this deposit of jawbones.

may be seen in the Reading Museum), and if so this deposit would be the refuse heap of such a manufactory. The greater part of a *scapula* could be utilised for such a purpose, while a large part of a lower jaw would be unsuitable; hence, in such a refuse heap, the parts of the lower jaws containing the teeth would be likely to predominate, while the small parts of the *scapulæ* unused would not attract attention. I am not aware that any of the fragments found in this deposit gave indications of having been used for such a purpose."

LIST OF ANIMALS EXHUMED DURING EXCAVATIONS OF 1905.

Mammals.	*Birds.*
Man.	Rook or Crow.
Dog.	Fowl.
Cat.	Pheasant.
Horse.	Wild Duck.
Ox.	Widgeon.
Sheep.	Goose.
Red Deer.	Crane.
Roebuck.	
Pig.	*Fish.*
	Gudgeon.

Mr. J. C. Challenor Smith, F.S.A., has also been good enough to furnish the following note on the discovery of a section of one of the Roman roads that led from Silchester:

"Henry Maclauchlan in his Survey of Silchester published in *The Archæological Journal* for 1851[a] mentions the discovery of fragmentary remains in two gardens and a meadow on the west side of the present modern road at Latchmere Green, two miles south of the city. The spot where these remains were found lies on the presumed line of the Roman road from Silchester to Winchester. In order to follow up the clue afforded by Mr. Maclauchlan's discovery, a trench was cut during the winter in the garden of one William Ham, which is adjacent to the modern road at a point where a small brook separates the parishes of Bramley and Pamber. At a depth of between 5 and 6 feet the road surface was found. The road was 20 feet in width, sloped downwards from the middle to the sides,

[a] Vol. viii. 227-246.

and was formed of flints set in a bed of blue clay 1 foot in depth, which in turn rested on a gravel substratum. Its eastward edge is 88 feet 6 inches from the middle of the modern highway. A section of the soil taken over the crown of the road showed 1 foot of dark mould, and beneath that 3 feet of yellow clay strongly impregnated with iron, probably the deposit of many centuries from the adjacent brook. The site of this road falls upon the line indicated in the Ordnance Survey as conjecturally that of the old road from Silchester to Winchester. During the work several fragments of coarse pottery were found."

In conclusion, thanks are due to our colleague Mr. J. A. B. Karslake and to Mr. J. C. Challenor Smith for the loan of photographs and slides, and to Mr. R. Garraway Rice for a difficult photograph of a well in *Insula* V. We are also greatly indebted to Mr. Clement Reid, Mr. E. T. Newton, and Mr. J. C. Challenor Smith for their kind and valuable co-operation, and for the notes contributed by them.

The accompanying block plan (fig. 4) shows the progress made in the excavation of the site down to the end of 1905.

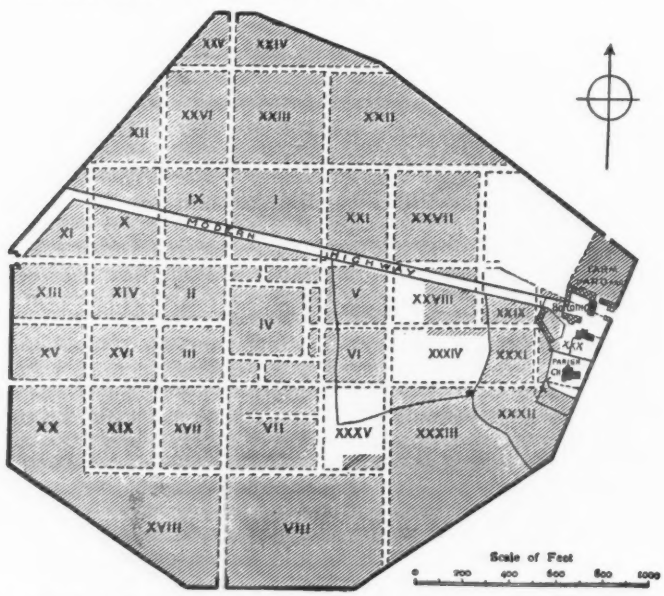


Fig. 4 Block plan of the Roman town of Silchester, showing portions excavated down to the end of 1905.

X.—*Recent Discoveries in connexion with Roman London.* *By* PHILIP NORMAN, *Esq.*, *Treasurer, and* FRANCIS W. READER, *Esq.*

Read 21st and 28th June, 1906.

SHAFT OPPOSITE CARPENTERS' HALL.

EARLY in January, 1905, the street called London Wall was opened by the Post Office authorities for the purpose of laying telephone mains. Operations were begun at Moorgate Street and were carried in an easterly direction, a deep trench being dug in the middle of the roadway. The excavations had extended past Salisbury House as far as Circus Place, when it was noticed that among the *débris* thrown at the side of the road were quantities of ragstone and Roman tile, showing clearly that the city wall was being cut into.

It will be remembered that this is the site once occupied by Bethlehem Hospital, at the back of which the City wall formed a screen, dividing it from the northern side of London Wall Street. The fact has been recorded by J. T. Smith in his *Ancient Topography of London*, wherein are two excellent illustrations showing the appearance of the wall at this spot in 1812 and 1814. Smith states that the wall then remained to a length of 714 feet, extending from opposite the north end of Winchester Street to near the site of Moorgate. Its total height above the pavement level was 16 feet, of which the lower half was cased rubble, the upper portion being a brick wall surmounted by battlements and coped with stone. A similar piece of wall is still to be seen a little to the west of Moorgate Street, in the old churchyard of St. Alphage, which was closed by Act of Parliament in 1853.[a] In this fragment the brick battlements and some

[a] The present church of St. Alphage, on the opposite side of the way, is now threatened with destruction. It has special interest from the fact that the lower stage of the tower is medieval, having formed part of the chapel of Elsing 'Spital. In the *Architectural Review* for March, 1907, there is a note on it by Mr. Norman with measured drawings.

of the coping stones yet exist, although it is difficult to recognize them, as they have been built up into the side of a modern warehouse. Bethlehem Hospital was demolished in 1817, and about that time the portion of the wall above ground was also destroyed, but the Roman foundations beneath the street level were left undisturbed, the pavement being formed over them. At a recent rebuilding of the houses on the northern side the road was widened and carried further to the north, leaving the lower portion of the wall under the roadway.

To return to the excavations of last year. It was ascertained that the trench for the telephone mains was being cut right through the core of the lower portion of the wall, the top of which was met with at a few feet from the surface of the roadway. The trench was 2 feet 6 inches wide and 8 feet 6 inches in depth, and the task of cutting through the compact Roman masonry was one of great difficulty, and was as unexpected as it was unwelcome to the contractors. At intervals manholes were formed, one of these being sunk at a little distance east of Moorgate Street and just opposite to No. 57, London Wall. Its width was 6 feet 3 inches, passing through the centre of the wall neither face of which was cut into, and although it extended to a depth of 15 feet 3 inches, the base of the wall was not reached. However, from indications seen in digging at the side, for the purpose of connecting the wires to the houses, it appeared that the foundation at this point was not more than about 1 foot lower, or 16 feet from the surface. The cement floor having already been laid it was not possible more nearly to determine this point.

As the telephone mains were to be laid to Bishopsgate, this appeared to be a good opportunity for observing how the Roman wall had been constructed across the stream, known later in its attenuated condition as the Walbrook, the point of juncture being between Circus Place and the church of All Hallows. We hoped that while the roadway was up the excavation might have been carried a little further and extended along the face of the wall, by which means a complete section of the bed of the stream might have been shown. The matter was referred to the Post Office authorities, and permission was readily obtained to do anything that would not hinder the work of laying the mains, on the understanding that the expense incurred should be borne by the Society of Antiquaries. Instructions were accordingly given for the furtherance of the investigation, in which the Post Office officials from the first evinced a very sympathetic interest. This is worthy of record, as in former years authorities in the City of London have been by no means always favourable to inquiries of the kind we had undertaken.

During the time that elapsed while the necessary arrangements were being

made, the work had progressed considerably further down the street, and to open a section across the width of the stream was not found to be practicable. We therefore determined that the best thing to be done was to sink a shaft as nearly as possible in the middle of the bed of the stream, running down the outer face of the wall. The point selected, opposite Carpenters' Hall at the corner of Throgmorton Avenue, was the nearest one available to the middle of the stream, as far as this could be calculated by the position and levels of the culverts recorded by Sir

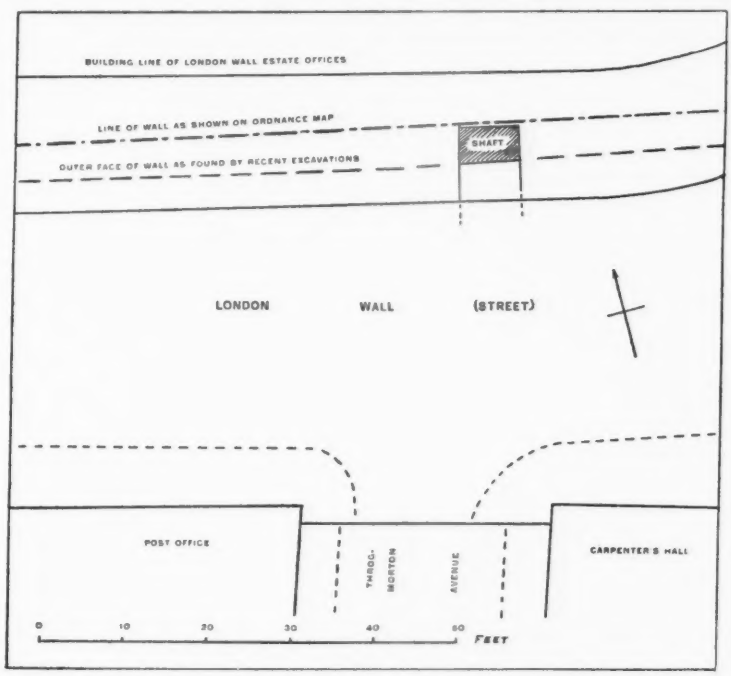


Fig. 1. Plan showing position of shaft in London Wall.

William Tite and Mr. Roach Smith, and indications seen in excavating for the adjoining offices of the London Wall Estate Company in 1902.

The trench for the telephone mains had disclosed the fact that the wall only followed the precise line of the roadway until nearing Throgmorton Avenue, when it deflected towards the north side of All Hallows Church, and consequently ran nearer the northern footway. (See plan, fig. 1.) From this point the work of the contractors made rapid progress. No longer hampered by the obstruction of the wall, their trench was carried with ease through the soft material just

within it. Any excavation undertaken on our behalf had therefore to be finished

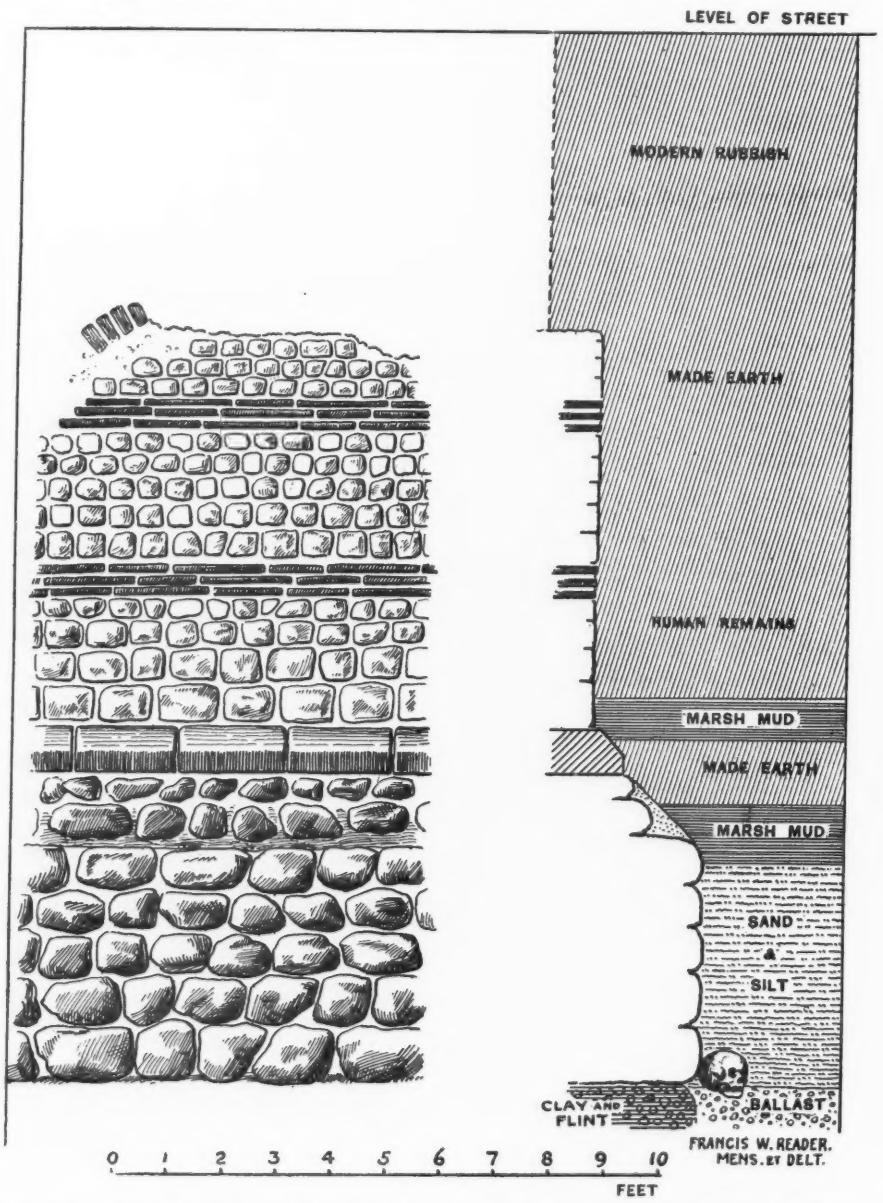


Fig. 2. Elevation of wall and section of shaft in the Walbrook Bed, London Wall (Street), dug by the Society of Antiquaries, 1905.

with all possible speed, as the authorities only allowed a certain length of the

roadway to be opened at once, that which was finished being filled in as soon as a fresh portion was begun.

An opening, the dimensions of which were 8 feet 6 inches by 7 feet, was made in the road adjoining the footpath, it being thought probable that there would be room enough in the roadway to sink down the outer face of the wall without disturbing much of the pavement. We found, however, on reaching a depth of 5 feet 3 inches, that about 4 feet of the thickness of the wall extended under the pavement; it was therefore necessary to carry the excavation considerably further to the north, and as near to the building line of the London Wall Estate Offices as was considered advisable.

The perfect condition of the masonry led to the hope that this point had not been previously disturbed by the various operations that have from time to time been carried out for sewerage and other purposes in the neighbourhood. In fact, the Roman work at this level was intact except quite at the eastern end, where a portion for about 2 feet had been broken away and again repaired, part of a brick arch being built on to it; this probably having helped to form the foundation of the houses built after Bethlehem Hospital was pulled down.

At the top, the wall consisted of several layers of ragstone, beneath which, at a depth of 6 feet 8 inches, occurred a bonding course of three tiles, the tiles being of the same character as those that have been found at all parts of the wall where it has been examined. They are of red clay, fine and close in texture (here and there a yellow one occurring), and they usually measure about 17½ inches by rather less than 12 inches, varying from 1½ inch to 2 inches in thickness. The total depth of this course of three tiles was 8 inches.

Beneath this came five courses of carefully squared ragstones, averaging in size 6 inches by 4 inches, imbedded in mortar, and making together a depth of 2 feet 3 inches. Under these was another bonding course of three tiles as above, which was followed by a further series of ragstones of four courses, the stones being of larger size than those above, the top course measuring about 7 inches by 5 inches. The succeeding courses gradually increased in size, the lowest being large blocks about 12 inches by 9 inches. These rested on the red sandstone plinth which was found at a depth of 12 feet 7 inches below the present street level.

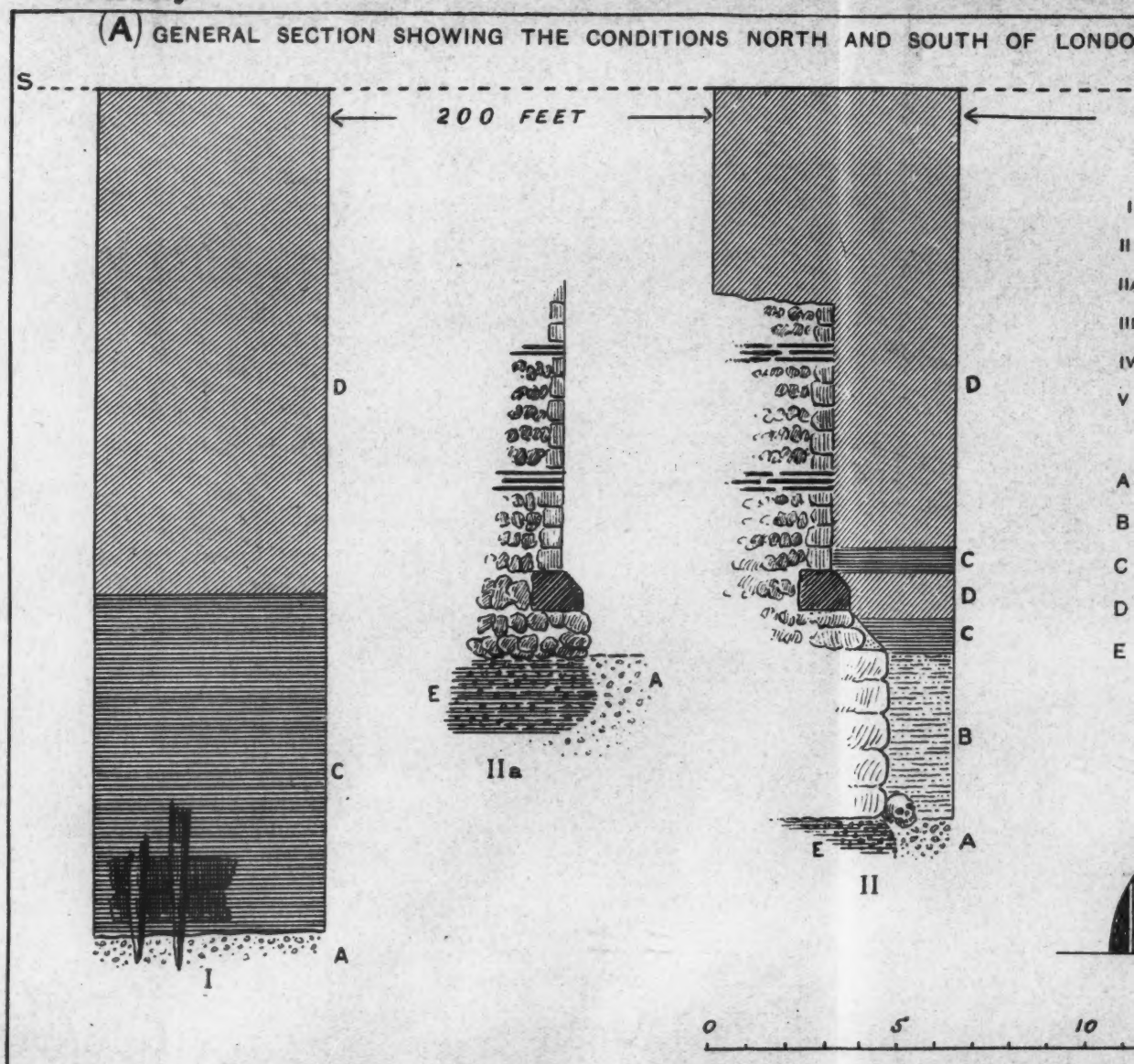
The plinth is a feature invariably found on the exterior face of the wall, and is formed from blocks of ferruginous sandstone, for the most part about 1 foot to 2 feet 6 inches in length, 8½ inches high, and 1 foot in thickness. It is boldly chamfered, and usually rests on a few courses of rough ragstone, projecting

somewhat beyond it, with a final footing of clay and flint, in a trench cut in the original surface about 2 to 3 feet deep. The depth of this lowest layer of ragstone is very variable, and at one point, which will be described later, it is altogether missing, the plinth stones resting at the level of the top of the ballast, with nothing but the puddled clay and flint beneath. This is exceptional, as there is usually found from 1 foot to 3 feet of ragstone between the plinth and the clay and flint. It seems that the intention of the builders of the wall was to keep the line of the plinth more or less at one unbroken level, and when any irregularity of the surface was met with, to make up the difference with a mass of unshaped ragstone imbedded in mortar.

In a general way the plinth marks the base of the Roman wall of London, and on its discovery in the shaft at this level it was at first thought that we could not have hit upon the bed of the stream, and that the original surface would soon be reached. However, a new feature presented itself. The ragstones beneath were next disclosed, but they were found to splay rapidly outwards, making, together with the set-off of the plinth, an abutment from the face of the wall of 2 feet, the overlapping of the stones being filled in with mortar. The third course below the plinth was of large roughly shaped stones, varying from 1 to 2 feet in length, and projecting 10 inches beyond the smaller stones above. A further four courses of these large stones followed, their faces being in the same plane, and forming a solid substructure 5 feet 8 inches below the bottom of the plinth, unlike anything that has been observed elsewhere on the line of the wall.

At this depth digging became very difficult, owing to the confined space caused by the projection of the large substructure, but it was satisfactorily determined that the base had been reached, and under all were the flints and clay, 19 feet below the present ground surface. The lowest depth of the stream at this point is about 22 feet, so that the position of the shaft would appear to be somewhat to the west of the middle. A more easterly position would have been selected, but it was not found to be practicable, owing to the proximity of the building line, which converges on the line of the wall in this direction.

One of the most important objects of this excavation was to ascertain the nature of the soil in the bed of the stream at various levels, and this object was completely accomplished. To arrive at definite results, it was of course necessary that the accumulation should not have been interfered with after it was deposited. In this respect we were fortunate, for after passing through the superficial layer of made earth for about 10 feet, and having to evade mains of various descriptions, the rest of the soil was found to have been wholly intact.



THE WATFORD ENGRAVING CO

SECTIONS SHOWING CONDITIONS

Published by the Society of A

IDON WALL IN WALBROOK BED.

PRESENT SURFACE LEVEL. N

150 FEET

I SITE OF PILE STRUCTURES. GEN. PITT-RIVERS
II WALL REVEALED BY ANTIQUARIES' SHAFT.
IIA AVERAGE WALL INSERTED FOR COMPARISON.
III CULVERT, ROACH SMITH.
IV CULVERT, SIR WM. TITE.
V PILE STRUCTURES LONDON WALL ESTATE OFFICES

REFERENCES TO SOILS.

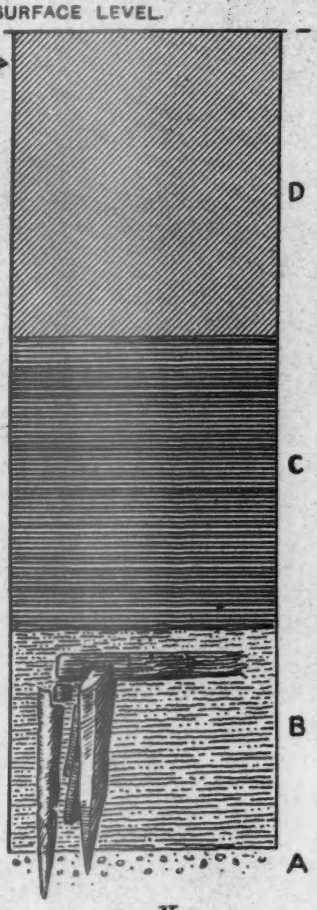
A BALLAST
B RIVER SILT
C MARSH MUD AND PEAT
D MADE EARTH AND MODERN RUBBISH
E CLAY AND FLINTS



IV



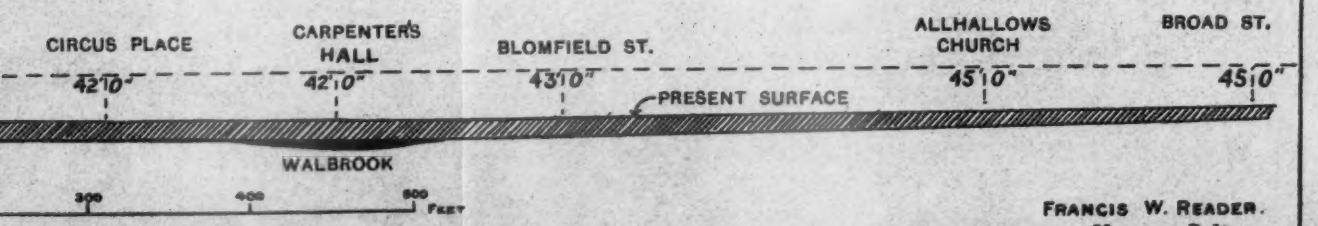
III



V

0 20 FEET

HE DISTRICT OF MOORFIELDS.



FRANCIS W. READER.
Mens. et Delt

ONS OF ORIGINAL WALBROOK BED.

y of Antiquaries of London 1906

The upper earth contained several fragments of medieval and Roman pottery in irregular positions, the ground having been much disturbed from time to time for the laying of mains; probably also a good deal of the upper surface had been brought from other parts for the artificial raising of the level, as is recorded of this district by Stow and others.[a] At a depth of 10 feet 6 inches portions of two human skulls and several human and other bones were found. They were mixed together and in a fragmentary condition, so it seemed likely that they had been disturbed or brought from elsewhere. From this point to the bottom of the shaft the soil appeared to have been left alone since it had accumulated in Roman times, Roman pottery occurring without any addition of later relics. The total number of objects found was rather scanty, but this is what might have been expected, as the bulk of soil removed was limited in amount, owing to the projection of the base of the wall into the lower part of the shaft.

Made earth continued to a depth of 12 feet, when a band of black soil occurred about 9 inches in thickness; beneath this came 1 foot 3 inches more of made earth, followed by another band of about a foot of black soil similar to that mentioned above. The position of these two bands of black earth agrees approximately with the level of the peat deposit found a little to the north, on the site of the "London Wall Estate Offices."[b] (See Plate XXII. fig. v.) The bands, however, were composed of soil which was not of the same peaty character as that on the adjoining site, but seemed to be of the nature of earth stained by marsh conditions rather than the marsh mud itself. The explanation of this may be that the accumulation largely consists of rubbish thrown from the walls, or that the Romans in later times raised the ground here in order to have a passage round the base of the wall corresponding to the bank found in other parts of the line. In the black bands and the earth between them were oyster shells, animal bones, and fragments of Roman pottery.

Beneath the lower band of black earth came a water-laid deposit which corresponded exactly with the filling described in the adjacent portion of the stream to the north, referred to in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. lx. as sand and silt. This continued for about 3 feet 4 inches, and underlying it was 1 foot

[a] Stow's *Survey of London*, 1598, p. 13 (Thoms's edition is referred to throughout this paper) Maitland's *History of London* (1739), 506.

[b] *Archæological Journal*, lx. 181.

of fine sand covering the top of the ballast which formed the base of the stream.

The undisturbed soils above described were continued right against the face of the wall, and had clearly been carried up to it, filling the interstices between the stones, from which it is evident that the wall had been built across the stream previous to the silting up of its bed. In consequence of the fact that it obstructed the natural course of the water, the wall was doubtless responsible for this deposit, which in course of time must have accumulated against it, as conjectured from the indications previously observed on the adjoining site of the pile structures.

The only relics in this lower portion of the shaft were a few fragments of Romano-British pottery, one piece of red "Samian" ware, several oyster shells, and two human skulls resting right on the bottom, in the sand overlying the ballast. One of these had been exposed by the builders of the wall in digging their trench for the clay and flint. It was resting against the lowest course of ragstone, and, owing to the not too gentle efforts of the workmen to dislodge it, the lower portion was broken to fragments, when the cranium was found to be firmly imbedded in the mortar. The second skull rested loosely in the sand, and was got out in an almost perfect condition.

This occurrence of human skulls at the bottom of the Walbrook, coupled with the scarcity of other bones, is a fact which it is difficult to account for. Record has been kept of a considerable number, while many more appear to have been found but disregarded. Just south of the wall, Colonel Lane-Fox (afterwards General Pitt-Rivers) mentions the discovery of seventeen skulls, and only three other human bones. On the site of the London Wall Estate Office large numbers were found, of which comparatively few have been preserved. Of these, thirteen are in the Guildhall Museum, and three in the possession of Mr. Kennard. Mr. Roach Smith mentions that an immense number came to light during sewerage operations in Blomfield Street. On the removal of Old Moorfields Chapel six were known to have been found, while recently we have been informed by Mr. Lodge, who had charge of the erection of Finsbury House, that upwards of 100 were discovered on that site at the bottom of the stream filling, while other bones were almost wholly absent. No effort was made to preserve these.

Only the face of the wall was disclosed by the operations we have been describing. It was not cut into so as to show its internal structure. The line of the wall at this point was, however, found to be 5 feet south of that marked on the ordnance map.

The evidence afforded by the excavation of the shaft can best be judged by

bringing it into line with the various discoveries and conditions recorded in the neighbourhood. These are shown together in diagrammatic form on the general section (Plate XXII.), and include:

I. The site of the pile structures found in the bed of the stream 200 feet south of the wall by General Pitt-Rivers in 1866.[a] Here the peat deposit formed the lowest portion of the stream filling and rested on the ballast.

II. The foundation of the wall and the bed of the stream as disclosed by the digging of the present shaft.

IIA. The normal character of the foundation of the wall here inserted for comparison.

III. The culvert recorded by Mr. Roach Smith,[b] which was found in London Wall, opposite Finsbury Chambers, in 1841.

IV. The culvert recorded by Sir William Tite,[c] found eastward of Carpenters' Hall during sewerage operations in 1837. We have recently discovered another account of this culvert in "A Description of the Sewers of the City of London and Liberties," drawn up by Richard Kelsey, surveyor, and William Santle, inspector, 1840. As this account, which is in manuscript, contains some additional information, and does not appear to have been before published, we have included it in our Appendix. It was to the observations of Mr. Kelsey that Sir William Tite was indebted for many of his valuable facts regarding the conditions of the soil of London.

V. Section of the filling of the stream at the site of the pile structures, 100 to 150 feet north of the wall, described by Mr. F. W. Reader in vol. lx. of the *Archæological Journal*.

From what has been discovered of the filling of the stream north and south of the culverts, it is now clear that they were formed directly in the bed of the stream, and at or near its base, at the time of the construction of the wall, for the purpose of carrying the water through it. All accounts of the culverts are emphatic in describing them as moss-grown and choked with rushes, which proves that they were not subterranean sewers, but channels conveying surface water. It will be seen that the unusual substructure revealed by the digging of the shaft almost, if not quite, agrees with the level of the culvert of Sir William Tite, which would conveniently have passed through the sub-

[a] *Anthropological Review*, v. 71.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xxix, 152, plate xvii. fig. 7.

[c] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange* (1848), xxxi.

structure without breaking the line of the plinth. Our shaft and this culvert may be taken as marking points west and east of the middle of the stream, its middle being approximately indicated by the culvert of Mr. Roach Smith.

We may assume that the ragstone sub-structure would be continued to an even greater depth in the middle of the stream so as to bring it to the base of the deeper culvert, or it may be, as suggested by Mr. Noble, an engineer of the General Post Office, that the bed of the stream had been artificially deepened, and this culvert placed at a slightly lower level in order to increase the velocity of the stream and carry off the water more quickly, thus preventing or lessening the deposit of soil that would be the probable result of the obstruction caused by the wall. Should this be so, it might account for the great length of this lower culvert, which, as Mr. Roach Smith records, extended in a southerly direction for 60 yards, while that on the higher level terminated at 14 feet south of the wall.

Iron bars had been placed at the openings of these culverts to prevent the passages from becoming choked, and they still remained in their original positions. Five were found in the deeper one, while only three were in that at the higher level.

It is probable that there were more than these two recorded culverts in the original scheme, as the width of the bed of the stream at this point is about 150 feet or more. Further light, however, may yet be thrown on the matter, as from Kelsey's description the culvert at the higher level still exists, having been included in the sewer with which its position was coincident,[a] and in all likelihood if others existed they have not been totally destroyed.

From the conditions attending the discovery of these culverts it appears that the passage of the water presented a problem of some difficulty, or that proper precautions for keeping the openings free were neglected. After a time they became blocked, and by the filling up of the bed of the stream ultimately buried. In consequence the water accumulated and spread in a broad expanse outside or along the north of the wall.

Within the City this check in the flow of the stream must have been attended with serious consequences. The inhabitants had crowded thickly on both its sides, which they had embanked and built upon, as is shown by the position of pavements that have come to light. Not only were the banks occupied, but the bed itself was intersected by a network of dwellings built on piles, and these remains are proved to have been distinctly Roman. With the volume of water

[a] Appendix I.

reduced, the refuse from this numerous population would cease to be carried away, and, together with the peat now rapidly forming in the sluggish water which infiltrated beneath the wall, would fill up the natural bed of the stream, and as in consequence it became shallower, the water would spread, forming an extensive quagmire through the City.

That this was at length the state of things has been amply shown by excavations along the line of the ancient stream. General Pitt-Rivers found the peat deposit south of the wall to be 9 feet in thickness, resting on the river base and surrounding the remains of the pile structures, with kitchen middens of oyster and mussel shells, animal bones, etc. at various heights, showing gradual accumulation at successive stages of the growth of the peat. Black boggy earth has been found extending for a considerable width in the north part of the City adjoining the wall, and narrowing as it approaches the Bank of England, whence to the Thames it appears to fall into the original channel, the whole line being the most productive part of the City in Roman remains.

The changes brought about in the portion of the stream north of the wall, and the adjoining district known to us as Moorfields, were equally important. For many hundred years it must have been either in a swampy condition or covered with water. The best known medieval account is that of Fitz-Stephen,[a] who in the time of Henry II. described it as a great marsh, or sheet of water, washing the walls of the City on the north side, which when it was frozen over was resorted to by the citizens for sports on the ice. Owing to the raising of the level, the gradual shrinkage of the springs, and probably to much of the water being drawn off by the construction of the City ditch in the reign of King John, its condition had gradually changed by the sixteenth century. Stow,[b] after enumerating various efforts to reclaim it, says: "By these degrees was this fen or moor at length made main and hard ground, which before being overgrown with flags, sedges and rushes, served to no use." It was not, however, until the mayoralty of Sir Leonard Halliday[c] in 1605 that the work of drainage was thoroughly completed, Moorfields being then laid out as a pleasure garden.

The swamp had undoubtedly existed in later Roman times, as has been proved by discoveries made in the accumulation of marsh mud. Many have hence been led to infer that it must always have been there, and in even greater proportions during a more remote period. It was perhaps natural therefore that

[a] *Descriptio nobilissimæ civitatis Londoniæ.* [b] Stow's *Survey of London*, 1598.

[c] Stow's *Chronicle*, edited by E. Howes, 1615. This was originally published as Stow's *Annales* in 1580.

they should have regarded the culverts as being evidence of the efforts of the Romans to drain this marshy ground. Thus, forming his opinion on insufficient evidence, Mr. Roach Smith says: "The vast moor and marsh lands on the north side of Londinium were unquestionably, by draining and embanking, rendered in part suitable for buildings, particularly the enclosed portion; that beyond the wall, probably, retained until the last century much of its original character."[a] And he goes on to mention the existence of the culvert (previously recorded by him in *Archaeologia*) as a proof of early marsh conditions. Even the discovery of sepulchral urns in the gravel underlying the marsh deposit failed to impress Roach Smith with their significance, and to account for their presence under the swamp he conjectures that "portions seem to have been partly drained or filled in by the Romans."[b]

We are fortunate in having now before us a mass of evidence culminating in that procured from the Antiquaries' shaft in London Wall, which clearly shows that the marsh did not exist in the earlier days of the Roman occupation. This fact was indeed pointed out by Sir William Tite so far back as 1848.[c] But the old idea that the marsh existed from the first, seems to have taken so strong a hold on the imagination of those who have undertaken the record of Roman London, that the real conditions have generally been overlooked, and the facts consistently obscured.

The surface of London in early Roman times was that represented by the top of the old Thames gravel, in which occur patches of clay and brick earth. The deposit of marsh mud was a subsequent accumulation, formed partly before the Romans left us and in part later. Originally the district of Moorfields was a hollow, cut out of the ridge of gravel by the Walbrook and its tributaries in working their way towards the Thames at Dowgate. The surface of the more elevated ground forming the sides of this hollow has been noticed on the north side of Finsbury Square, in Little Moorfields, the west side of Moorgate Street, by All Hallows on the Wall, and the ground adjoining Old Broad Street. On the west side the elevation appears to have been rather more than on the east, the original surface rising to within 4 or 5 feet of the present level in the neighbourhood of Little Moorfields, while on the Broad Street side a depth of about 12 feet of accumulated soil has to be penetrated before the undisturbed

[a] *Archæological Journal*, i. 111.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xxix. 153.

[c] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xxix.

surface is reached, the present difference of level of these two points being 2 feet, as shown on the Ordnance Map. In spite of all the artificial raising of the surface in recent times the general contour of this depression is still slightly maintained, as shown on Plate XXII. Section B.

Springs of clear water issued from the gravel of the higher ground to the north, beginning about the district of Hoxton, and these formed the rivulets which fed the main stream. According to Sir William Tite, five of these rivulets in the neighbourhood of Finsbury are, or were when he wrote, still in existence as sewers. We have recently discovered what appears to be one at New Broad Street, to which we shall refer later. These rivulets, sheltered by lines of willows, wound their way among verdant gravelly knolls, on which grew numerous oaks, firs, elders, hazels, etc. Nor were such conditions confined to the district of Moorfields, but they extended into that portion of London which was subsequently enclosed within the walls.

Here on the surface of the gravel the early Romano-British settlers lived on a dry and health-giving soil, well drained by the Walbrook, the main channel of which was of considerable size, being about 250 feet wide near its outfall into the Thames.[a] On its banks many remains of houses and baths have been found, while plentifully around them grew trees of considerable size, as shown, among the rest, by recent discoveries in the neighbourhood of Cannon Street.

Every indication of the soil helps to prove that, as far as climate and natural features could affect it, the earlier Roman town was both healthy and agreeable. We may even surmise that it was in part these conditions which tempted many of the inhabitants to remain and await the fury of the hordes of Boadicea, rather than seek safety in flight, when London was abandoned by Suetonius.[b]

Above the original ground level the soil has risen extensively, and much of this accumulation is proved to have taken place while the Romans were still here. At no part of the City has the deposit been so great as in the channel of the Walbrook, the bottom of its bed being 22 feet from the present surface near the wall, and falling as low as 35 feet at the Bank of England, while the natural ground at the sides of the stream is covered to a height varying from 14 to 18 feet. The accumulation in most parts of the City is not more than 9 to 12 feet; at Bishopsgate the original Roman level is only 8 feet beneath the present surface. Much of this accumulation is black boggy earth, containing

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xxvii.

[b] Tacitus, *Annales*, lib. xiv. sect. xxxiii. "Si quos imbellis sexus aut fessa ætas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt."

the remains of marsh plants, and showing clearly that a large area of the City was in a condition of swamp for a very long period, but it is equally certain that this state of things did not come about until some time after the first settlement of the Romans. Why they did not apply themselves to the task of rectifying the unsanitary conditions which gradually prevailed, rendering much of the City uninhabitable, is a problem not easy to solve. All that we can do at present is to state the evidence.

The most striking proof of the change in the nature of the stream above described, is provided by the difference of condition seen in the remains of the pile structures. These structures existed in the stream at least as far north of the wall as Broad Street railway station, and it is probable that they extended still further, but their traces would have been destroyed on the formation of the North London and Great Eastern Railways.

South of the wall remains of timber structures have been noted throughout the whole course of the Walbrook; that these remains indicated foundations of buildings was first observed and pointed out by General Pitt-Rivers. Those examined by him are expressly noted as being nothing but the pointed ends of the piles with planks resting against them, the tops all having rotted away. The points were sunk in the gravel of the bed of the stream, above which only 2 feet of the piles remained, surrounded by and overlaid with peat-growth.

It is this which forms the great feature of distinction between the remains found north and south of the wall, for to the north the piles were perfectly preserved, being 4 feet to 6 feet in length, and in some cases having the tops mortised and tenoned into a horizontal beam above, which latter frequently remained, as did many portions of the superstructures, which had been shaped and retained the nails with which they had originally been fixed. The whole of these remains outside the wall were covered to a height of 5 to 6 feet from the bottom with river silt, above this occurred the peat, the greater part of which was formed in post-Roman times.

It seems clear therefore that the wall was carried through the mass of pile structures, interspersed among which, on both sides of it, large numbers of Roman relics have been found, most of them near the base of the deposit. When the passages for the stream became clogged, the piles to the north were doubtless soon flooded and remained under water, being ultimately buried in the silt and preserved intact. South of the wall the water supply was reduced, only those portions of the pile structures being preserved which were buried by the formation of the peat. The upper parts would naturally have decayed by the constant

exposure to the atmosphere or the alternating conditions of wet and dry periods, the water percolating under the wall after it had spread over the low ground to the north.

To sum up in a few words, the excavation of the shaft has shown satisfactorily that the wall was not constructed through the marsh, but was built when the top of the gravel formed the natural surface and when the stream ran freely in its channel carrying fine particles washed from the gravel, which were deposited against the face of the wall before the accumulation of the marsh-mud with its abundant growth of peat and sedge.

During the time the shaft was being dug another manhole was formed in connection with the Post Office trench at the opening of Blomfield Street. This passed through the filling of the stream on its eastern side. Near the bottom of the filling a large brass of Vespasian was found, and within a short distance of the same spot was another, of Trajan.

It is remarkable that all the coins recorded as coming from the Walbrook bed belong to the early group ending with Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) and the Faustinæ. Several discoveries of coins, one or two of them in large numbers, have been recorded by Mr. Roach Smith, Sir William Tite, General Pitt-Rivers, and Mr. J. E. Price, besides many minor finds; but in no instance, so far as we are aware, has a coin of the later period been recorded, though they are often mentioned as occurring plentifully on the ground on either side of the stream.

As regards the Walbrook, the period marked by the coins, namely the end of the second century, seems to indicate the time when London was inwalled, the course of the stream checked, and the swampy conditions set up. When these had developed themselves the tract represented by the morass would have become unfavourable for occupation, and consequently the later coins are conspicuous by their absence. Even had a few later coins occurred in the higher filling of the Walbrook bed, the preponderating presence of the earlier group would have been very significant, but the total absence of later coins, taken in conjunction with the causes of the filling up of the stream, appears to provide better evidence of the date of the building of the City wall than the figments of legend and loose conjectures which have been so universally indulged in to prove its construction as late as the time of Constantine (A.D. 306-337), or Valentinianus I. (364-373), when Theodosius[a] was general. We would add that

[a] Of him it is said by Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxviii. c. 3): "In integrum restituit civitates et castra, multiplicibus quidem damnis afflicta, sed ad quietem temporis longi fundata."

the construction has often been referred to as late in character, but Vitruvius, who lived in the time of the Emperor Augustus, describes a mode of building not dissimilar, and the younger Pliny speaks of the walls of the theatre at Nicæa collapsing, "quia sine cæmento farcti nec testaceo opere præcincti."

Our report on the shaft dug for the Society of Antiquaries in London Wall is now finished, and we have tried to put together in concise form the inferences which, as it seems to us, can fairly be derived from this and previous excavations along the line of the Walbrook.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES OF ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

We will begin the second part of this paper by giving an account of further investigations in the line of the City wall, along which it happens that important discoveries have of late been made; and before its conclusion we shall take the opportunity of describing other ancient remains that have come to light within the confines of the City.

On the Post Office trench reaching the churchyard of All Hallows a red brick wall was revealed, the base of which was found at a depth of 8 feet, its top extending to within a few inches of the pavement, and the line of it being nearly that of the kerb. It appeared to have been the retaining wall of the earlier churchyard, many human remains being found in the space which it enclosed. On the plan of London used as one of the illustrations to Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, drawn no doubt by Joris Hoefnagel, a wall is shown enclosing a space in front of the earlier church, which probably represents the wall in question. With regard to the position of the present church, the wall is to the west of it, extending from about the western end of the churchyard, and terminating when it reaches the present structure. On the Agas map this wall is omitted; it is mentioned, however, in a parish book that the brick wall of the churchyard was pulled down on the construction of the present church in 1765.

While dealing with this subject it might be pointed out that in the Agas plan four windmills appear on the upper part of Moorfields; these are missing in Braun. Stow, when describing changes in 1549 on the north side of St. Paul's

Churchyard, says:[a] "The bones of the dead, crouched up in a charnel under the chapel, were conveyed from thence into Finsbury Field (by report of him who paid for the carriage) amounting to more than one thousand cart-loads, and there laid on a moorish ground; in short space after raised by soilage of the City upon them, to bear three windmills." Later in the Survey he tells us[b] that "the further grounds beyond Fensbury Court have been so over heightened with lay stalls of dung that now three windmills are thereon set." Until of late the memory of these windmills was preserved in the name of Windmill Street, but this is now re-named Tabernacle Street. It is much to be desired, in cases where modern requirements necessitate the obliteration of such old landmarks, that a tablet should be affixed recording the original name; in this way much interest might be added to London streets.

The trench was carried past the church under the pavement, and human bones were plentiful in the soil removed. At the east end of the church, partly under the modern wall and extending in an easterly direction for about 30 feet, was a solid piece of masonry constructed of ragstone. Its front was in advance of the City wall about 30 feet, extending partly under the pavement. It appeared to run northwards towards the City wall, but it was not uncovered far in this direction. This structure was not seen by us, but the particulars were furnished by Mr. Holmes, the engineer in charge of the works. He states that the stone of which it was built was similar to that of the City wall, but it had no courses of bonding tiles. At about the position of this discovery, a small structure is shown by Braun, but nothing appears on Agas. Along Wormwood Street the trench did not touch the wall, which here lies under the houses on the north side of the street.

On reaching Bishopsgate Street a manhole was formed on the north-west corner and near the site of the gate. At a depth of 5 feet was a mass of rubble masonry with its base extending 2 feet into the ballast, the top of which is here about 8 feet below the surface. It was an irregular mass about 6 feet 6 inches square, and varied in height from 4 to 5 feet. On its south side there were indications of a carefully built face, but this was rather difficult to determine, as so little of the wall remained above what appeared to be a rough rubble foundation. The material of which it was composed was ragstone, of irregular shape and variable size, deeply set in mortar. It contained several portions of

[a] Stow's *Survey of London*, 123.

[b] *Ibid.* 159.

Roman tile. The most noteworthy feature of this discovery was that underlying the whole mass was a puddling of flint and clay. This extended as a floor over the whole space excavated for the manhole, which was about 10 feet square.

Cutting into this mass of masonry and resting on it was a culvert built of ragstone. The opening of this was 2 feet 3 inches wide and 1 foot 9 inches high, the bottom being slightly hollowed, and the top was covered with single slabs of stone 2 feet 9 inches by 2 feet. It ran from under the house on the north-west corner, in the direction of the south-east corner of the crossing of the streets, but both ends had been previously destroyed. The remaining portion was utilized for conveying the telephone wires. At one part of the sides four thin tiles were inserted, giving a fairly sure indication of the medieval character of the sewer.

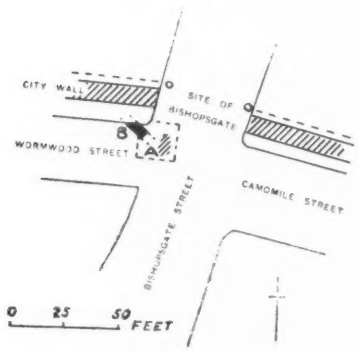


Fig. 3. Plan showing site of manhole at Bishopsgate.
A. Rubble masonry. B. Culvert.

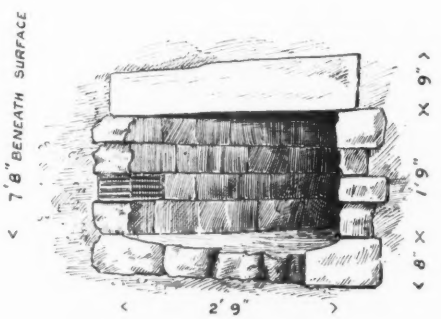


Fig. 4. Culvert, Bishopsgate.

The exact relation of the sewer to the mass of rubble concrete was not ascertained, owing to the latter being destroyed and removed before the sewer was disclosed. From the fact of the presence of the flint and clay puddling[a] beneath the concrete, there is good reason to suppose that its origin was Roman and associated with the City wall, in which connexion this feature is always found, and not otherwise. Its position on the site of Bishopsgate gives the further possibility of its being the remains of the original gate.

[a] At an excavation in Capel Court, our attention has lately been called by Mr. Davies, clerk of the works there, to a remarkable footing of puddled clay under a medieval wall composed of chalk or clunch. In this case, however, no flints were associated with it. As far as we are aware, no other instance of the kind has come to light in the City.

Mr. J. E. Price says[a] that a sewer was made in 1872 passing beneath the site of Bishopsgate, and as no obstruction was met with in the roadway it was probable that a gate was formed here in Roman times. The inspector of sewers tells us, however, that for the sewer referred to by Price the roadway was not opened, but the sewer was driven from a shaft in Wormwood Street and at the depth of 50 feet. The tunnel therefore must have passed far below the level at which any remains of the gate could possibly have been found.

Bishopsgate was the farthest point of the telephone work in an easterly direction, but excavations, begun in London Wall Street to the west of Moorgate, were carried as far as Aldermanbury. The entire line of these works was, however, laid in the soil just within the City. The wall being under the houses it was nowhere disclosed, but many broken fragments of it were found in the soil. A key (? medieval) came to light near Aldermanbury, also a fragment of Durobrivian ware with the representation of a stag, and the base of a red Samian vessel having the potter's name, AMMIUS.

THE WALL AT HOUNDSDITCH.

Whilst the works for the telephone were being completed an exceptionally fine piece of Roman wall came to light behind Nos. 58 and 60 Houndsditch. These two houses backed on to the little graveyard of St. Martin Outwich,[b] and the Salisbury public-house, which stands next to it in Camomile Street.

Forming more or less the line of division between two streets, the wall had by successive buildings become cased up on both sides, and in one part towards Houndsditch as many as three modern walls had been built against its outer face. This was a fine and interesting example of Roman masonry, and it is a matter of regret that it could not be preserved, all the more because at present, with the exception of the imperfect fragment at the Tower of London, no portion of the outer face of the wall with the plinth is open to view.

[a] *On a Bastion of London Wall*, 11.

[b] This disused graveyard is on or by the site of the church of St. Augustine Papey, suppressed in the reign of King Edward VI. Stow, in 1598, says that the plot of ground was then already "letten by the chamberlain of London to the parish of St. Martin's Oteswich to be a churchyard or burying-place for the dead." The church of that name, which stood on the south side of the juncture of Threadneedle Street with Bishopsgate Street, escaped the Great Fire, but after a rebuilding towards the end of the eighteenth century was demolished in 1874.

Unfortunately, the scheme of rebuilding demanded that in great part the remains at Houndsditch should be destroyed, and demolition was in progress on our arrival at the scene, the core having been cut into behind the churchyard, while the part of the wall further east had suffered to the extent of having all the projecting sandstone plinth dressed flush with the face of the ragstones above. The bottom of the plinth lay at a depth of 8 feet 4 inches below the street level. In the easterly portion, although the plinth had not been previously disturbed, the ragstone foundation beneath it had, at some former rebuilding, been removed to make room for the overlapping bricks which formed the footings at that time laid down. Above the plinth the wall was faced by four rows of large squared ragstones, up to the first row of bonding tiles. This

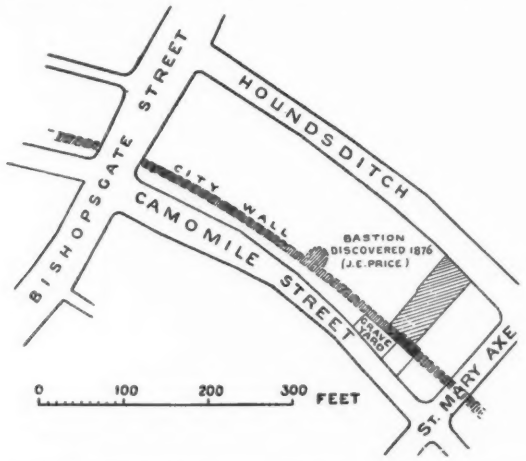
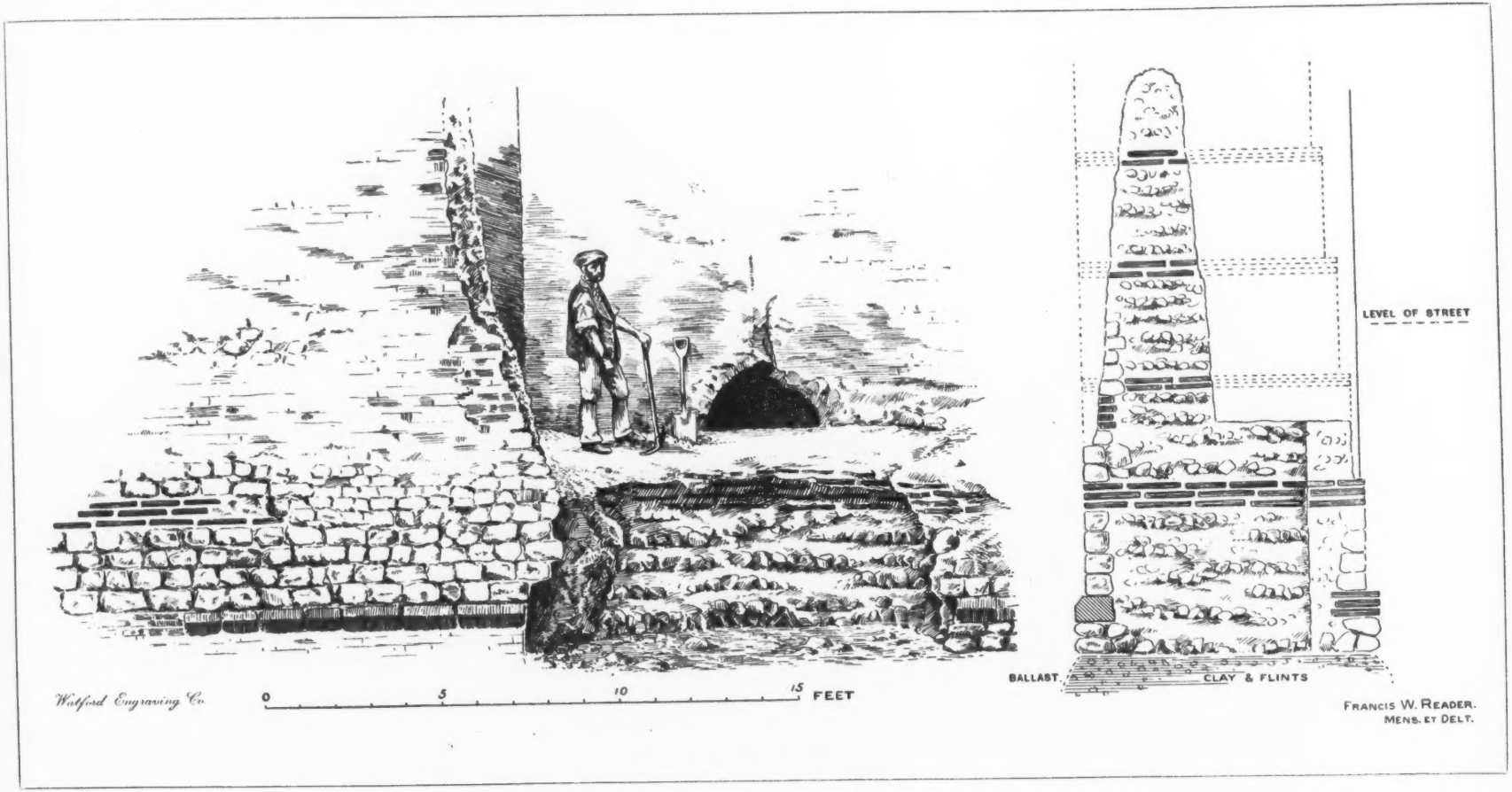


Fig. 5. Plan showing site of City wall at Nos. 58 and 60 Houndsditch.

lower portion was almost intact throughout, and extended to a height of 2 feet 2 inches above the top of the plinth, or 6 feet above the puddled clay including plinth and foundation. From this point most of the original face had weathered away and had been replaced by the random patching of later times. Here and there the tiles of the first bonding course were still to be seen on the face, and some of the stones of the upper interspace remained in position. Above this was a wall of modern brick, the original facing having fallen away, and the wall appeared to have been dressed back by the later repairers to a depth of 1 foot 9 inches at the top. In still later times brick walls were built successively against it, until at length they became flush with the original face above the level of the plinth. The core of the wall, however, contained Roman work up to a



ELEVATION AND SECTION OF THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDON AT NOS. 58 AND 60 HOUNDSDITCH.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

considerable height, as was clearly seen in the section shown by the removal of most of the structure adjoining the graveyard.

Altogether, from the top of the ballast, 16 feet 7 inches of old wall remained, and of this, 14 feet 5 inches at least was of Roman construction, having four courses of bonding tiles with intervening spaces of ragstones, while some of the rubble core above the fourth course was probably also of the same age. No such height of Roman masonry has before been recorded in the City wall. The nearest approach to it is that of a piece of wall found near Aldersgate, which, as mentioned in *The Builder* of 5th May, 1888, was 13 feet 11 inches in height.

The removal of the greater part of the western portion afforded a good opportunity of observing the manner in which the wall at Houndsditch had been constructed. Overlying the puddled clay and flint was a layer (or layers) of irregular ragstone, thickly covered with mortar and faced by larger ragstones laid irregularly but somewhat in herring-bone fashion to a height of nearly a foot. This again was covered over thickly with mortar. The core of the wall above was of similar construction, the mortar being poured lavishly on the successive layers of stones and running between them, but not without leaving many air cavities in their lower portions.

On the outer face the mortar had weathered from between many of the stones, forming vacant spaces which communicated with these air cavities inside, in which there had been veritable hecatombs of snails, vast quantities of their shells being found for a distance of from 2 to 3 feet into the body of the wall, where these creatures had apparently crawled to hybernate. Many of the shells had become half dissolved by the water that had percolated between the stones. It was also noticed that through the action of this water much of the lime had been dissolved from the mortar and redeposited more or less in the form of stalactites between the stones that had not been originally cemented, this being even a harder concretion than the Roman mortar itself.

At intervals occurred the bonds of tile, also plentifully set in mortar, the whole forming a mass of great stability. The first bonding course on the face appeared to consist of three tiles laid very evenly. As the core was cut into, the tiles, which were placed alternately lengthwise and breadthwise, were found to be laid with much less regularity, and at a particular point as many as five tiles were noticed one over the other. Above the first bond the construction was fairly uniform, the intervals of ragstone being rather less than 3 feet each in height, having between them bonds of two tiles. On the inside the wall had been cut away and encroached upon above to the extent of 3 feet 9 inches in its thickness,

this mutilation beginning about midway between the first and second bonding course. The lower part was perfect when disclosed by the recent operations, but was then cut into from the western portion on the Houndsditch side for about 6 feet, the inner face being left undisturbed.

On clearing away the building which adjoined the graveyard, a brick arch was found built against the wall on its inner face, the top of which was just above the remaining portion of the wall in this part. It was filled with fine sandy soil, and contained no relics so far as it was cleared out, but this structure being under the graveyard it was possible to examine it only for a short distance The depth of the crown of the arch below the street level was about 1 foot, and it was 3 feet 6 inches wide. It was probably the end portion of the covering of a vault.

The thickness of the wall from the face of the stones above the plinth to the face of the arch was 7 feet 9 inches, and this, together with the set-offs on the inner side near the base and that of the plinth, would bring the thickness at Roman ground level to about 8 feet 6 inches, this being more or less the regular measurement.

The main part of the excavation for the new buildings took place in the soil which here filled up the City ditch, but this unfortunately had all been removed before we had an opportunity of visiting the site. Some particulars furnished by the foreman, Mr. Baxter, may, however, be of interest. The excavation was 100 feet in length, extending from the front in Houndsditch to Camomile Street. The filling of the ditch consisted of very black mud containing many animal bones and skulls. Its greatest depth was 18 feet, which occurred about 60 feet from the wall. A quantity of piling was driven into the bottom and sloped in both directions as if to support the sides, which ran upwards in the gravel towards the wall and the roadway of Houndsditch respectively. Assuming that the slope of the side of the ditch to the north was the same as that to the south, it would give the total width as 120 feet, or 80 feet less than the width assigned by Stow,[a] and the authorities from whom he quotes, to the medieval ditch begun in 1211.

The only object we saw from here was a watering pot of the thumb-hole type with perforated base. It was 11 inches high, and of red earthenware, having brown glaze at the top. This was found resting on the bottom of the ditch.

[a] *Survey of London*, 8.



Fig. 6. Photograph of the Roman wall at Houndsditch.

THE WALL AT JEWRY STREET.

Very shortly after the discovery at Houndsditch just described, a fine fragment of the Roman wall came to light in Jewry Street at its junction with Crutched Friars. Four houses were removed on the east side of this thoroughfare, viz. Nos. 18, 19, and 20, Jewry Street, and No. 1, Crutched Friars, the ground they occupied making an irregular space, the extreme eastern boundary of which was formed by the City wall for a distance of about 65 feet, dividing the property from the buildings in Vine Street, which stand partly upon it, the wall in fact having been utilized as foundations for the buildings on either side. About 40 feet of this length remained, the portion exposed being the inner face.

By the time the discovery had come to our notice the destruction of the wall was already begun, the gravel on which it had rested, together with the bed of clay and flint, having been removed and the masonry being supported on timbers, as shown in the photograph, Fig. 7. The top of the ballast was 8 feet 6 inches from present ground level. Fortunately, however, between 9 and 10 feet in height of this masonry remained, having three courses of tiles apparent on the face, the wall being set back 3 inches at each course. The lowest of these courses was, as



Fig. 7. View of the Roman wall at Jewry Street.

elsewhere, treble, not forming a bond but penetrating the structure to a width of one tile only, and corresponding, in fact, with the ironstone plinth on the outer face. These tiles were placed on an irregular layer of ragstone and mortar, which was only a few inches in depth, so thin indeed that it was hardly apparent from the front; but under the core of the wall, where it had sagged into the puddled clay and flint, it could more clearly be traced.

Above this inner plinth of tiles were four rows of roughly squared ragstone, rising to a height of 2 feet 3 inches, where occurred the first bond, this being of three tiles. Further rows of ragstone followed, six in height, and making an

interspace of 3 feet, on which was the second bonding course, this being of two tiles. It may be remarked that one of the tiles now in our possession was exceptionally small, being only about 15½ inches in length, but thicker than usual. About 1 foot above the second bonding course was the surface level to which the wall had previously been broken down. The masonry showed the same well-preserved condition of the inner face that existed at Newgate, from which it has been inferred that on the inside an earthen bank was raised against it, thus protecting it from the action of the weather and other agencies, such as the outer face had to endure before centuries of accumulation of soil had buried it beneath the surface.

Fortunately, through the action of the Skinners' Company, ground landlords, a large portion of the fragment disclosed has been saved and built into the office now occupying the site. The name of Roman Wall House has been given to the building.

Through the space excavated for the basements of the new offices, and therefore on the inner side of the wall, there had been a ditch cut in the ballast, about 8 feet wide and 6 feet deep, filled with dark earth. (See fig. 8.) Its line was not parallel with that of the wall, but converged somewhat to the northern end, from which it was distant about 15 feet, while it was about 25 feet from the southern end. Some pottery was said to have been found there, but unfortunately, if this was so, it had all been removed without leaving a trace, and even the ditch itself had disappeared before there was an opportunity of examining it. One can hardly think that it was in any way connected with the wall, and if Roman it was probably formed before the enclosure of the City.

A few years ago, at the rebuilding of Sir John Cass's Foundation immediately to the north of the site just described, remains of the wall were met with, but we had no opportunity of observing what was discovered. The following particulars, however, have been kindly supplied by Mr. Cooksey, the architect. It seems that the building was constructed in two sections, on the site of the Cass School at the corner of Jewry Street and George Street (dating from about the middle of the nineteenth century) and of a group of older houses in Jewry Street immediately to the north of it. These houses, which, according to the Ordnance Survey, stood on the site of a Roman tower or bastion, were first destroyed, part of the new building replacing them. Then the school was razed to the ground and the new structure completed. Mr. Cooksey has no record of Roman remains coming to light from beneath the older houses. On pulling down the Cass School the foundations of the Roman wall were found, certainly at one point, to extend

partly under the present pavement in Jewry Street, and to project 7 feet into the site with which he had to deal. The wall had apparently been destroyed down to the Roman ground level, a foot or two of rough masonry resting on the puddled clay and flints. On what would have been the outside of the wall, that is to the east of it, was the filling of the medieval ditch, composed of black mud and containing among other remains a large number of bullocks' horns. Within

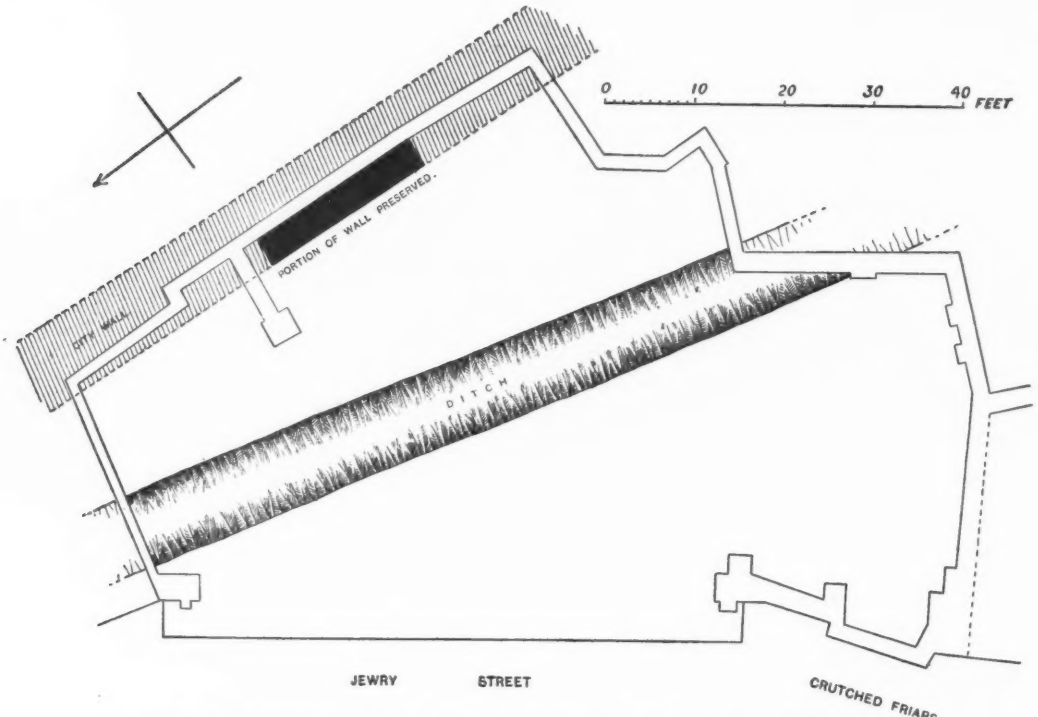


Fig. 8. Plan showing position of discoveries under Roman Wall House, Jewry Street, in 1906.

the boundary of the present building it seems to have sloped down to a depth of about 30 feet below the modern ground level, while nearly at the back and running somewhat obliquely was an oval sewer, 7 feet high, which Mr. Cooksey thinks to have been the Irongate Sewer.

Mr. Loftus Brock, when recording a former discovery in Jewry Street,[a] describes the wall as resting on massive piles, which had been driven in as a foundation on account of the badness of the soil. This was nearer to Aldgate.

[a] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvi. 163.

The occurrence of piles is exceptional in connexion with the enclosing wall to the north, east, and west, but has been noted in what was thought to be part of the south wall, along the river front.[a]

It will be seen by the plan (Fig. 9) that the line of the Roman wall runs from Aldgate nearly straight in the direction of the Tower, passing under the houses on the east side of Jewry Street until its junction with Crutched Friars. This latter street deflects to the south-west, and the wall, after crossing George Street, continues its southern course, west of America Square, behind the south-west corner of which in 1841[b] a piece was laid bare during excavations connected with what was then called the Blackwall Railway, another portion being found not far off by Mr. A. A. Langley during similar work near Fenchurch Street Station in 1880.[c] Further south a most interesting example of the wall, no less than 106 feet in length and raised by medieval repairs to a considerable height, now forms part of the fabric of Messrs. Barber and Company's warehouses, Cooper's Row. It has been described by Sir William Tite[d] and others; portions of the outside can be seen from the backs of houses in the Crescent. In Trinity Place, by the disused station on the District Railway, east of Trinity Square, a high piece of wall some 50 feet in length can still be seen, that which is above ground being medieval, but it is doubtless built on a Roman substructure. The outside of this is probably what

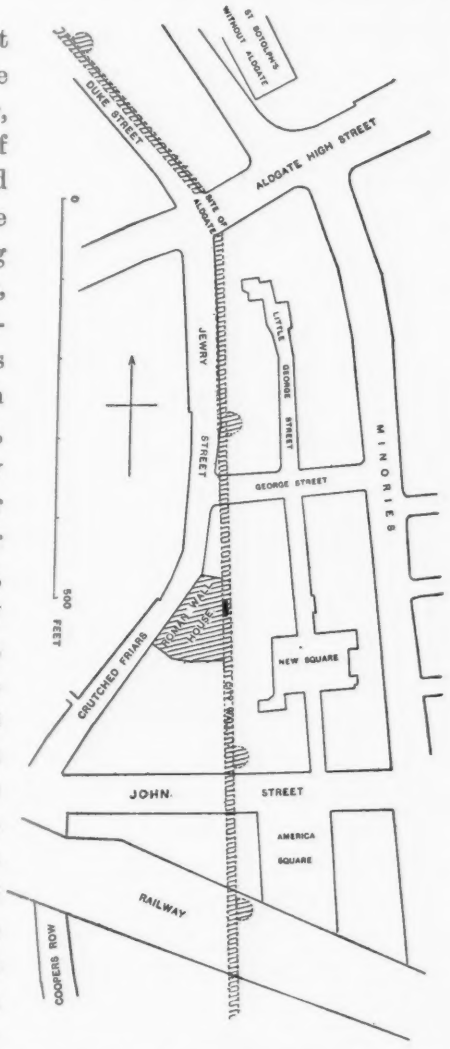


Fig. 9. Plan showing position of Roman Wall House, Jewry Street.

[a] *Illustrations of Roman London*, 18.

[b] Knight's *London*, 1841 (Chapter on Roman London by G. L. Craik), i. 163, 164.

[c] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvi. 463, 464.

[d] *Archaeologia*, xl. 295.

was examined by Mr. Roach Smith in 1852 and figured on Plate 1 of his *Illustrations of Roman London*, the drawing being by Fairholt. It was recently renovated and protected by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests after consultation with the Society of Antiquaries. This forms part of the very long range of wall north of Postern Row, which was drawn for Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, and by John Wykeham Archer for his *Vestiges of Old London* published as late as 1851. Part of the outside and portions further south adjoining it are still visible from a bonded warehouse in George Street, making altogether a continuous length of nearly 100 feet. The fragment of Roman wall within the precinct of the Tower of London, immediately east of the Keep, which was discovered in 1879,[a] is carefully preserved. Mr. Herbert Jones, F.S.A., has supplied us with a note on excavations immediately to the south of it, which he superintended in 1904 on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries. This will be found in Appendix II.

SITE NORTH OF ALL HALLOWS CHURCH.

We will now go back to the part of the wall adjoining Moorfields but a little to the east of the spot dealt with in the first part of the paper, the discoveries here being more recent in date than those of Houndsditch and Jewry Street. Our starting point will be the church of All Hallows, London Wall, which is one of special interest, owing to its position on the City wall and to its being close to the east bank of the Walbrook stream, while the ground just to the north of it is that formerly occupied by the City Ditch, over which was built the western arm of New Broad Street. This ditch and the ground north of the thoroughfare shall first occupy our attention.

Towards the end of 1905 the houses on the south side of this street were demolished, and the clearance of the site opened up the north side of the church. For the first time an uninterrupted view was thereby obtained of the semi-circular vestry and the curious grotto-like erection built against it in the latter part of the eighteenth century, which previously could only be seen from the backs of the houses.

The space thus laid bare extended for a length of 204 feet, and occupied nearly the whole side of the street, with the exception of Nos. 52 and 53, forming the structure at the west end known as Blomfield House, which stands on the site of New Broad Street Synagogue. The breadth was about 75 feet, and it reached up to the City wall on which stands the north side of the church. The ground

[a] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvi. 464, and xxxvii. 280.

formed a portion of the filling of the City Ditch, which, after it had been levelled and for a time had here been garden ground, was gradually built over, and in this part known as Petty France. Stow thus describes it:[a] "Now without this churchyard wall (St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate) is a causeye, leading to a quadrant, called Petty France, of Frenchmen dwelling there, and to other dwelling houses, lately built on the bank of the said ditch by some citizens of London, that more regarded their own private gain than the common good of the city; for by means of this causeye raised on the bank and soilage of houses, with other filthiness cast into the ditch, the same is now forced to a narrow channel and almost filled up with unsavoury things, to the danger of impoisoning the whole city."

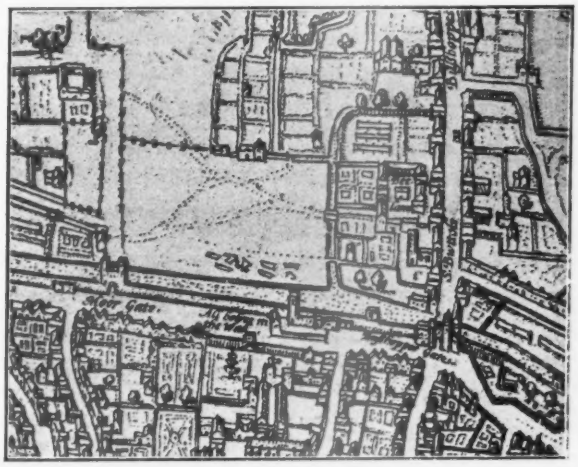


Fig. 10. Part of Moorfields, from Braun and Hogenberg's plan.

A comparison of various old maps of the part now occupied by New Broad Street is interesting, and shows the later changes this district has undergone. On Agas's map the City Ditch appears clearly, and is shown to widen here to a point where a stream flows into it from the north. This would be the remains of the Walbrook, which was apparently open without the City long after it had been taken underground within the walls. The position of this stream seems to be shown too far to the east with regard to the church of All Hallows, that is supposing that the later stream had remained in the bed of the earlier river, which has been found beneath Blomfield Street and extending to the west of it under the offices of the London Wall Estate Company.

[a] Stow's *Survey*, 62.

Braun and Hogenberg's plan (fig. 10), published in 1572 (but showing the steeple of Old St. Paul's, destroyed 1560-61), gives a similar state of things to that on Agas. Norden's *Speculum Britanniæ*, 1593, also has a possible stream similar to that which appears in Agas and Braun. Stow refers to it as a ditch thus:[a] "In the year 1569 Sir Thomas Roe, merchant-tailor, mayor, caused to be inclosed with a wall of brick about one acre of ground being part of the said hospital of Bethelem" (Old Bethlehem), "to wit on the west, on the bank of Deep Ditch so called, parting the said hospital of Bethelem from the More-field; this he did

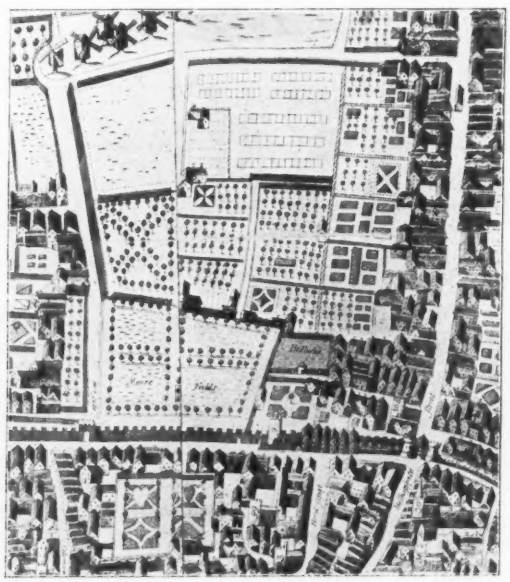


Fig. 11. Part of Moorfields, from Faithorne's map.

for the burial and ease of such parishes in London as wanted ground convenient within their parishes."

On Faithorne's map from a survey by Newcourt (fig. 11), which although dated 1658 was prepared between 1643 and 1647, the ditch has completely disappeared. The open space immediately north of All Hallows is laid out as a garden with a tree in the middle, a few houses being shown in the north-east portion of Petty France. To the north of the garden is seen the piece of ground enclosed by Sir Thomas Roe as mentioned above; both of these are divided by a wall from Moorfields now also laid out as a park or garden. The stream of the

[a] Stow's *Survey*, 62.

earlier maps is no longer visible in this lower portion, but in an attenuated form it is still shown north of the graveyard of old Bethlehem.

Things had changed a good deal in the course of the next twenty years, for on the map of Ogilby and Morgan, 1677 (fig. 12), the part bearing the name of Petty France will be seen to be largely occupied by dwelling-houses, one row of which is situated very nearly where the south side of the present New Broad Street now stands. Behind these houses are gardens. To the west, Bethlehem Hospital is shown on the site to which it was removed in 1675, and where it stood until 1814-15, over the filled up City Ditch, on the south side of Moorfields and abutting on the City wall. As in Faithorne's map, the lower course of the stream has

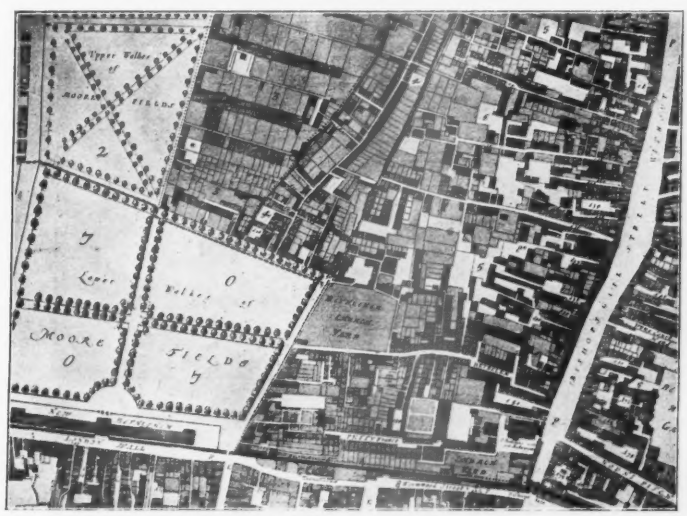


Fig. 12. Moorfields district, from Ogilby and Morgan's map.

disappeared. More to the north, however, Ogilby and Morgan show two ditches roughly parallel, running south in the direction of the old course of the Walbrook. The more easterly of these is in a line with what is now Blomfield Street, but terminates about the position of the eastern end of Sun Street. The ditch to the west is carried right up to the north side of Lower Moorfields in about the line of the present Finsbury Avenue. Their further course onward and through the City was doubtless as sewers, probably two of those mentioned by Sir William Tite.[a]

The position of these ditches over the bed of the Walbrook leads us to

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xxvi.

suppose that, after the stream had become finally choked up, they were formed to carry off the surface water which would naturally collect in the lower ground representing the Walbrook Valley, which in 1677 was no doubt strongly marked, and is even now not altogether obliterated. (See Section B, Plate XXII.) It is interesting to notice that the ditch to the west coincides with the line of the freedom of the City, while that to the east marks the parish boundary, the distance apart of the two being about 200 to 250 feet. On the map of Bishopsgate Ward in Strype's *Stow*, 1720, the houses in Petty France are marked much as in Ogilby. The letterpress says :[a] "Petty France, a large place and generally well built : and into this place is a passage from Bethlem Street through Round Court. The west side comes into Moorfields by Postern Gate and the east runneth up to Botolph Churchyard."

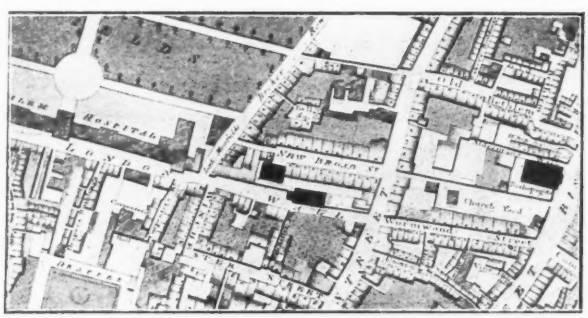


Fig. 13. Part of Moorfields and New Broad Street, from Horwood's map.

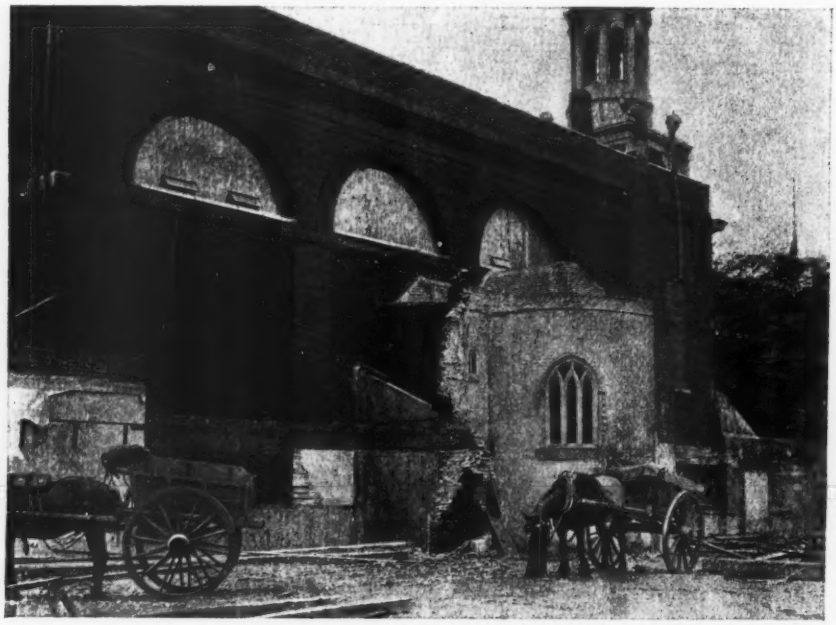
The houses which have recently been demolished were, according to Wheatley and Cunningham,[b] built in or about 1737, this being the date formerly on a corner house in Broad Street Buildings. Elsewhere we are told by the same authorities, under the heading of Petty France, that it was rebuilt in 1730 and called New Broad Street.

Thus we find in Horwood's map (fig. 13) of 1799 that the existing arrangement of buildings and roadway has been arrived at. The City wall has been broken through for the extension of Old Broad Street, which now divides the "Petty France" of earlier days; and that part of New Broad Street which runs to the west is shown with the buildings and widened roadway as they were before the recent demolition.

The existing church of All Hallows, built from the younger Dance's designs

[a] Strype's *Stow*, 1720, book ii. 108.

[b] *London Past and Present*, i. 277.



NORTH SIDE OF THE CHURCH OF ALL HALLOWS, LONDON WALL, SHOWING THE VESTRY.



WALL SHOWING PLINTH OF THE ROMAN WALL, ALL HALLOWS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

in 1765, is shown by Horwood, but it will be noticed that its semi-circular vestry, which is familiar to many, does not appear. We have long suspected, from the shape and size of this structure and its position against the City Wall, that it must have been built upon the base of one of the bastions, such as that existing to-day at Cripplegate, and that which has given the shape to the semi-circular portion of the adjacent warehouse built on the site of the Barber Surgeons' Hall. Although many of these bastions are shown on the earlier maps, in no case is one marked on the site of All Hallows. In modern maps, however, the dividing line of the wards of Bishopsgate Within and Without has this semi-circular projection.

The parish books of the medieval church on this site begin in 1455. We know, however, from the Calendar of Wills enrolled in the Court of Husting that it existed in 1285, and undoubtedly is of much earlier origin. It escaped the Great Fire, but in the latter part of the eighteenth century, having become almost ruinous, its destruction was decided upon. The Vestry minutes contain the following: "June 13th 1765. Upon digging foundations for the intended new church, George Dance[a] surveyor found same in many places bad and not fit for building." Then follow his proposals for piling and planking to make good and proper foundations. From another entry in the Vestry minutes we learn that Mr. Wicks, the bricklayer, having applied "for leave to pull down the old brick wall of the churchyard level with the ground of the said churchyard for the length of the church, for convenience of erecting a scaffold, leave was granted." This in all probability was the wall the remains of which were uncovered in London Wall (Street) during the excavations for the telephone mains as mentioned on a previous page.

It appears that the building of the present vestry was an afterthought, and this may account for its not being shown on Horwood's map, where perhaps the original plan was copied. Further entries in the minute book show that it was not until May in 1766 that it was proposed to pull down the old vestry room, and Dance was desired to prepare plans and estimates for a new vestry. Later, Dance submitted plans and an estimate of £118. A Mr. Taylor agreed to do the work for £99. It seems therefore, from these modest figures, that the base of the bastion had been discovered during the rebuilding of the church,

[a] George Dance, who designed the new church, was one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy and son of the city surveyor of the same name who built the Mansion House. He himself designed the famous Newgate Prison so lately pulled down. In the winter exhibition of 1906-7 at Burlington House were twenty portraits by him in black and red chalk of early members of the Royal Academy.

and that it was decided to utilise this as a foundation. The minutes, however, contain no direct reference to the bastion.

Having made these preliminary remarks concerning the later changes that have taken place in this spot, we will now proceed to describe what was revealed by the excavations. These we were enabled to watch by the kind permission of the architect, Mr. Paul Hoffmann, and the clerk of the works, Mr. A. J. Wheatley, both of whom have shown the most sympathetic interest in the investigation, and throughout have aided us in every possible way.

The basements of the houses built in 1730 had been carried to a depth of 8 feet below the present pavement level, consequently all the more recent accumulation had disappeared. Beyond this nothing further had been disturbed, the houses having been built directly on the mud filling of the ditch. This filling was not entirely removed by the recent rebuilding operations, as the new basements were only taken 2 feet lower than the former ones, but trenches were dug for the wall footings, and these were carried to the level of the gravel. They therefore passed through the entire filling of the ditch, which was mud of the blackest possible description. In this were large quantities of horn cores, literally occurring in masses, tightly packed together. There were also many animal bones, pots and fragments of pottery, remains of old shoes and other relics, indicating clearly the accuracy of Stow's account of the filling up of the ditch with the rubbish and soilage of the City.

The indifference with which the City Ditch was treated during the later stages of its existence appears to have been singularly marked. Stow, whose words we have already quoted on the subject, writes elsewhere as follows:[a] "This ditch, being originally made for the defence of the City, was also long together carefully cleansed and maintained as need required: but now of late neglected and forced either to a very narrow, and the same a filthy channel, or altogether stopped up for gardens planted and houses built thereon: even to the very wall, and in many places upon both ditch and wall houses to be built; to what danger of the City, I leave to wiser consideration, and can but wish that reformation might be had." After referring to several previous cleansings, the effects of which seem to have lasted but a short time, he adds of the part with which we are now concerned: "In my remembrance also the same was cleansed, namely the Moore ditch, when Sir William Hollies was mayor, in the year 1540, and not long before from the Tower of London to Aldgate." . . . . "I am not ignorant of two-

[a] Stow's *Survey*, 8.

fifteenths granted by a common council in the year 1595, for the reformation of this ditch, and that a small portion thereof, to wit betwixt Bishopsgate and the portion called Moorgate, was cleansed and made somewhat broader: but filling again very fast, by reason of overraising the ground near adjoining, therefore never the better: and I will so leave it, for I cannot help it."

No further efforts appear to have been made to restore it to its former state. The necessity for it as a defence had ceased, and at various dates it was filled up, gardens generally being formed on the site, and the Irongate sewer appears to have been laid in its course. As shown by the maps of Faithorne and Ogilby, the gardens for the most part quickly gave place to houses, and now nothing but the direction of the streets and a few graveyards remain to mark its former existence. In recent times, although some little interest has occasionally been aroused by other discoveries, few seem to have thought the City Ditch worthy of notice. We have therefore most meagre records of what has been found at the various excavations that have taken place for many years past, when considerable quantities of the ditch filling have been removed, until the publication of Mr. G. E. Fox's paper on that portion of the Roman wall which was found near Aldersgate in 1887.[a]

It has usually been held that the City Ditch dated only from the thirteenth century, this idea being based on the statement by Stow, which is briefly referred to in our account of the wall at Houndsditch, that the ditch "was begun to be made by the Londoners in the year 1211, and was finished in the year 1213, the 15th of King John."[b] Concerning this medieval ditch, Sir William Tite has left us some interesting observations. He says:[c] "That eastward of Aldersgate, the ditch was in part an artificial trench, so far as to Little Moorgate, a postern formerly standing near the south end of the present Blomfield Street, and from thence to the Tower was an entirely excavated channel." He goes on to suggest, and here undoubtedly he was wrong, that at the time of the excavation of the ditch, "the bed of the Walbrook was raised, and the rills by which it was fed artificially intercepted in their course, so that their waters were thrown into the hollow ground, and gradually formed first a lake, and ultimately a marsh on the outside of that part of the City Wall." In the first part of our paper we have already dealt with the question of the period when the water accumulated

[a] *Archaeologia*, lii. 615.

[b] Stow's *Survey*, 8.

[c] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xxx.

on Moorfields. That the marsh condition had been established long before the formation of the medieval City Ditch is certain, apart from other evidence, because we have the graphic description of it by Fitz-Stephen, who died in 1191.

It seems not improbable that the existence of the marsh made the construction of the ditch in this part both unnecessary and difficult of execution, which would account for no definite artificial trench having been found along Moorfields. If in later times, as appears by the maps, the ditch here became similar to what it was in its other portions, that state of things had in all likelihood been brought about by the gradual and artificial raising of the ground to the north rather than by definite excavations in the time of King John, a view that is supported by the increased breadth of the ditch shown on the maps of Agas and Braun in the part where it adjoins the old marsh.

Not only is this indefinite character of the ditch true as regards the portion westward of Little Moorgate as described by Tite, but it would explain the state of things revealed to us by the excavations at New Broad Street. The surface of the gravel was here found to be very uneven, though its greatest depth was generally along the frontage on the south side of the street. Near the wall it was on the average about 12 feet below the surface, falling irregularly to from 18 feet to 19 feet at the roadway.

The objects found in the filling of the ditch are mostly those which must have been thrown in with the rubbish, and represent the period of its latest accumulation and disuse, the various cleansings, to which we have referred, having apparently removed objects of an earlier date. Among the relics the pottery is the most useful as a guide to age, and there seems little doubt that the great bulk of it can be assigned to the period during which the ditch was ultimately filled up, viz. the latter half of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century. On this account the collection, although for the most part fragmentary and imperfect, becomes of value as exemplifying the range and variety of the pottery in use at that time. Perhaps the most striking feature of it is the large quantity and great variety of the slip wares. Much of this has a red body painted with white slip, the whole being covered by a yellow glaze. Several of the pieces are inscribed with mottoes, none of which are complete, but more than once occur the words "Feare God." A smaller proportion is red slip on a yellow ground. There was also much delft of the coarser variety, and stoneware was plentiful, particularly the vessels known as "Bellarmines," but there was also much of the finer and richly ornamented grey and blue as well as other brown stoneware. Among the fairly numerous

examples were tygs of dark glazed red-ware both with single and double handles, braziers, some containing resinous matter, pipkins of light buff ware with green and yellow glaze, also chafing dishes, money boxes, and candlesticks of similar ware. Very noteworthy was the number of plates; these were in slip, delft, and green and yellow glaze, and many of them bore traces of the culinary uses to which they had been put. Some of these had holes pierced in the rim at the back,



Fig. 14. Photograph showing site of City Ditch excavated.

suggesting that they had been employed for decorative purposes, though of course their object may have been strictly utilitarian. Watering pots occurred plentifully, and may be taken as helping to confirm Stow's account of the City Ditch having been converted into gardens. There were also a great many remains of pitchers, jars, bowls, mugs, drug and ointment pots, etc. but in nearly all cases the pots appear to have been broken before they were cast away with the refuse of which the City Ditch became the receptacle. Among the relics were bone skates, pin polishers, shears and other iron objects, surgical instruments, brass pins and wire, a metal squirt, fragments of Venetian glass vessels, and portions of combs of bone and ivory. Finally tobacco pipes of early forms were plentiful, and

there were a good many remnants of shoes and other leathern objects. The greater part of this collection is described in detail in Appendix IV., some of the objects being figured in the text and on Plates XXVIII. and XXIX.[a]

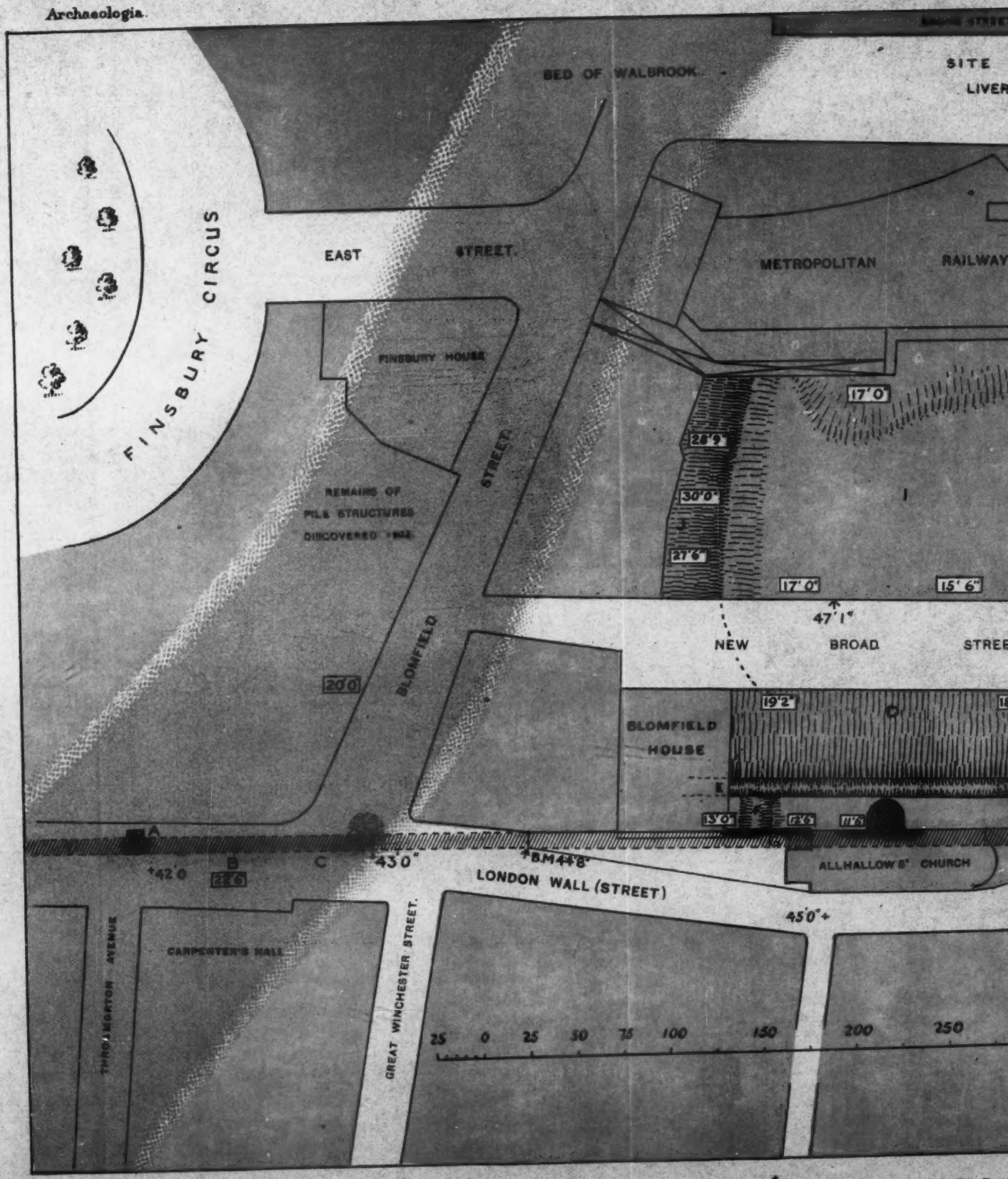
Later in the year the houses on the north side of the street were pulled down and excavation began in November. Here the conditions of the soil were similar to what we had observed south of the roadway, the gravel lying generally about 15 feet to 16 feet below the pavement, and running in an undulating manner towards the north. There was no indication of an artificially cut ditch, the ground being on the average fairly level until nearing the northern limit of the excavation, when it fell to a depth of about 17 feet. The whole surface, however, was covered with the same black deposit of mud as that found on the south side, and this ran to a considerable depth as far north as the ground was excavated, and apparently continued beyond.

It is clear that this ground must at first have been a portion of the marsh, and if by degrees it became sufficiently raised in later times to form a bank to the ditch it must for a long period have been liable to inundation at wet seasons. It would have been interesting and instructive could we have ascertained the periods in which this black soil north of the street had been deposited, but the evidence was imperfect, for although among the objects of various dates shown us was a considerable proportion of Roman pottery, we are unwilling to base arguments on this without having accurate knowledge of the conditions under which it was found. We are indeed inclined to think that the black soil north of New Broad Street had been laid down naturally by the marsh, and was not disturbed by the operations either of making or cleansing the City Ditch, because from the whole of the ground on the north side of the street, with the exception of a portion at the extreme west to which we will refer later, the number of relics of any sort, so far as we could learn, was inconsiderable.

In this respect the ground south of the street differed so remarkably from what was to the north that we may safely conclude the City Ditch not to have extended far beyond the north side, and that at the time it was being made the receptacle of rubbish, this part was already raised and dry ground. We should add perhaps that here and there cesspools were found penetrating the gravel, and in these there was much late pottery.

As the digging on the north side of Broad Street approached the west, the

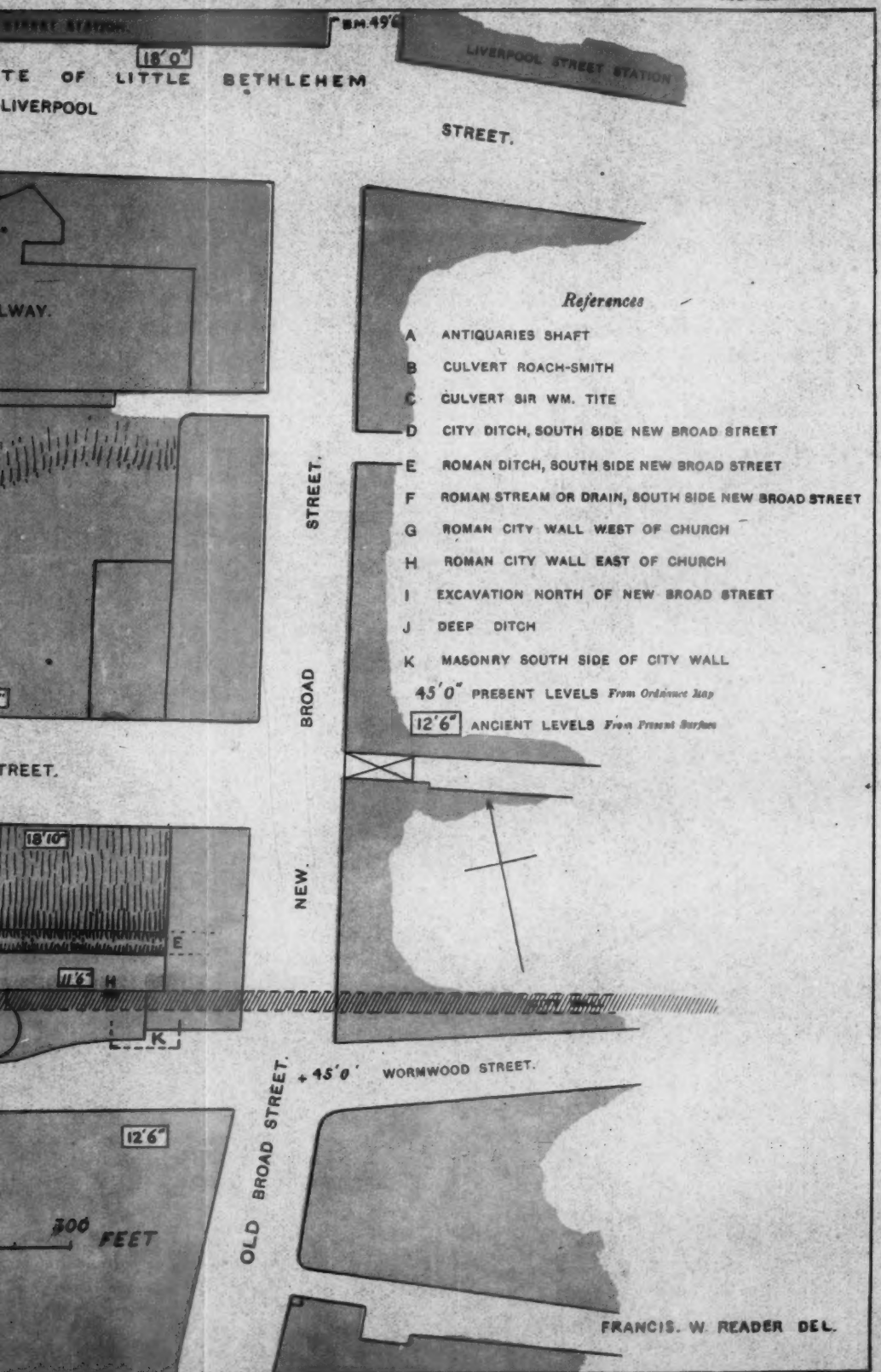
[a] Although but indirectly connected with Roman London, we hope that this contribution towards a record of the later City Ditch will not be thought superfluous.



THE WATFORD ENGRAVING Co

PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS IN NEW BROAD STREET AND THE I

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London



E IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

don 1906

gravel was found to fall sharply to a depth of as much as 30 feet at the backs of the houses of Blomfield Street. The soil throughout was black mud, which passed through the ballast to the top of the London clay. Its appearance was that of the deposit of a sluggish, stagnant, stream. In it were clearly observable masses of rush and sedge with other leaves matted together. In places occurred layers closely crowded with the shells of fresh-water snails, and these have been proved to be of the species that inhabit slow-running water. Relics were fairly numerous in this mud, and were generally of the same character as those found in the mud of the City Ditch on the south side of the street. Fragments of glazed earthenware, delft, and Bellarmines occurred throughout, and were thrown up from the lowest portion of the filling.

There can be no reasonable doubt that we had here come upon the filled-up "Deep Ditch" mentioned by Stow (see above), which is shown on the maps of Agas and Braun, as running into the City Ditch. (Fig. 10.) Why its depth should be so much greater than that of the City Ditch it is not easy to say, but the name by which it was known to Stow is fully justified by its measurement, which is roughly 10 feet deeper than the lowest part of the City Ditch in this district. It is possible that the City Ditch might be a little deeper in the portion beneath the present roadway, but this could hardly be more than a foot or two, unless we suppose the bank to the north to have been very steep.

The relative positions of these discoveries will best be seen by reference to the general plan, Plate XXV., on which also the depth of the excavation below the surface and the present levels are marked. It will also be seen that not only was Deep Ditch about 10 feet below the base of the original Walbrook stream but that it had worked somewhat to the east of it, although not so far east with regard to the position of the church as is shown on the maps of Agas and Braun.

CITY WALL AT ALL HALLOWS CHURCH.

We will now describe the remains of the City wall found in the immediate neighbourhood of All Hallows Church. At the first stage of the digging the City wall itself was disclosed on the south side of the excavation adjoining the churchyard, and it forms the base on which is built the wall west of the church, to be seen from the street of London Wall. This extended from the extreme south-

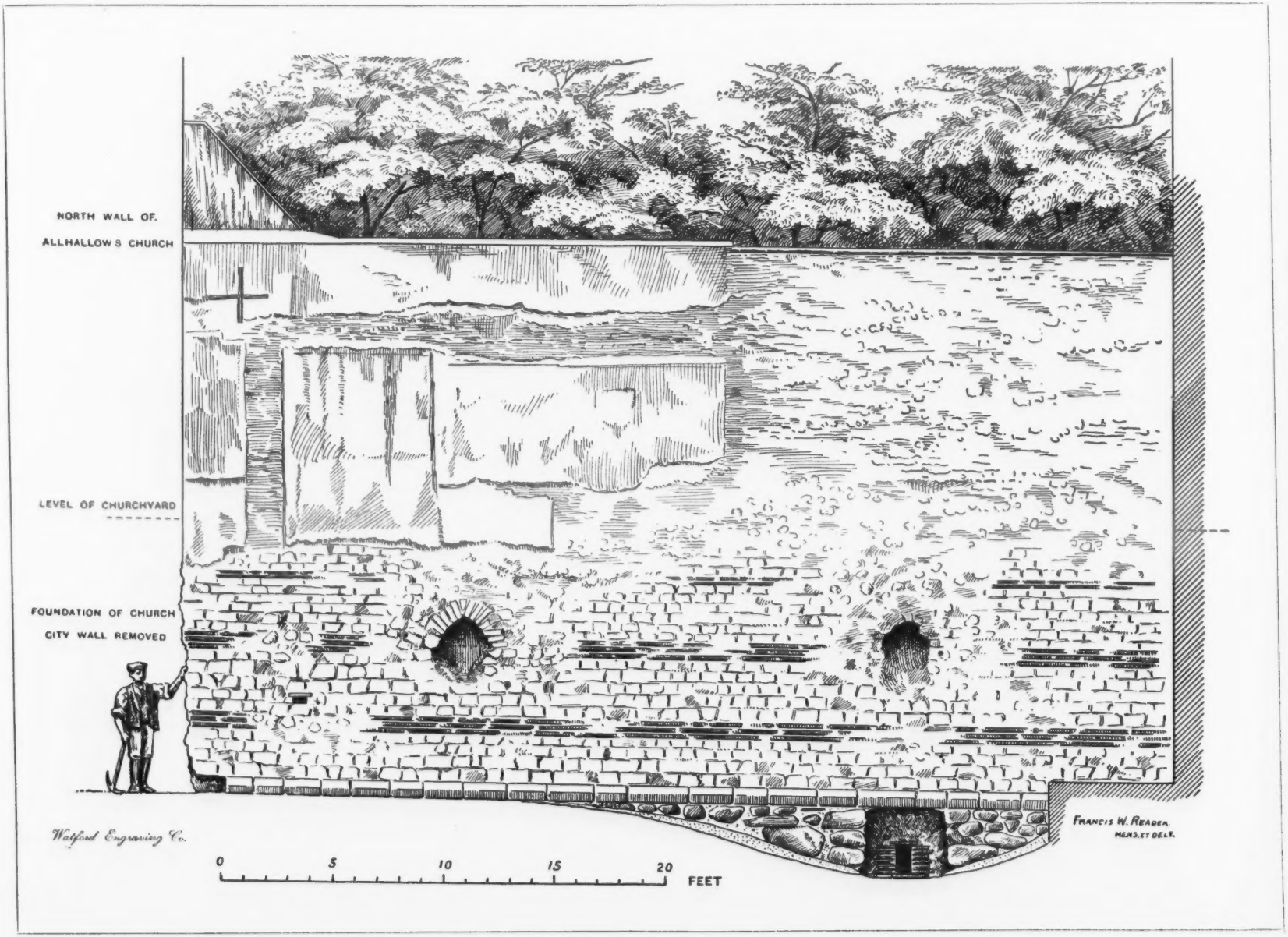
west corner of the site as far as the west part of the church, for a length of 45 feet. (See Plate XXVI.) There it had been destroyed, probably at the rebuilding, when new foundations were put in. We shall see presently that under the vestry the old wall was found by subsequent digging to have been undisturbed.

The lower part of the wall was constructed in the usual Roman manner; the red sandstone plinth was found in perfect condition resting at a depth of 13 feet at the west end. It was not level but inclined slightly upwards as it approached the church, where it was 12 feet 6 inches deep, and it rose to 11 feet 6 inches near the vestry.

The bonding tiles could be traced with broken intervals, running throughout the length, and of these there were three courses remaining, the lower two being of three tiles, the upper one of two tiles, a similar arrangement to that found in the adjacent shaft in London Wall, but differing from the usual construction in which the lowest course is of three tiles, all the succeeding ones consisting of two.

The Roman work was visible to a height of about 12 feet, that is to about the present surface level, all above this being additions of later times, against which buildings had been set, connected with the houses of New Broad Street.

The lower part of the Roman work was generally very well preserved, having been early covered up by the accumulation of the marsh, the traces of which were well shown by the deep stain of black which covered the stones to a height of 4 feet. Above this the wall had been defaced, not only by weathering, which is usual on the outer surface, but also by the construction of three flues. These had been formed in each case by cutting a channel into the face of the wall, the front being afterwards built up. The resulting flues were about 9 inches square and extended to what had then been the top of the wall. In two of these flues the lower part of the front was supported by an arch of brick, one of which remained intact, though in the other most of the bricks had disappeared. The arch that remained was 2 feet wide and 1 foot high, resting on some large sandstones, of which also the back was built, forming a fireplace. The lower part of both had fallen out, but the stones and flue showed marks of fire and were blackened with soot. The third had a small squared opening, 9 inches wide and 6 inches high, the top being formed by a tile. Judging from the bricks, which measured 9 inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, these flues were probably formed in the seventeenth century, and may have been in connexion with some industry. The mortar used in building them had been so badly prepared that it had never set, and was as soft as if just laid when disclosed in this excavation.



GENERAL VIEW OF REMAINS OF WALL FOUND TO WEST OF ALL HALLOWS CHURCH.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

Two features of interest occurred here with regard to the construction of the base of the Roman wall. In the part near the west end of the church the plinth was found resting directly on the level of the gravel then forming the natural surface, and it had nothing beneath it but the bed of clay and flints. Although the plinth has of late usually been looked upon as the finish of the wall on the outside, it has not before been recorded as resting directly on the

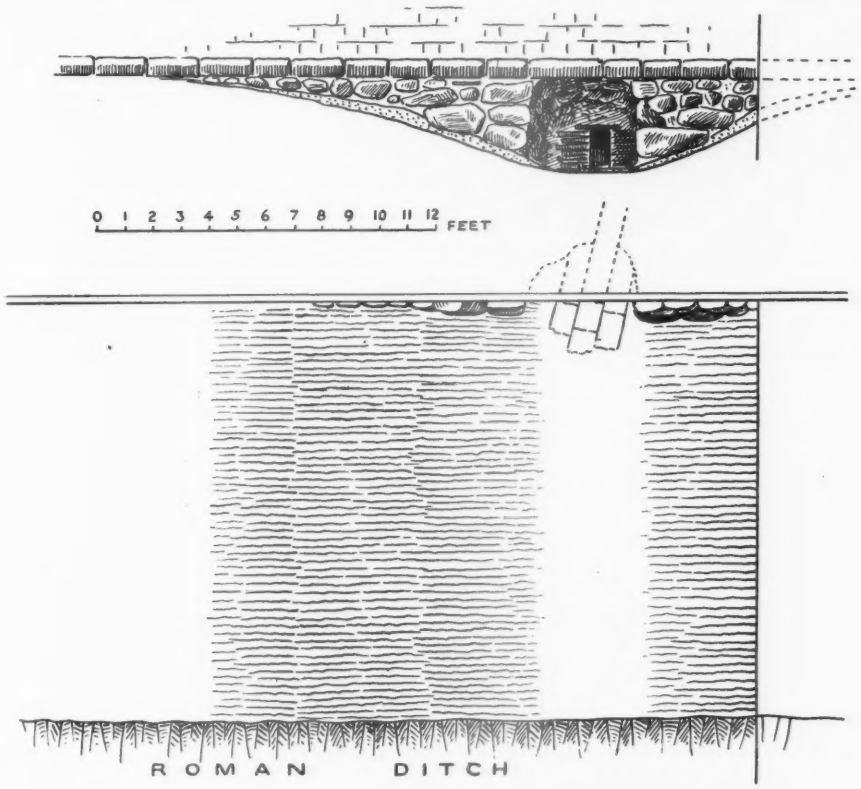


Fig. 15. Elevation and plan of drain under the Roman wall.

puddled clay and flint without an intervening layer of ragstones, the thickness of which is variable.

As the digging was carried towards the western end the gravel was found to fall into a hollow depression 2 feet 4 inches below the level of the plinth. The soil of this depression had in the lower part the appearance of the filling of a stream, being light sandy silt, and contained Roman pottery, oyster shells, a

human femur, and other animal bones. The top of the filling consisted of large quantities of mortar and many fragments of Roman roofing tile (*tegula* and *imbrex*), apparently the *débris* of buildings thrown in to level up the surface. On this being dug out it was found that beneath the plinth, which continued to run horizontally, the interspace was occupied by ragstone, except in the centre, where a break occurred 3 feet 6 inches wide filled with earth similar to that of the depression, the ragstone forming on the face spandrels on either side. From its position this space filled with earth appeared to have been an opening to allow the stream to pass under the wall. (See fig. 15.)

The excavation did not appear to have been carried to the level of the original ballast, as, although ballast was reached, it seemed to have been re-deposited, and like the soil above contained pottery and oyster shells, but as it was considered sufficiently good to build upon, the contractor had no need to carry it deeper or to remove the soil from the opening under the wall. In order therefore to ascertain the state of things more precisely we applied to the authorities to allow a special investigation, and they readily granted our request. The soil under the plinth was first attacked and found to run beneath the wall but a little distance, when the rough broken core of the wall was met with, forming an irregular bay in the solid masonry. On digging further in the lower portion of the stream deposit, which continued to a depth of 3 feet 6 inches below the plinth, many pieces of tile were found, and the remains of a human skeleton, including a portion of the orbits, the pelvis, several vertebræ, a femur, humerus, and other fragments. The femur previously discovered apparently belonged to these remains. Immediately behind and at the bottom, running through the mass of rubble concrete under the wall, was a little drain constructed of red Roman tiles of the same description as those used in the bonding courses of the wall. These were cemented with red mortar, which is noteworthy, as, except in one instance in the wall plinth at Newgate, observed by Mr. Norman,[a] only white mortar has been found in the wall itself, but red mortar was recorded as occurring in the culverts, and in the remains of the gate at Newgate.[b] The opening of this drain was rectangular, being 15 inches

[a] *Archaeologia*, lix. 129.

[b] Mr. Loftus Brock, in describing a piece of the City wall near Moorgate, says: "There was no pounded brick except in one part, where a mass of the concrete formed of pounded red brick and evidently taken from some other building, was built up into the wall." *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxxviii. 424-26.

high and 9 inches wide. It was followed altogether some 5 feet from the outside face of the wall, through which it ran diagonally, inclining towards the west. The bottom of the opening was formed of one tile, and was found to fall from the City northwards, there being a difference of 2 inches in the 5 feet explored. This drain had been constructed in the centre of the bed of the stream, which would presumably have run from the north, and at some point within the City would have joined the Walbrook, to which it was inclining, and to the west bank of which it must have been very near. It is curious therefore that the fall of the drain should be in the opposite direction, unless the stream had already ceased to be active before the wall was built. The drain had evidently extended beyond the wall to the north, as the tiles forming its base remained, and projected for a distance of 2 feet, although the upper portion together with the facing stones and the core of the wall were missing not only there, but for about 2 feet into the thickness at the base, coving towards the top under the plinth. As no trace was discovered of the missing stones, it would appear that they had been removed during the Roman occupation, the soil up to the level of the plinth containing plentiful Roman relics, but none of later times.

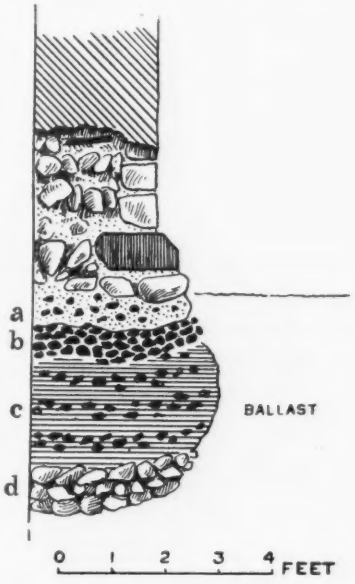


Fig. 16. Section of base of Roman wall east of All Hallows Church.

Another curious point in connection with this structure was that a thin layer of clay and flint was found just under the plinth and over the top of the substructure of ragstone, not beneath it as was the case in the bed of the Walbrook, and all other parts of the wall where the ragstone footing has been found. This might be accounted for if we supposed the tiled drain to have been formed in the bed of the little watercourse after the building of the wall. What appears to have been a very similar drain is mentioned by Mr. A. A. Langley as having occurred in the base of the wall near the Fenchurch Street Railway Station.[a]

On the east side of the excavation and eastward of the church of All Hallows the wall was again met with, it being necessary to cut into the lower part for the

[a] *The Antiquary* (Dec. 1880), iii. 64.

purpose of underpinning. This was 25 feet from the extreme south-east corner of the site, the wall being encroached on for a space 5 feet in width and about 3 feet into its thickness. Some slight variation in the method of constructing the foundation was here revealed which may be interesting to record. (See fig. 16.) Beneath the plinth were three ragstones about 4 inches deep. These were set in a bed of cement and flints 1 foot in depth, marked a in the illustration; under this lay 6 to 8 inches of tightly rammed flints (b). Next followed 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches of clay and flints (c), finally underlaid by a layer 1 foot deep of irregular ragstones (d), in which were several pieces of red sandstone similar to that of which the plinth is formed.

THE ROMAN DITCH.

Additional interest has of late years been given to the subject of the City wall by the discovery of traces of a ditch of Roman origin. This was first noticed at Aldersgate in 1887, when it was found to be 70 feet in width, cut in the gravel and its sides puddled with clay. In one part was a mound for the support of a trestle bridge similar to that found at Silchester[a] and elsewhere. The Roman ditch was again noticed at Newgate in 1902, although the traces were somewhat indefinite.

The chances of the Roman ditch surviving destruction when the great ditch was formed in the thirteenth century do not appear very favourable; but in the district of Moorfields, where the later ditch was perhaps not formed by excavation, there was some likelihood of its having been preserved, as was pointed out in the account of the excavations on the site of the London Wall Estate Offices.[b] Unfortunately there was then no opportunity of observing this, and whatever remained there was destroyed without record. As the site of New Broad Street is contiguous, it was thought that the recent digging would afford another chance of obtaining information on this interesting point, and we took special pains to watch for any traces that might remain. Bearing in mind the past discoveries, it was not expected to find more than a portion of a ditch of considerable size, which could hardly have failed to have been cut into in later times, whether by an excavated trench or by the scouring and deepening of this portion of the moor.

[a] *Archaeologia*, lii. 615.

[b] *Archæological Journal*, lx. 144.

It was therefore a great surprise to find that the first trench cut for the footings at the western end passed through what appeared to be a ditch beneath the side of the City Ditch near the wall.

This section was somewhat indefinite, but the contents were strikingly unlike the black mud which filled the City Ditch, being clean, light, sandy loam, in which were many Roman relics, consisting of fragments of pottery, a quantity of broken

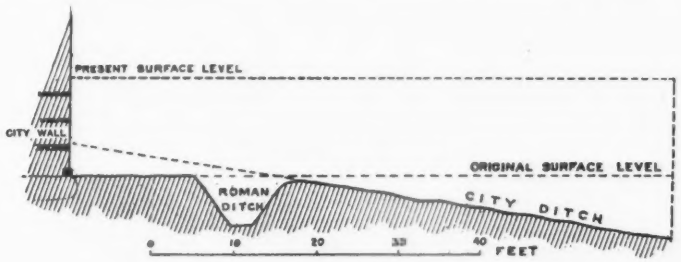


Fig. 17. Section showing position of Roman ditch.

tiles, and wall plastering. The succeeding trenches, seven in number, made it quite clear, however, that a well-cut ditch extended through the whole length of the ground, the section in each later case being much better preserved than that found in the first trench. It was 10 feet wide, 4 feet 6 inches to 5 feet deep, and 15 feet distant from the wall, running absolutely parallel with it. The filling was the same throughout, being a light sandy soil such as would naturally be formed on an open surface of gravel, and showed clearly that the marsh conditions had not come about at the time it was filled up. Samian and other Roman pottery was fairly abundant at all the points at which it was cut into, and it contained no relics of a later age.

The reason for the preservation of this ditch will best be seen by the section (fig. 17). The line of the side of the big later ditch, continued upwards from the lowest point to the face of the wall, is found to reach it about 4 feet above the Roman surface level. There is little doubt from indications everywhere in the neighbourhood that the surface had at least risen to this height by the thirteenth century. It thus came about that the small Roman ditch remained undisturbed beneath the accumulated soil.

The streamlet already described, which was found at the west end, was intersected by the Roman ditch, and as the ditch was at a lower level by a foot to 18 inches, it is obvious that if the stream were active at the time the ditch was constructed the former must have been tapped.

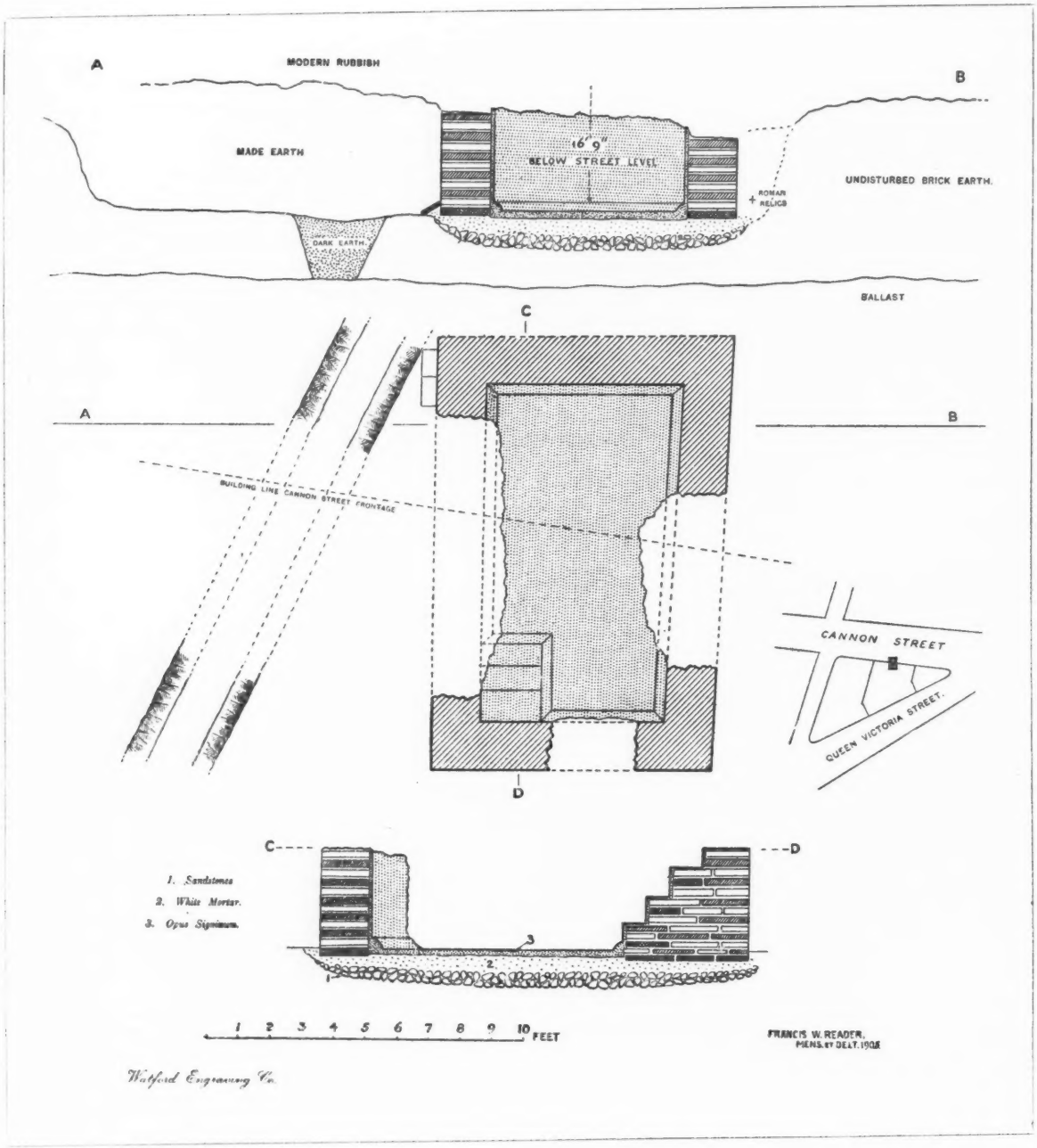
THE BASTION.

As the rebuilding on the south side of New Broad Street progressed it was decided not to dig to the base of the vestry. We therefore applied for and obtained leave specially to explore this, so as to ascertain, if possible, whether there was a Roman foundation to the structure. It proved to be a somewhat difficult task, as the eighteenth century vaults were not to be removed, and consequently we had to get beneath these, which entailed a considerable amount of shoring. There was also a chance of the ancient masonry having been removed on the rebuilding of the church, which we had found to be the case further west, as will be seen by Plate XXVI., at the spot where a man's figure appears. The examination of this point is still in progress, so it is not our intention at present to give any detailed account of the result. We would say, however, that so far it has been very successful and interesting, the original bastion having been found, the lower part of which rests at a depth of 14 feet beneath the surface, and is built of large well-dressed blocks of stone. On the face of several of these are lewis holes, showing clearly that they are the re-used remains of former buildings. They are cemented with pink mortar, which affords the first satisfactory proof of the Roman origin of the bastions. It is, however, of a later period than the City wall against which it is built, the lower part of which is here found intact, and its base has been carried for a little more than two feet below the wall plinth.

This concludes our account of matters concerning the Roman wall, and we will now turn our attention to some discoveries that have recently occurred within the area of the City.

BATH AT CANNON STREET.

Towards the end of October, 1905, during excavations in Cannon Street for the new fire station there, the remains of a Roman bath were found. The site is that of the western angle of the intersection of Cannon Street with Queen Victoria Street, which is formed into a detached triangle by the lower part of Bread Street bounding it on the west, and it is very near the spot formerly occupied by Gerards Hall.



PLAN AND SECTIONS OF ROMAN BATH DISCOVERED AT CANNON STREET IN 1905.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

The bath was some 17 feet distant from the eastern angle along the line of Cannon Street. (See Plate XXVII.) It lay partly beneath the building and also projected under the pavement, and the surface of its floor was 16 feet 9 inches below the street level. The bath was quadrilateral, measuring inside in length 10 feet 6 inches. The width at the northern end was 6 feet 3 inches, narrowing to 5 feet 10 inches at the southern end, and it was enclosed in walls a little over 17 inches thick, built of yellow tiles laid lengthwise and breadthwise. Both the longer sides had been cut into by the pier holes of the building erected at the time that Cannon Street was widened and extended, and the bath owed its partial preservation to the fact that it lay between the piers, and there was therefore no motive for destroying it; otherwise it would infallibly have shared the fate of other remains which have been found plentifully from time to time in this district and destroyed with little or no record.

The portions of the walls which remained were from $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and in the south-west angle were three steps built out from the wall. They were composed generally of yellow tiles, similar to those used in the walls, but it should be noted that a few red tiles occurred in them, and at each part of the base of the walls where it was exposed to view we also saw a red tile. It would appear that the yellow tiles were preferred for external effect, the red only being employed where they were not visible. Two red half tiles were also found at the foot of the wall on the outside, at the north-west corner, in a leaning position, so as to suggest that originally they had been continued round the base as a protection from the water falling from the roof. The foundation was formed by making a trench about 1 foot deep, in which were first laid some irregularly-shaped pieces of ragstone at a depth of about 7 inches, these being overlaid with coarse white mortar about 5 inches in thickness, and on this the walls were built. The floor was then formed of a layer of *opus signinum* 3 inches thick, which was of a finer character and deeper red on the surface than beneath. It also covered the walls and steps to a thickness of about an inch. Filling the angle formed by the wall and the floor was a roll or fillet of *opus signinum* about 4 inches thick.

There was nothing remaining to show how the tank was supplied or emptied, but evidence on this point may have been destroyed when the sides were previously cut into. In similar baths, such as those discovered at Hartlip in Kent,[a] a leaden

[a] Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, ii. 1-24; Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 3rd edition, 199-203.

vent was found, opening from the centre of one side in the plaster moulding, which in like manner ran round the angle.

On the west side of the building was a ditch about 3 feet wide running in a north-easterly direction. This was clearly seen in section by the dark soil with which it was filled. The central portion had been dug away, but the end remained, that to the south being about 7 feet from the end of the bath, but it passed in its diagonal course close to the north-west angle. (See plan, Plate XXVII.) It seems probable that this ditch had some connexion with the drainage, for the top of it was as nearly as could be on the floor level of the bath, the bottom being about 2 feet lower.

The filling of the ditch was examined by Mr. A. H. Lyell, F.S.A., and with the assistance of Mr. Clement Reid, F.R.S. and Mr. E. T. Newton, F.R.S. an interesting list of plant and animal remains was obtained which throws considerable light on the conditions prevailing in Roman London. Mr. Lyell reports as follows:

"The ditch or drain was filled with an earthy material which, on close examination, was found to be of a spongy nature, caused no doubt by the minute borings of some insect in the grub state. On dissolving up this material many hundreds of small pupa cases showed themselves. These have not been identified. Their presence may possibly be explained by the accompanying hard seeds of the fruits, which may have been in a succulent condition and completely choked up the drain. The seeds have been identified as those of elder, wheat, vine, sloe, blackberry, garlic, mustard, sedge, with fragments of carbonized oak. There were quantities of another interesting seed which, so far, has not been identified. It does not seem to belong to a British plant, but is probably of the order *Rosaceæ*.

Besides the seeds there were the small bones of mouse, eel, and other small fish bones not determinable."

No. 1. *Lower Portion of Ditch.*

Sambucus nigra, *Linn.* (Elder).
Quercus, carbonized (Oak).
Triticum Sativum, *Linn.* (Wheat).

No. 2. *Upper Portion of Ditch.*

Sisymbrium alliaria, *Scop.* { Garlic Mustard. / Sauce alone. / Jack by the Hedge.

Vitis vinifera (one seed), *Linn.* (Vine).
Prunus spinosa, *Linn.* (Blackthorn or Sloe).
Rubus fruticosus, *Linn.* (Blackberry).
Sambucus nigra, *Linn.* (Elder).
Carex (Sedge).
Triticum sativum, *Linn.* (Wheat).

It was at first thought that the undetermined seeds mentioned above were those of a pine. Seed vessels of *coniferæ* have before been noticed in London, associated with Roman remains. Among the discoveries on the site of the Royal Exchange "fragments of two fir-cones" are mentioned;[a] while Mr. J. E. Price refers to the occurrence in the bed of the Walbrook[b] of the *Pinus Pinea*, or stone pine. He quotes from the paper "On the Cuisine Bourgeoise of Ancient Rome,"[c] by Mr. Coote, to show the culinary use which the Romans made of the seed vessels of this species.

At the time of its construction the bath was evidently surrounded by hillocks of brick earth. The side to the west was open to the hollow traversed by the ditch, beyond which the ground rose several feet. On the eastern side the bath had been built against the brick earth, which rose to the height of the remaining wall, when it had been encroached upon by previous excavations and again filled in with the modern rubbish of the City. See section on A, B, Plate XXVII.

The side of the brick earth had been dug into for a little distance when the wall was built, but afterwards filled up, apparently in Roman times, as the soil close to the wall contained much painted plaster, also Samian and other Roman pottery, but beyond the distance of about a foot from the wall the earth was evidently undisturbed. We had a considerable quantity of this dug out. It contained, however, nothing except the traces of roots of trees, which, together with the remains found in the ditch, help to prove that in early Roman times the surface of London was covered by a luxuriant and varied vegetation.

We understand that the County Council eventually took up the remains of this bath and that it has been preserved, but unfortunately our observations

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations of the New Royal Exchange*, 87.

[b] *Roman Antiquities, National Safe Deposit Company's Premises*, 79.

[c] Mr. H. C. Coote's Paper is in *Archaeologia*, xli. 283-324. It contains more than a dozen references to the use of pine-nuts by the Romans. They are mentioned in the treatise called after Apicius as flavouring the sauces of boiled fish, of boiled veal, of boiled venison, of stuffed hare, of roast boar, of stuffed pig, of boiled goose, of boiled pigeon, of guinea fowl, etc.

were not completed, as it was found that through inadvertence we had not obtained a proper official permit to explore the site. Difficulties were therefore thrown in our way which prevented a further visit, and some interesting information that might have been obtained on the removal of the structure has probably been lost. We are told, however, that the bath appeared to have been an entirely detached one, the external walls showing no sign of its having been connected with other buildings, and that beneath it no arrangement for heating was disclosed.

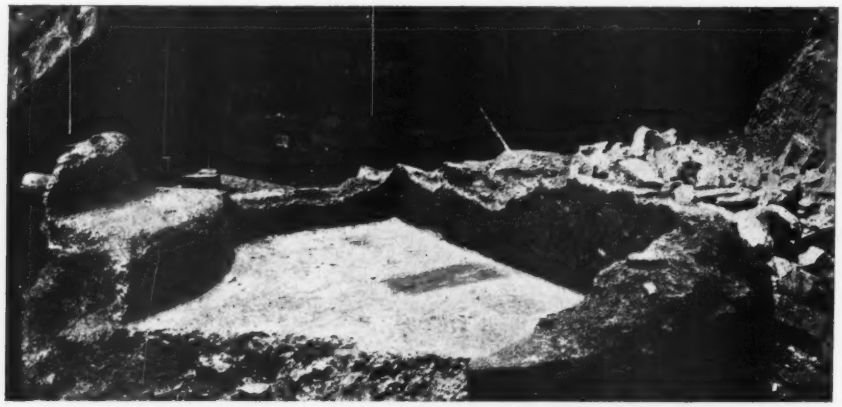


Fig. 18. Roman Bath discovered at No. 63 Threadneedle Street in 1895.

A similar bath was found in 1895 at 63, Threadneedle Street, under the chief office of the Sun Insurance Company, of which Mr. F. H. Norman is chairman. An account of it has been given by Mr. Herbert Jones, F.S.A.[a] It differs from that at Cannon Street in being square in form, with an internal measurement of 5 feet 8 inches. The walls were of rough Kentish rag, while the steps were semicircular. In the floor, which was of *opus signinum*, was embedded what, on account of its light colour, looked like a flagstone, but proved to be a Roman tile, its size being $16\frac{3}{8}$ by 11 inches. No trace remained of the means by which the bath was supplied or emptied, and the angle was not filled with a plaster moulding. Mr. Jones describes it as being a cold water tank, "evidently

[a] *Archaeological Journal*, lii. 198. The Sun Office stands partly on the site of the church of St. Bartholomew by the Exchange, and was erected in 1842 from the designs of C. R. Cockerell, R.A. A story has, however, since been added. During the excavations of 1895 remains of the medieval church came to light, but of these we have no authentic record.

all that remained of a larger building, having escaped destruction by lying at a lower level than the other bath chambers." Mr. E. Baumer, the secretary, was

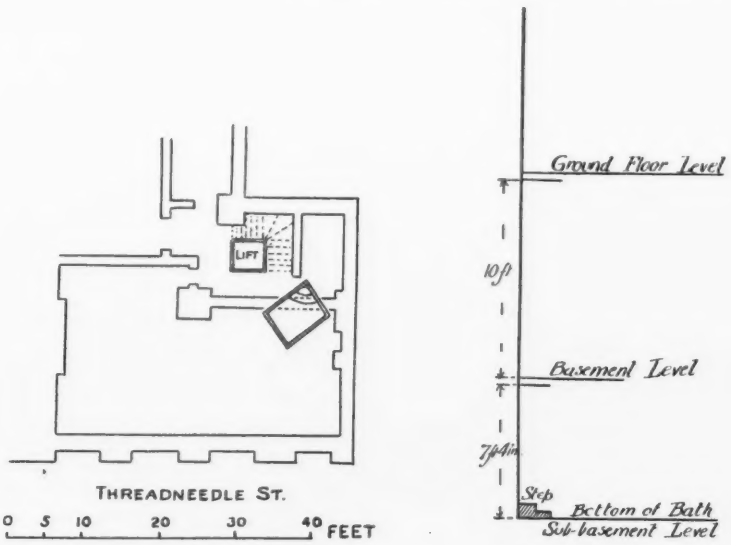


Fig. 19. Plan, with section showing depth, of a Roman Bath discovered at No. 63 Threadneedle Street in 1895.

good enough to lend us a photograph (Fig. 18) with a plan and section of this discovery (Fig. 19).

ROMAN WALLS AT KNIGHTRIDER STREET, CORNHILL, GRACECHURCH STREET, AND LEADENHALL MARKET.

An interesting discovery of a massive wall was made in August, 1905, at the western corner of the junction of Knightrider Street with Friday Street. We were told of this by Mr. Allan B. Walters, the architect of the new buildings which have been erected on the site of Nos. 81, 83, and 85, and he kindly gave us every opportunity of making an inspection.

This wall was particularly interesting on account of its construction between a framework of half poles and planks, a well-known Roman method,[a] but one

[a] J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Rome in* 1888, 29.

which does not appear to have been before recorded in London. It ran throughout the width of the ground for a length of 51 feet 6 inches, crossing diagonally from Knightrider Street to Friday Street, beneath the roadways of which it appeared to continue. It was 4 feet in thickness and 9 feet high, and had its foundations resting on the ballast at a depth of 21 feet from the present street level. It was solidly built of Kentish rag, the stone being of irregular size and shape laid at random, but forming a flat face particularly on the south side; on the north it was somewhat less regular. The spaces between the

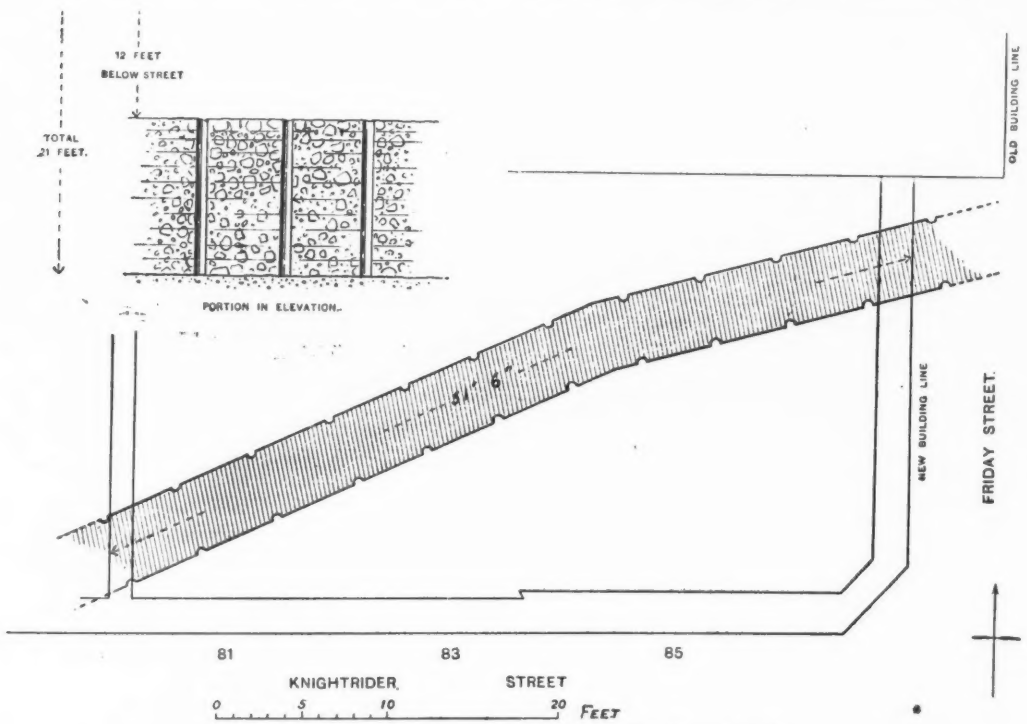


Fig. 20. Plan of Roman wall found in Knightrider Street in 1905.

stones were well filled with mortar. The stones varied in size from 8 inches to quite small fragments, being closely packed so that the joints were not very wide. At distances of 4 feet were the semicircular grooves formed by the half-poles, which were 6 inches in diameter; these ran vertically up both sides of the wall and opposite to each other. The mortar had been poured freely into the wooden framework, forming smooth and regular grooves, and bearing on the face the impress of the planks and the division between them, which showed that the

planks had measured from 9 to 10 inches in width. The original upper portion of the wall appeared to have been destroyed, but resting loosely on the top of what remained were two Roman tiles. There were, however, so far as we could see no tiles used in the construction of the wall either as bonds or built in singly.

We were told that not long ago, in constructing a sewer in Friday Street, the continuation of this wall crossing the roadway was met with. It will be seen by the plan (Fig. 20) that this wall does not run in a straight line, but at about two-thirds of its length from Knightrider Street it deflects somewhat towards the east. Apparently it formed an enclosure wall of some sort, and from the great depth at which its base rests it may be presumed to belong to an early period of the Roman occupation.

Many remarkable Roman remains have been discovered in the same district, particularly when the sewers were laid down in 1845. At this time great walls were found along the line extending from Basing Lane to Doctors' Commons. Unfortunately the accounts are singularly meagre and fragmentary. The whole district, however, is said to have been intersected by walls, buildings, and pavements. The construction of Queen Victoria Street has much altered the neighbourhood, including the names of many of the streets, so that at this time it is difficult to connect the few unsatisfactory records that have been preserved.

The particular portion of Knightrider Street where the recent discovery was made was formerly known as Old Fish Street, and in Old Fish Street Hill, a street running from it southwards a little to the west of the site under notice, was found a horseshoe-shaped sewer, about 3 feet wide and 3½ feet high, built of Roman tiles.[a] Somewhat further to the west in Little Knightrider Street, by which name the present street was known in the portion between Old Change and Godliman Street, a similar sewer was found passing through a wall of Kentish rag.

At the western portion of Knightrider Street, formerly Great Knightrider Street, Mr. W. H. Black, in his paper on "The Primitive Site of London,"[b] mentions a wall on the northern side of the way, running in the direction of the now destroyed parish church of St. Mary Magdalene. A wall also extended from Knightrider Street nearly to the Heralds' College. This last is described as being of ragstone with bonds of tile in the manner of the City wall. It is not

[a] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, i. 45.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xl. 49.

clear that these walls were connected, or formed any part of the boundary of the earlier city; their foundations generally went deep, and perhaps they were the

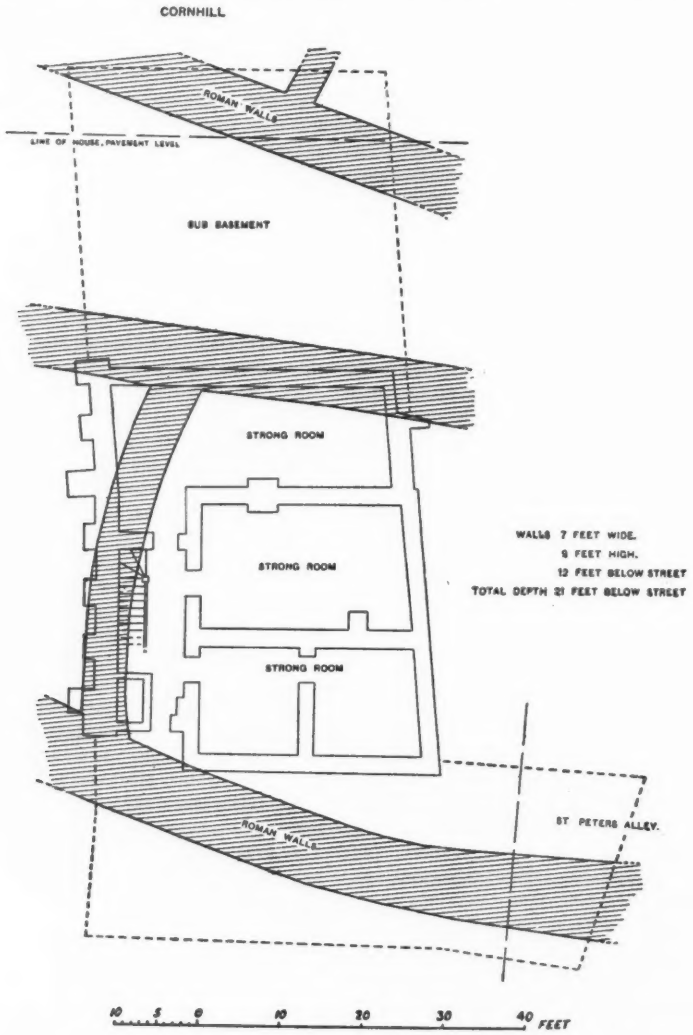


Fig. 21. Plan of Roman walls discovered under No. 50 Cornhill in 1891.

enclosure walls of important groups of buildings that stood here before the ultimate circumvallation of the City.

The walls that have been found from time to time along the line of Thames Street, west of London Bridge, in detached lengths, with return walls running up

the slope of the river bank, and built in different ways and of a variety of materials, suggest to us, so far as we can gather from the accounts, that they may perhaps have formed portions of enclosure walls such as we have referred to above rather than a continuous river defence connected with the City wall. Similar portions of large walls have been found also on the east side of the Walbrook, notably at Gracechurch Street [a] and the ground to the east of Cannon Street Railway Station.[b]

More recently, in 1891, some large walls were found in excavation for the new banking house of Messrs. Prescott, Dimsdale, and Co., at 50, Cornhill, a firm now amalgamated with the Union of London and Smiths Bank. Some reference was made to the subject at the time,[c] but we may perhaps be allowed to add a few remarks accompanying the plan here reproduced (Fig. 21), which has been kindly furnished us by Mr. Kenneth Prescott, who also allowed us to inspect the remaining portions that are built up in the basements and still open to view.

There were three principal walls found running across the space between the churches of St. Michael and St. Peter, and they appear to have continued in both directions roughly east and west. Two of these were connected with a curved cross wall, which, as Mr. Hope suggests, may have been originally straight and have lost its old facing, while the third passed under the frontage of the building, crossing diagonally the roadway of Cornhill in the direction of the Royal Exchange. In width the principal walls were generally from 7 to 8 feet, but at the extreme end running beneath St. Peter's Alley one is shown on the plan to be as much as 10 feet. They are random rubble walls of ragstone and fragments of Roman tile well grouted with mortar, and are 9 feet in height, their bases resting 21 feet 7 inches below the present street level. Mr. J. W. Grover, F.S.A., in his report to this Society, considers them to have been foundations formed in trenches, and says: "The one piece of the superstructure wall discovered was under the church on the south-west corner. It is a large block of carefully worked ashlar sandstone laid on the top of the rubble wall, the only accessible stone of a course on which a good Roman brick wall is built." We do not, however, think it probable that Roman foundations would have been of such very great depth. It must be borne in mind that the footings of the City wall generally stand almost on the original surface. Three wells were found, two of which are said to have

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xii.

[b] *Illustrations of Roman London*, 14; London and Middlesex Archæological Society's *Transactions*, iii. 75 (1870); *Archaeologia*, xxix. 157.

[c] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd S. xiv. 6-8.

been Roman, some tessellated pavement, Samian pottery, and other relics which are still preserved in the new building.

During 1906, some old houses in Gracechurch Street adjoining St. Peter's Church were pulled down, and we watched the subsequent excavation, thinking it probable that a further portion of these last remains might be discovered. The digging was carried through 15 feet of made earth, when at the north end a thickness of 6 feet of undisturbed brick earth was found capping the gravel, and this gradually thinned out to the top of the gravel towards the south. Passing through the south end of the ground and parallel with St. Peter's Alley was a rubble wall of ragstone 8 feet thick. It was on the edge of the southern limit of the building space, the side being about 3 feet from that of the alley; it was therefore only partially destroyed, the remainder being built into the footings. The top was about 17 feet from the surface, but the base was not reached. It apparently continued in both directions, and was followed some little distance under the roadway of Gracechurch Street, across which it appeared to pass. (See Plan, fig. 22 B.)

Beneath the south wall of Saint Peter's Church two pointed arches of chalk were found, the points of the arches being 6 feet below the street level; their span was about 11 feet, the sides being carried to a depth of 11 feet 3 inches, and there was a space of 4 feet in width separating them. These are probably the remains of the earlier church. About 15 feet south of the church another wall was found running beneath the roadway; this was 4 feet thick, and built of chalk. (See Plan, fig. 22 C.)

The position of these remains will be seen by the plan to come between those at Prescott's Bank and the extensive discoveries at Leadenhall Market, where quite recently a succession of ragstone walls running under the market buildings on the north side of the Grand Avenue has been opened up by drainage operations.

The present operations have not opened up the walls sufficiently to admit of an accurate plan being obtained. A large wall, however, 7 to 8 feet in thickness, was found to run from near Gracechurch Street as far as Whittington Avenue, and apparently extended further, but beyond this point the operations ceased. At right angles to this line of wall and on both sides of it were several smaller walls of a thickness of 4 feet. For the most part all these were constructed of rubble ragstone similar to those at Prescott's Bank and St. Peter's Alley, but the larger wall at the end nearest to Gracechurch Street rose to a greater height, and in this upper portion were bonds of tiles. The top of these remains was generally

about 18 feet below the present surface, and although an additional depth of 6 feet has been uncovered, the base has not been reached.

The drains are with great difficulty being laid actually in the solid masonry, which is of such strength that it is said to have taken three weeks to pierce the thickness in one part, with a hole 3 feet in diameter. As they are encased in a

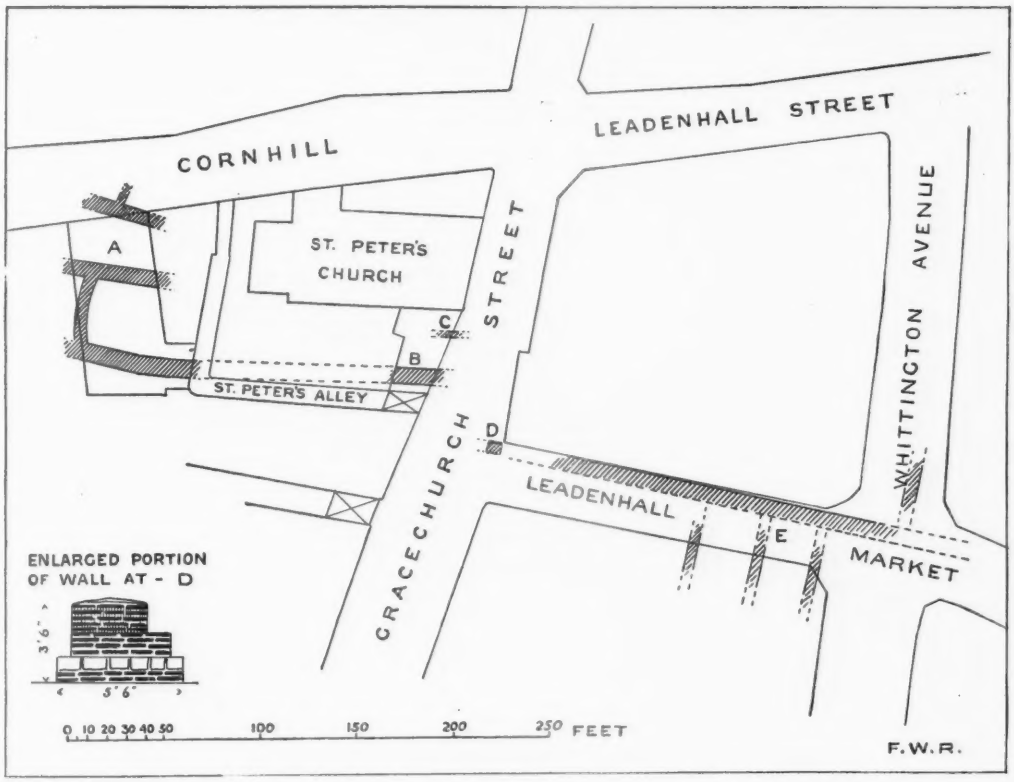


Fig. 22. Plan showing Roman walls in the neighbourhood of Gracechurch Street.

bed of modern concrete 3 feet in depth, their exploration is a matter of great difficulty. In spite of this Mr. Sydney Perks, the city surveyor, made some endeavour to trace their position, and owing to his kindness we are able to show on our plan the results so far as they could be seen.

These remains have been uncovered on previous occasions, when they were in part destroyed, and it is unfortunate that they have been most inadequately recorded.

Sir William Tite in 1848 mentions[a] that "besides other remains of buildings, walls 6, 7, and 11 feet in breadth extending east and west were found at and near Half-moon Passage in Gracechurch Street." The present Grand Avenue occupies the position of the former Half-moon Passage, so that the walls just uncovered are no doubt part of the same remains. They were again exposed, and partially destroyed, when the existing arrangement of the market was brought about. What then came to light was referred to by Mr. J. E. Price at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society in 1882.[b] After describing some tessellated pavements he says that the walls ranged from 3 feet to as much as 12 feet in thickness. In an article also which appears to have been inspired by Mr. Price,[c] it is stated that "a vast number of Roman walls and foundations were removed for the necessities of the new City Market at Leadenhall. One large pile of this early work was considered to be of such interest that arrangements were made by the Corporation for its preservation on the site." This is still to be seen in the cellar of the shop on the corner of Gracechurch Street and the northern side of the avenue of the market. (D on plan, fig. 22.) It is built of Roman tiles, the existing top of which is about 11 feet below the street level. Its base doubtless extends many feet below the cellar floor, and the ground seems to indicate that it is directly on the line of the main wall extending through the market.

Additional importance is given to these discoveries on account of the extensive remains of buildings and tessellated pavements that have occurred in the neighbourhood,[d] and the light they help to throw on the question of the antiquity of Gracechurch Street.

Mr. Roach Smith held that Gracechurch Street was the original north and south highway of Londinium, and claimed that this thoroughfare was free from remains of Roman buildings.[e]

This view is supported later by Mr. J. E. Price,[f] who, though admitting that

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xii.

[b] London and Middlesex Archæological Society's *Transactions*.

[c] *The Builder* (5th October, 1889), lvii. 236.

[d] *Archaeologia*, xxxix. 491-502; *ibid.* xxix. 145-166; *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxxvii. 84, 90, 91; *ibid.* xxiv. 75, 78; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. viii. 524, 528.

[e] *Archaeologia*, xxix. 154.

[f] *Roman Antiquities, National Safe Deposit Company's Premises*, 29.

important buildings occupied the site of St. Benet's Church, goes on to say: "More recent investigations have, however, shown that it probably does represent one of the great roads through the City, and careful examination has now proved that no structural remains of the Roman period can have occurred throughout its course. On either side of the street *débris* of buildings have been seen with fragments of tessellated pavements and other traces of early dwellings, but nothing has existed along the actual line of road." The examination, on which he bases his belief, is that of the sewerage operations in 1872, already referred to by us in connection with Bishopsgate; and we have pointed out that the tunnelling was then driven at a depth much below the Roman level.

Sir William Tite says[a] distinctly that the subterranean examination showed that Gracechurch Street "was certainly not one of the oldest roadways. At the north and south walls of St. Bennet Grace-church, at the south-west corner of Fenchurch Street, walls were discovered built across Gracechurch Street, 4 feet in thickness and 22 feet in depth from the surface, continuing down to the point to which the sewer was sunk. Somewhat to the north of Lombard Street the excavations passed under a burial ground filled with interments." As he does not call this burial ground Roman we may assume that he considered it to be later.

He then describes the discoveries "at and near Half-moon Passage" as quoted above. Thick walls are again mentioned as occurring at Corbet Court,[b] on the opposite side of Gracechurch Street and immediately to the south of St. Peter's Alley.

We are not expressly told that they crossed the street, but when recently uncovered all the indications pointed to these walls being continuous and connected with extensive and important buildings intersecting the whole district. Of those at St. Peter's, the ragstone wall is of the same character, and is in line with those at Prescott's Bank. It extended under the pavement of Gracechurch Street, but is not quite in a straight line with the main wall through the market, though it runs in that direction. (See plan, fig 22). The smaller chalk wall is most likely medieval, and also ran under the roadway, where it was followed for several feet, and appeared to continue. The portion of the tile wall (D on plan) preserved in the cellar opposite St. Peter's Alley appears to have had an opening at the end

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xii.

[b] Kelsey's *Description of the Sewers*, 100.

nearest the market, being built in steps as shown in the enlarged elevation. (Fig. 22.) In the other direction it passes under the pavement of Gracechurch Street as far as the cellar extends; beyond this it is built in and its further course cannot be traced, but there is no indication that it terminates at this point. The fact that there was an opening in this wall to the east of the present roadway makes it the less probable that another occurred in the roadway itself.

It will be seen therefore that the remains found at St. Benet's Church preclude the idea that this part of the street had formed a portion of the highway in early Roman times, while the indications recently observed by us go far to prove the same as regards the northern end of the street.

The existence of the burial ground mentioned by Tite, and of the chalk wall observed by us, adds further the probability that the precise line of the present roadway was not arrived at until some time in the middle ages, perhaps after Old London Bridge was built in 1209. That this bridge was preceded by one of Roman construction there seems no ground to doubt (although there is no direct evidence except the obscure statement of Dion Cassius) for the reasons that there was an important Roman settlement along the line of the present Borough High Street, and that such a work was easily within the powers of those who could span the Rhine and the Danube. In our own country we can still see the massive remains of a Roman bridge which crossed the North Tyne.[a] It is not to be supposed therefore that the Romans neglected to build one at London, where it would have been of much greater necessity, not only on account of the size and wealth of *Londinium*, but because of its position as the centre from which radiated so many important roads.

Moreover the site occupied by the Roman bridge has been satisfactorily shown to be about the same as that of "Old London Bridge," after the removal of which, as Mr. Roach Smith tells us, when dredging up the gravel and silt in the bed of the Thames, many objects of Roman art were found, with thousands of coins dating from the time of Augustus to Honorius, those of the higher empire being particularly plentiful. Among them were medallions of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[b]

There are also good reasons for supposing that Bishopsgate was of Roman origin, further confirmation of which has been provided by our recent discovery of the flint and clay puddling beneath its site. Not only the gate, but Bishopsgate Street, both within and without, appears to have been ancient; at least that was

[a] Bruce's *Roman Wall*, 3rd edition, 144.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xxviii. 38-46; *ibid.* xxix. 160-166; *Illustrations of Roman London*, 20, 21.

Tite's opinion, and he together with Kelsey had peculiar opportunities of observing the conditions of the soil under the road.

Taking these facts into consideration, it is perhaps natural that the highway connecting the old bridge with Bishopsgate Street should have been held to be of ancient origin, as asserted by Roach Smith and Price.[a] Tite, however, with fuller knowledge of the conditions, recognised the impossibility of an early roadway in this direction, and takes the view that there was an earlier bridge to the eastward of the medieval bridge, and about the position of St. Botolph's Wharf, Billingsgate, from which point he supposes "the oldest highway through London northward" might have been taken.

However probable this may be, it can hardly be said to be more than conjecture, the only evidence in support of it being a quantity of piling found at Botolph Wharf and a reference to it in the Cottonian MSS.[b]

Doubtless during the long occupation of *Londinium* by the Romans the river was crossed at more than one point; thus a ferry would have given way to a bridge, and that perhaps to a later bridge which was not in precisely the same position. During the period occupied by these developments important buildings would have grown up in the City, and it can easily be understood that it would be inexpedient to have removed them merely in order to have a direct road to the northern gate. Either the road, parallel with and close to the river, could have been followed until the original north road was reached, or if any alteration of roadway was necessary it would more reasonably have been made so as to avoid the existing arrangement of houses.

On all the evidence the great probability is, in our opinion, that it was not until the accumulation of ages had buried these massive walls and extensive remains of buildings that have again just been brought to light that the present line of Gracechurch Street was formed.

[a] It might be pointed out that in an earlier passage by Price than that already referred to, viz. in his account of the *Roman Antiquities discovered on the Site of the National Safe Deposit Company's Premises*, p. 19, he suggests that when the first stone bridge was finished in 1209 a new street was constructed "constituting the modern Fish Street Hill and Gracechurch Street," and that "this new line appears to be referred to in a manuscript record of the quit-rents of London Bridge under the name of the 'King's Road, called Brigge Street,' and it is also called London Bridge Street in a record cited by Madox of the 52nd year of Henry III. 1268."

[b] Faustina A. III. c. xliv. fo. 636.

EXCAVATIONS AT CLOAK LANE AND COPTHALL AVENUE.

We will now bring our present record of London observations to a close by briefly referring to some excavations that have taken place in the Walbrook bed, south of the wall. They were begun in 1905 for new buildings for the Skinners' Company. The space extended from Cloak Lane and absorbed the old garden of the Skinners' Company.

The whole surface was that of the stream bed, but unfortunately the digging was not carried deeper than 16 feet, consequently the Roman level was not reached. The part of the filling exposed showed clearly that it was the deposit of a stream. In it were quantities of piles, some large ones of oak, whose rotted tops came to light at a depth of 15 feet, were drawn out, and found to average about 5 feet in length, the ends being roughly pointed like those occurring commonly in all parts of the stream. In all likelihood these piles were of the Roman period, but for the reasons given above, and from the fact that the bed of the stream was not reached, it is not possible to speak of this with certainty.

Near the Bank of England, where the accumulation of the City has been greatest, the depth of the Walbrook as we have seen is upwards of 30 feet from the present surface. The fall from the Bank to the Thames is considerable, and probably far greater than in ancient times, owing to the surface not having been raised so much near the river side. It is therefore possible that the original stream bed would not be much more than 20 feet in depth at Cloak Lane.

There were also many smaller piles. A row of these close together, running laterally with the stream, was of birch, the bark of which was still white and well preserved; the ends were sharply pointed, and, the bed of the stream having been silted up before they were inserted, the level to which the digging had been carried about represented the position in which they had been fastened. The period they represent could not with any confidence be estimated, but green-glazed earthenware together with some Roman pottery was found in the filling around them.

The section was 36 feet wide, and represents only a small part of the breadth of the stream, which Sir William Tite found to be 248 feet in Cloak Lane.[a] The filling clearly indicated the changes that had taken place in the

[a] *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange*, xxvii.

history of the stream. From the lowest part of the excavation to a height varying from 3 feet 6 inches to 5 feet, the deposit was of a clean sandy nature evidently laid down by a flowing stream. Passing upwards, this is gradually succeeded by black mud, which increased as the water was reduced in volume, and became sluggish through the raising of the bed, until it finally became a stagnant mass with filthy channels, after which it was covered with the solid made earth of more recent times.

Two walls were cut through on the west side, apparently marking different lines of embankment of the stream's side as the water shrank, and the morass was reclaimed in the medieval period. The wall farthest to the east was 2 feet wide and built of chalk. About 8 feet to the east of this was the second wall of chalk and greensand with a few bricks. This was 2 feet 8 inches wide, and its base rested a foot lower than that of the outer wall.

The eastern side of the excavation was nearer the middle of the stream, and along this ran the old Walbrook sewer, probably that which Gough records thus:[a] "In 1744 was laid in Walbrook a new sewer, a perfect cylinder of 3 feet diameter, comprised of bricks set in terrace." During a later period of the digging part of this was cut away, and the channel was found to be 7 feet high by 3 feet wide, the lower portion and the sides being of Kentish rag and roofed over with an arch of brick, the whole enclosed in rubble concrete, the base of which rested at 16 feet below the surface. Adjoining this were some piles and planks resting in the mud deposit, in which were patches of peat. One pile was drawn from just below the sewer, which measured 7 feet in length. We are much indebted to Mr. E. Bridge, the clerk of the works, for information and leave to observe what took place.

Of more importance perhaps were the excavations that have followed the removal of some old houses on the east side of Copthall Avenue, these being the last that had remained of what was formerly Little Bell Alley, a district largely rebuilt about twenty years ago, when the thoroughfare was widened and endowed with its more pretentious title.

The first of these excavations was in 1904, on the site now occupied by Jasper House. This we had no opportunity of watching closely, but the operations showed that the ground fell in the direction of Drapers' Gardens, on which it backed, and that only the side of the stream had been found, the main part evidently extending under the gardens.

[a] Camden's *Britannia*, edition of 1806, ii. 92.

Stow speaks of "an iron grate on the channel which runneth into the water-course of Walbrooke before you come to the postern called Moorgate," and adds that it was at "the farthest west part of Broad Street Ward." This would indicate that a tributary stream in his time entered the City a short distance west of the present Copthall Avenue, the line of which it followed until it joined the main stream. The excavation which we are here describing helps to show that the main stream was further east than Copthall Avenue, the bed occupying more nearly the position of Drapers' Gardens.

In December, 1906, a further excavation was made a few doors to the north of that just referred to, and, through the kindness of Mr. Foster, the clerk of the works, we had every opportunity to observe what was disclosed.

On the removal of the old houses, Nos. 10 and 12, the ground was cleared to a depth of 11 feet 9 inches. From this general level pier-holes and trenches for wall footings were dug, which were carried down until firm ground was reached. This was found to be the London clay, which here ran irregularly at a depth of from 18 feet to 24 feet. At the end, facing Copthall Avenue, it was covered with undisturbed loam of a thickness of about 3 feet, the top of which represents the old surface. Shelving gradually, at a little more than half-way across the site it gave place to washed gravel and sand, which became deeper as it approached Drapers' Gardens, where it was in places from 6 to 7 feet deep. One could easily recognize that this was a true stream deposit, and moreover it was found that the holes and trenches in this part soon filled with water to a depth of 3 or 4 feet, and had to be energetically baled during excavation. There was less water towards the middle, while in the loam near Copthall Avenue the cuttings remained comparatively dry. Over the whole came 5 to 6 feet of black mud in which were patches of peat. This extended to the top that had been cleared, 11 feet 9 inches from the street level. Many piles were found in all parts, the rotted tops of which occurred in this mud deposit, but they were dug out from the top, and nothing could be seen of their position or arrangement.

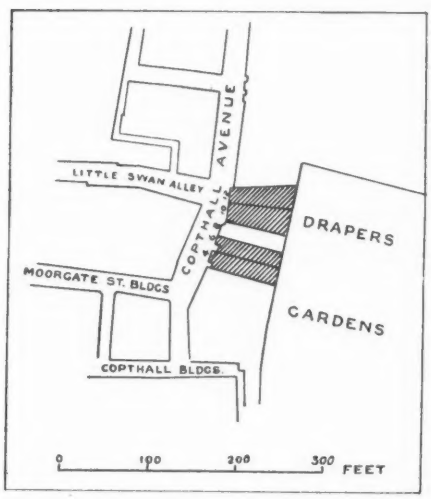


Fig. 23. Plan of excavations in Copthall Avenue.

At the north-west corner, just under the building line in Copthall Avenue, a well was discovered. The shaft of this was square and lined with planks 9 inches wide and 1½ inch thick, which were morticed at the angles and fastened with iron nails. One corner only was cut into, the top of the timber being found at 22 feet 6 inches below the street, and extending to a depth of 33 feet 9 inches. It was quite dry and filled with clean light soil. Having been dug entirely in the London clay it was probably an abortive well, or had been used to collect water from the surface, and it contained nothing which would enable one to fix its date. A second well came to light on the south side near the centre and extending under the wall of the adjoining house. It was about 20 feet deep, and had a framework of timber and bricks at the bottom, where water was reached. It was clearly medieval, and in the filling was a roundel of lead with five crosses scratched on it arranged as the arms of Jerusalem, perhaps the label of a cloth-bale (Fig. 24).

The peat found on this site was quite unmistakeable. It occurred in patches throughout the overlying deposit of black mud, in which it appeared to have been formed in marshy hollows, being from 2 to 3 feet deep in places, thinning out to a few inches. We watched continuously during several days the removal of large quantities of this deposit, and throughout occurred much Roman pottery, animal bones, horn cores, and many oyster shells. Curiously, red Samian was far more abundant than the black and other Roman wares, probably ten times as plentiful, and we saw some hundreds of fragments dug up all over the ground at this level. There was not a scrap of anything of later date, and it was evident that by the removal of the soil above this level all the later deposit had been cleared away.

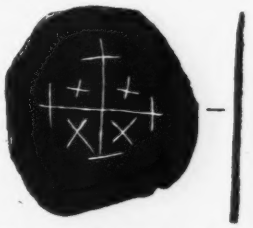


Fig. 24. Lead roundel. (½.)

This is important in view of certain criticisms that have been advanced, on the one hand contending that the swamp conditions have been exaggerated, and by others that they were brought about after the departure of the Romans, when London is supposed to have long lain desolate and forsaken.

The former hypothesis can only be supported by those who have made no special study of the subject, but the latter seems at first reasonable enough, agreeing as it does with what has been related, however obscurely and imperfectly, by scraps of history and legend. Nevertheless the facts revealed by the soil fail to support this view. Wherever observations have been made in the course of the Walbrook, Roman relics have been found from the base, extending

many feet upwards into the mud and growth that had accumulated after this once vigorous stream had become sluggish and stagnant. General Pitt-Rivers was the first who pointed this out in his paper on the pile structures;[a] the site of which is only a little distance north of that now under notice. He mentions that kitchen-middens were found at various heights in the peat, showing occupation during the time the peat was being formed, and that Roman objects, exclusively, appeared in this deposit to a height of 9 feet. These observations, however, seem long to have been ignored by those who undertook to write on Roman London, and this valuable paper was almost unnoticed until brought into prominence by Dr. Munro on pages 460 to 490 of his *Lake Dwellings of Europe*.

The evidence furnished by the deposit at Copthall Avenue strikingly confirms the previous records, and the fortunate removal at first of the soil of later times prevented any chance of doubt or confusion which often occurs in such excavations when objects fall from a higher level. Here was a naturally laid deposit, at least 5 to 6 feet in thickness, one, too, which it is clear from the formation of the peat must have taken a long period to accumulate, and in which Roman objects occurred throughout, but nothing more recent. Even though one may not be able to reconcile this with some preconceived notions, and though issues may thus be raised which are difficult of explanation, we are forced to conclude that this deposit took place during the time that the Romans were occupying London, and we leave it to future discoveries to throw further light on a matter concerning which we must be content with the bare statement of facts.

We would add that the sites of our labours have been visited from time to time by various well-known archæologists, to whom we are indebted for many useful hints. We would specially thank Mr. C. R. Peers, F.S.A., for his kind assistance.

[a] *Anthropological Review*, v. (1867), lxxi.

APPENDIX I.

Note from "A Description of the Sewers of the City of London, and Liberties Hereof": as ascertained and drawn up by Richard Kelsey, surveyor, and William Santle, inspector, 1840.—(MS. GUILDHALL.)

P. 53.

In 1804 a very fine Roman tessellated pavement was met with in making a drain from Dr. Bell's house into this sewer [at the west end of Leadenhall Street from Lime Street westward], and was deposited in the museum of the The Honourable the East India Company.

P. 71.

An ancient culvert 2 feet 6 inches wide by 2 feet high and 18 feet from the surface, formed of fine inch oak plank, quite sound (the soil a solid peat of rushes), was met with under Thames Street. Many pins or skewers of bone from 5 to 10 inches long with holes drilled through the thicker end were found.

P. 80.

In building this sewer [St. Dunstan's Hill] some Roman pavement was cut through near to Cross Lane.

P. 83.

In building this sewer [Mincing Lane in 1824] the remains of the hypocaustum, or furnace room, of a Roman bath were met with opposite to the gateway into Clothworkers' Hall, at a depth of 18 feet, the flues under the floor, with the partitions and air-flues, being in a perfect state. A vase with charcoal was found in one of them. There was much water at this spot, level with the top of the invert. Perforated stones were placed in the side to allow it to run off. It is bedded in gravel.

P. 84. FENCHURCH STREET (WESTERN HALF), 1838.

In executing this work a burial ground in the wider part of the street, east of Rood Lane, was passed through, but not the slightest traces of "the Bourne" mentioned by Stow were found, the ground being good sound gravel.

P. 90. WEST END OF LOWER THAMES STREET, 1834.

In building this sewer nearly the whole line was found full of oak and chestnut piles, but much closer and larger at the end of Botolph's Wharf gateway and warehouse than in other places, and in continuation of it westward at the foot of Fish Street Hill very substantial masonry was found, and beneath it was a strong run of clear water. Howel and

Stow state that Buttolphe's Wharf was at the the head of the first London Bridge, which was built of timber about 961.

P. 95. Sewer in King William Street (between the abutment lines of the former London Bridge and the north side of Arthur Street East). 1829.

At the south end the bottom of the foundation of the sewer lies 3 feet thick deep in a bed of oyster shells, which is in the whole about 7 feet thick, and is supposed to mark the site of the ancient "Oyster Gate" (Stowe).

P. 100. Gracechurch Street, 1834.

Great obstacles were encountered at the northern end from substantial and massive masonry, extending from Corbet Court to the head. The bottom of it was not reached, but the walls blasted with gunpowder to get space sufficient for the work northward of Lombard Street. Numerous coffins with human remains were passed under.

P. 105.

A Roman vase was found [when building Arthur Street West sewer, 1833] under the foundation wall of one of the former houses on the west side of Martin's Lane, in a perfect state.

P. 106. Lawrence Pountney Lane Sewer, 1836, from Upper Thames Street to the Air Gate by the Burial Ground of Parish of St. Lawrence's Pountney.

It passed through the ruins of buildings, Roman tiles being mingled in the rubbish.

P. 112. 1834.

From Mansion House Street northward into London Wall and the land to the eastward, beyond the Auction Mart in Throgmorton Street, was found to consist of indurated bog earth to a general average depth of 9 feet, and in Lothbury about 90 feet of that sewer was tunnelled between the walls of a very ancient passage, the floor of which was paved with coarse red *tesseraæ*, the whole lying in this layer of bog earth. . . . . Masses of piling with the wall planking still on the face next to the channel were cut through, and at the south-east angle of Grocers' Hall (where the manhole now is) a bed of very hard concrete pavement, covered with a thin coat of red earth, was found at a depth of 17 feet 6 inches.

P. 133. Moorgate Street, 1835.

A human skeleton was found in the bog earth at King's Arms Yard, in very good preservation but quite black.

P. 138. London Wall (east of Moorgate), 1837.

In building the new sewer, at a few feet eastward of Carpenters' Buildings, an ancient sewer of Roman workmanship was cut through. It was embedded in a mass of rubble masonry 12 feet wide. At 14 feet southward of London Wall, it terminated in a mouth cut to the slope of the ditch into which it had discharged itself. The bank of the ditch was still covered with large quantities of moss. On the northern side it had been converted into a place of sepulchre. The remains of two human skeletons, with a large dog's skull and part of the stem of a stag's horn, were found therein, together with some Roman pottery, a small silver coin of Antoninus, and a copper coin of Faustina, and other ancient money. One upright and two sloping stout iron bars at 12 feet north of the new sewer, Moorgate Street to Old Broad Street, closed the mouth of this tomb, and were in the most perfect state of preservation, still retaining their grey colour. At 11 feet 6 inches northward the crown had been broken in. A coarsely wrought base of a column was among the rubbish.

The bottom is flat and paved with two layers of large tiles, and the sides and arch of the sewer are built of small tiles with thick joints of mortar. The bed of this ancient work, and that of the new sewer being nearly coincident, they were connected on both sides.

At a short distance westward of this culvert, a stone bearing a funeral inscription of the age of the Roman Emperor Antoninus was found close to the lower part of the City wall. It was deposited in the City Library by the Commissioners.

The substructure of the City wall is rubble, banded at three feet intervals with two thicknesses of large tiles.

This spot having until of late years borne the name of "Little Moorgate," it probably was the site of a strongly fortified entrance to the City in its earliest days.

The soil cut through consisted of wet and slimy bog earth containing human and other animal remains in considerable numbers, in the line of Blomfield Street.

From Description of the Southern End of The Walbrook, p. 258 et seq.

Ruined tessellated and other pavement met with in Princes Street, Lothbury, and Bartholomew Lane.

P. 269.

Opposite to Robin Hood's Court, Bow Lane, at a depth of 12 feet, a coffin or grave constructed of Roman tiles on the sides, head, and foot, but not covered, was found [1839]. It contained the entire skeleton of an old man. A defaced piece of copper money was firmly clenched between the teeth.

P. 319. Eastern Half of Cheapside, 1838.

The foundation of an ancient structure, which had winding steps withinside, was met with at the junction of the Wards of Cheap and Cripplegate Within. On the side were found two shields of Purbeck or Petworth marble carved with the heraldic bearings of Edward the First and his Queen Eleanor. They were presented by the Commissioners to

the City Library. According to Stow's statement this must have been part of the "Standard in Cheape." Nearly opposite to Bow Church a quantity of ancient jewellery was found consisting of rings, brooches, and other ornaments. They appeared to be very pure silver, but proved to be tin. They were presented to the City Library.

P. 446. HOLBORN.

A Roman sepulchre, consisting of a cubical coffer of 3-inch oak 2 feet 9 inches on every side, and containing a few remains of human bones, with the rib bone of some quadruped and a considerable quantity of pottery, the greater part of which was broken, was met with in 1833 at a depth of 18 feet embedded in the blue clay. Five of the jars which were found unbroken were presented to the City Library. The situation of it was opposite to Messrs. Thompson and Fearson's gin shop, eastward of Union Court.

The following particulars are also given in the same book:

LONDON WALL EAST OF MOORGATE.

The upper sewer was built by the Commissioners in 1779, and extends eastward to Great Winchester Street.

	DEPTH.	HEIGHT.	WIDTH.
At Moorgate Street . .	9 4	5	3
Leathersellers' Buildings .	9 9		
Drapers' Buildings . .	8 6		
Great Winchester Street .	7 3		

The current is westward.

Lower sewer was built by Commissioners in 1837, and extends from Moorgate Street eastward into Old Broad Street.

	DEPTH.	HEIGHT.	WIDTH.
At Albion Hall . . .	21 0	6	4
Circus Place	18 8		
Blomfield Street . . .	18 2		
Little Winchester Street .	18 0		
Old Broad Street . . .	16 4	6	3 6

From Great Moorgate to Little Moorgate the sewer lies in strong gravel, most of it black. There was no cap of loam upon it, very filthy water ran in from under the Old City wall, the bottom of which is nearly as deep as the sewer.

At Allhallows Church the gravel was coarse, perfectly clean and loose. Water very clear and abundant.[a]

[a] The above notes have in part been kindly supplied by the editor of the *Victoria County History*.

APPENDIX II.

Tower.

Report on Excavations at the Tower of London, by Herbert Jones, Esq., F.S.A.

When the Horse Armoury at the Tower of London was pulled down and the remains of the Wardrobe Tower, long concealed by modern brickwork, were exposed to view, it was found that a length of about 16 feet of the wall of the Roman city had been built into the Wardrobe Tower, and this piece is still preserved. It is of similar construction to the rest of the wall but about a foot less in thickness.

In the autumn of 1904 an excavation was made, at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries, immediately south of the end of the existing piece of wall, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any trace of its continuation in the direction of the Thames could be found, or if possibly the position of the angle of the wall, which must have been situated near the spot, might be ascertained.

The plinth of the existing wall is now above the present level of the ground, which slopes from this point steeply away to the river, the surface and levels having been subject to great alterations at various periods. Two deep trenches running south were cut at the south end of the wall, with cross trenches connecting them, and were carried down to the unmoved soil. Medieval walling was found in a line with the Wardrobe Tower; and close to the southern end of the Roman wall puddled clay with flint, which continued in a northerly direction under the wall, but south of the point where the exposed portion ends no trace of a continuation of the wall itself could be found after a most careful search. The excavations were carried south completely across the site of the Horse Armoury, now pulled down, directly south of which under a road is a large tank about 20 feet deep filled with water for use in case of fire. The open space south of the tank, and between it and the modern (rebuilt) curtain wall, was formerly covered by a large warehouse, part of the substructions of which still remain underground. This area was also examined, pits and trenches being sunk in it to a level of the basement of the warehouse, far lower than the possible level of the footings of the Roman wall. Trenches were also tried northwards from the modern curtain wall, but without result, the whole site being composed of a mass of builders' and other rubbish, chiefly the remains of the destroyed warehouse left on the spot to avoid removal.

The walls of the passage leading from the basement of the White Tower to the Castle ditch near the river were also carefully examined for any signs of this tunnel having been carried through the Roman wall running east and west from the south-east angle of the City, but no traces of Roman work were found, and the level of the passage must have been lower than the base of the wall.

Although these excavations led to no result, and it can now hardly be hoped that any further remains of the Roman wall will ever be found within the Tower of London, the best thanks of all antiquaries are due to the First Commissioner of H. M. Office of Works, to the Constable, Lieutenant, and Major of the Tower, and to their officials, for permission to carry out the excavations made and for assistance in prosecuting them.

APPENDIX III.

Notes on the Non-marine Mollusca found in recent City Excavations, chiefly by F. W. Reader, Esq.; examined by A. S. Kennard, Esq., F.G.S., and B. B. Woodward, Esq., F.L.S.

London Wall.

In 1905 a shaft was sunk in London Wall by the Society of Antiquaries for the purpose of investigating the structure of the Roman wall, and a small series of molluscan remains were obtained. It is impossible to fix the date of these shells; they may be of any age between the Roman period and early Tudor times.

The species found were:

Vitrea cellaria (Müll), 1 example	Land.
Pyramidula rotundata (Müll.), 4 examples	Land.
Helix aspersa (Müll.), 1 example	Land.
Helicigona arbustorum (Linn.), 1 example.	Land.
Cochlicopa lubrica (Müll.), 1 example.	Land.
Succinea elegans (Risso.), 1 example	Semi-aquatic.
Planorbis corneus (Linn.), 1 example	Aquatic.
Planorbis contortus (Linn.), 1 example	Aquatic.

All these species have been previously recorded from the site of the London Wall Estate Offices.[a]

New Broad Street (South Side).

From the extensive excavations made here in the spring of 1906, the most numerous molluscan remains that have been preserved are from the small Roman ditch.

Helix aspersa (Müll.), 3 examples.
Helix nemoralis (Linn.), 3 examples.
Helicigona arbustorum (Linn.), 5 examples.

The larger City Ditch is represented only by a single example of Helix aspersa (Müll.), but this is because no special effort was made to collect these later examples, while all those that were seen in the Roman ditch were saved.

New Broad Street (North Side).

The excavation here reached an old alluvial deposit, perhaps the remains of an old ditch. A number of molluscan remains were obtained at a depth of 15 feet from the

[a] *Proceedings of the Malacological Society*, v. part 2 (July, 1902), 180.

pavement level, though the deposit itself reached a depth of 30 feet. Five species were noted.

Limnæa stagnalis (Linn.), 1 example.
Limnæa peregra (Müll.), 6 examples.
Limnæa palustris (Müll), 6 examples.
Bithynia tentaculata (Linn.), 5 examples.
Planorbis umbilicatus (Müll.), 8 examples.
Planorbis contortus (Linn.), 1 example.

Houndsditch.

The base of the old Roman wall was exposed during the rebuilding of 59 and 61, Houndsditch, and from the crevices of the wall a large number of mollusca were obtained, probably of Roman age.

Four species were noted.

Vitrea cellaria (Müll.), 1 example.
Helix aspersa (Müll.), common.
Helix nemoralis (Linn.), 1 example.
Helicigona arbustorum (Linn.), common.

Cloak Lane, Dowgate Hill.

The excavation here was on the bed of the old Walbrook, but unfortunately the Roman level was not reached, the lowest part reached being probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and the mollusca obtained are of this age.

Five species were noted.

Pyramidula rotundata (Müll.), 1 example.
Helix aspersa (Müll.), 1 example.
Helicigona arbustorum (Linn.), 1 example.
Planorbis umbilicatus (Müll.), 1 example.
Neritina fluviatilis (Linn.), 2 examples.

Copthall Avenue.

An excavation was made here and reached the old bed of the Walbrook, but only one shell was obtained, Planorbis umbilicatus (Müll.), which in all probability was of Roman age.

List of Invertebrate Remains (Marine) found at Cloak Lane.

Whelk—Buccinum undatum (Linn.).
Oyster—Ostrea edulis (Linn.).
Mussel—Mytilus edulis (Linn.).
Cockle—Cardium edule (Linn.).
Periwinkle—Littorina littorea (Linn.).

Of these the first three were the most abundant, especially the first-named species. This is worthy of note, since this species was extremely rare in the excavations on the site

of the London Wall Estate Offices. Of the oyster, both the small Thames estuary and the larger deep sea form were represented. Some of the oysters and one example of the whelk were "dead" shells, and were covered by the spat of oysters.

None of these records is of any great importance, yet since molluscan remains, though nearly always ignored by the archæologist, certainly have their value by throwing light on past physical conditions, we have thought it advisable to record them.

APPENDIX IV.

Remarks on the objects found in the City Ditch adjoining All Hallows Church, 1906.

POTTERY.

Stoneware.—Among the vessels of this class Bellarmines were by far the most numerous. The richly ornamented grey and blue stoneware of which Figs. 1 and 4, Plate XXVIII., are examples, were fairly plentiful. Of the brown variety, ornamented examples such as Fig. 5, Plate XXVIII., were scarce, but there were many plain brown jugs and bottles. (Fig. 20, Plate XXIX.)



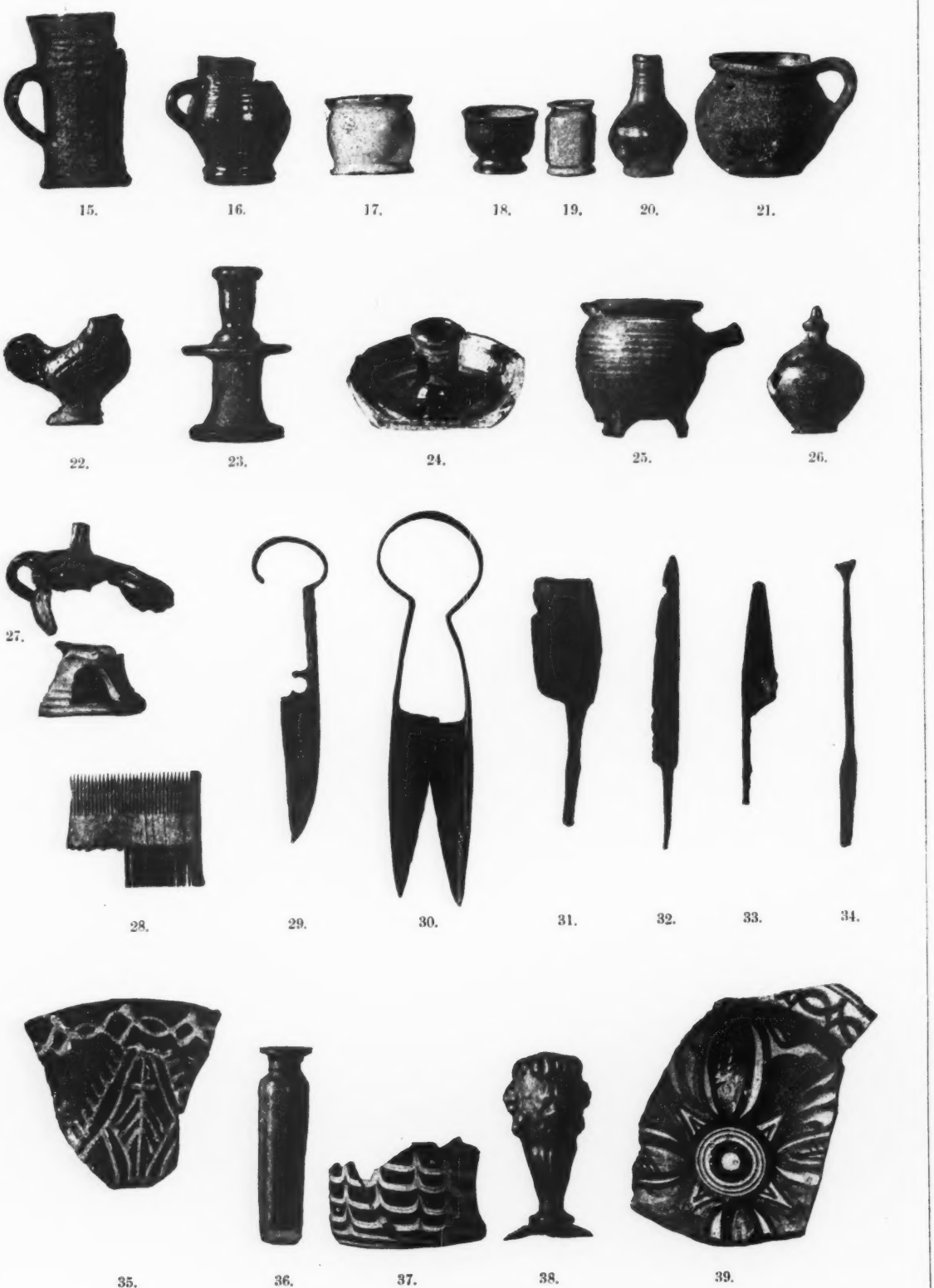
Fig. 25. Examples of slip ware.

The costrel (Fig. 7, Plate XXVIII.) was exceptional, and is probably of Mediteranean origin. A costrel of similar manufacture is in the Guildhall collection, ornamented with a bird on a branch painted in dark brown.

Slip ware.—Jugs and other vessels of this ware in a more or less fragmentary condition occurred plentifully, but especially numerous were the remains of dishes and plates.



POTTERY FROM THE CITY DITCH, NEW BROAD STREET.



OBJECTS FROM THE CITY DITCH, NEW BROAD STREET.

The patterns were of great variety, but most commonly resembled those of Fig. 6, Plate XXVIII., and Fig. 35, Plate XXIX. These were mostly of white slip on a red body and glazed with a deep yellow, the ornament being chiefly formed by an arrangement of straight and curved lines.

Some were entirely composed of dots, such as *a* Fig. 25, while less commonly dots and lines were employed together, as *d* Fig. 25.

In some cases the body appeared to have been dipped in manganese, giving the background a deep rich colour when glazed. In these examples the glaze employed was a lighter yellow, making the pattern stand out in stronger contrast.

Another variety which was less common is shown in *c* Fig. 25. In this the ornament is more ambitious and refined, the glaze is thinner and almost colourless, except where it is used less sparingly when it shows a slight tint of green.

Some instances occurred where the body was of light buff clay decorated with red slip, but these were rare.

Delft.—This was the most plentiful of the ornamental wares, as a rule in the form of plates, bowls, and the well-known straight-sided jars as Fig. 26.



Fig. 26. Delft jar.

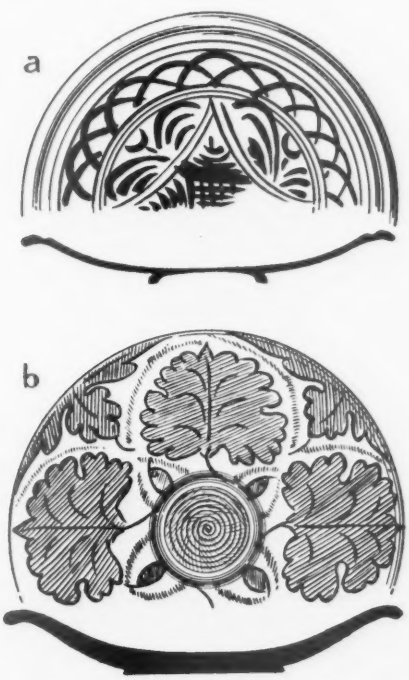


Fig. 27. Delft plates.

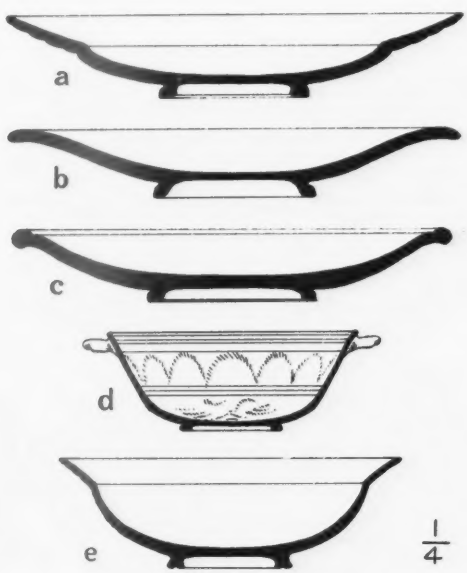


Fig. 28. Sections of Delft plates.

The plates were often of a deep form, some hardly to be distinguished from bowls. The patterns were chiefly of blue as in Fig. 27, but others had a good range of colour as in Fig. 39, Plate XXIX., being of blue and yellow, and *b* Fig. 27 which was of green, yellow, blue, and orange, outlined in dark purple. Sections of plates are shown on Fig. 27 and *a b* and *c* Fig. 28. A large proportion of the rims at the back were pierced, some with one and others with two holes for suspension Many of the plates had been used for cooking or warming food by which they had become much darkened, some being a lustrous black, the pattern showing only by the relief.

Glazed earthenware.—Most of the larger vessels such as pitchers, pans, watering-pots, braziers, etc. were of red earthenware with brown glaze. The bright green glaze on a buff body occurred rarely except on smaller objects as chafing-dishes, candlesticks, money-boxes, pipkins, and a few basons. Even among these objects the bright green glaze was not as plentiful as yellow, brown, and brown-green.

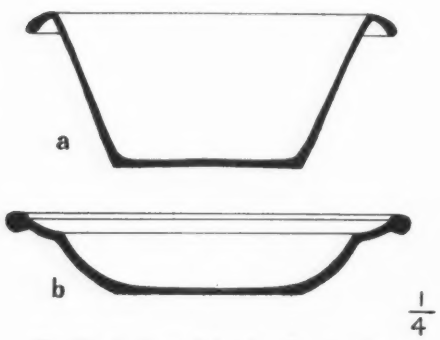


Fig. 29. Sections of glazed earthenware basons.

Large numbers of braziers occurred of the form of Fig. 9, Plate XXVIII., the taller form shown on Fig. 10 was uncommon. Many of these vessels contained pitch and resinous matter, and they appear to have been extensively utilised for industrial purposes.

Of watering-pots both the rose (Fig. 12, Plate XXVIII.) and the thumb-hole types (Figs. 13 and 14, Plate XXVIII.) were found in considerable numbers; but the latter were the most common, showing that they were largely used during the period represented by the filling of the City Ditch.

There were many jars and jugs of dark brown glaze (Fig. 16, Plate XXIX.), but much more numerous were the tygs of this ware both of one and two handles. (Fig. 15, Plate XXIX.) The heavy bases of these vessels were found in striking numbers, and they appear to have been the common drinking mug of the period.

There were mugs in slip and other wares such as Fig. 8, Plate XXVIII., but these were scarce in comparison with the tygs.

The flat form of candlestick (Fig. 24, Plate XXIX.) was much more plentiful than the upright form. (Fig. 23, Plate XXIX.)

Plates and large circular dishes were fairly plentiful both of red and buff earthenware with yellow or olive green glaze. They were generally larger and coarser than the plates of slip and delft, some being as much as 15 inches in diameter and ½ inch in thickness. A plate or bowl of buff body glazed olive green on the inside is shown in section *b*, Fig. 29.

Glass.

The glass may be separated into two divisions, the ornamental and useful. The former

seemed to be entirely Venetian glass, and the bottoms of these cups were very numerous, but the upper portions were seldom found. There were many pieces of bottles with raised ornamentation, and Fig. 37, Plate XXIX., shows a portion of one of dark green with white enamel. The stem of an elaborately moulded cup is shown on Fig. 38, Plate XXIX.

Of the second division there were large dark bottles of squat form and tapering neck (Fig. 30), ranging from 6 to 10 inches in height, and numerous small white phials, as Fig. 36, Plate XXIX., which varied from 2½ inches to 6 inches in length.

There appeared to be no drinking vessels of glass in common use.



Fig. 30. Glass bottle.

Objects of Bone and Ivory.

Although large quantities of horn cores and animal bones were contained in the City Ditch filling, very few artificial objects under this heading were found. There were two bone skates, three pin-polishers, one of which was of unusual form (Fig. 31), having a hole cut in the side and two grooves. These seem to have resulted from the means employed to hold it in position during use.[a] A bone comb is figured on Plate XXIX.; a portion of another of similar form in ivory was also found. No bone pins occurred so far as we are aware.

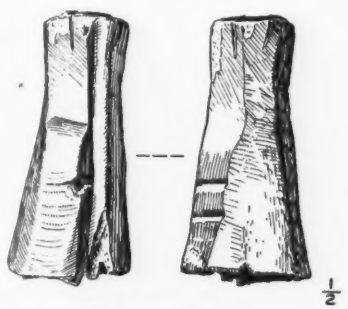


Fig. 31. Pin-polisher.

Objects of Metal.

There were many shears and knives, examples of which are shown, together with a file, on Plate XXIX.

An interesting find was a patten iron with portions of the wooden clog, which was of elm, still remaining. This was of the bent form (Fig. 32), which has survived to our own time. Mr. Miller Christy, in a recent article on these objects,[b] quotes the poet Gay to show that pattens of this kind were used as early as 1714:

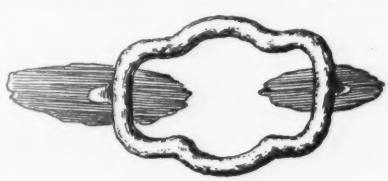


Fig. 32. Patten iron.

> Good housewives . . . . . .
> Safe through the wet on clinking pattens tread.[c]

[a] For further notices of these objects see *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. iii. 413; *Archæological Journal*, lx. 198; *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxii. 94.

[b] *Essex Review*, xv. 182 (Oct. 1906).

[c] *Trivia*, i. 212 (1714).

The position of our specimen was almost at the bottom of the City Ditch mud, which points to the origin of this form having been much earlier.

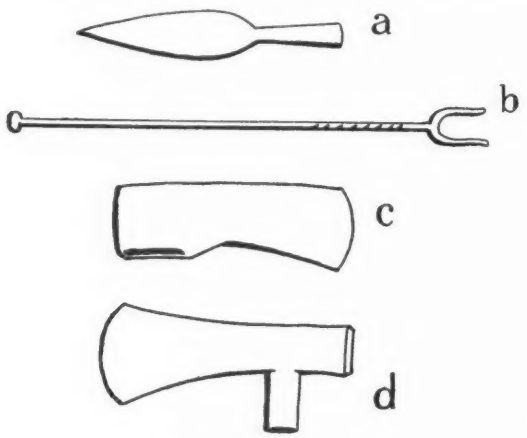


Fig. 33. Iron implements.

Iron implements were not common as far as we could see, but many of the objects discovered found their way into other hands. Among a variety shown to us by Mr. F. G. Hilton Price were those shown in Fig. 33: (a) an arrow-head; (b) a fork 2 feet 10 inches long; (c) an axe-head 9 inches long; (d) a combined hammer and axe. There was also part of a halbert head.

Other objects found by us were a brass squirt (Fig. 34), many brass pins and needles, and a number of Nuremberg tokens.



Fig. 34. Brass squirt.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES XXVIII. AND XXIX.

Plate XXVIII.

Fig. 1. Portion of grey and blue stoneware jug, 7 inches high. Probably made at Rouen.
Fig. 2. Bellarmine, brown stoneware, 9 inches high. Rhenish.
Fig. 3. Bellarmine, brown stoneware, with arms of Amsterdam, 8¾ inches high. Rhenish.
Fig. 4. Portion of grey and blue stoneware jug, 7 inches high. Made at Grenzhausen, Nassau.
Fig. 5. Lower portion of brown stoneware jug, with frieze divided into eight lunette compartments, each containing two dancing figures. 4¼ inches high. Raevenware.
Fig. 6. Mug of slip painted ware, with motto "Feare God." White slip on red body, glazed yellow, 5¾ inches high. Metropolitan ware, about 1640.
Fig. 7. A two-handled costrel of light buff stoneware, ornamented with a dark brown flower on the shoulder, back and front. 8 inches high. Probably Spanish.
Fig. 8. Mug of barrel form, red earthenware, with brown-green glaze, ornamented with raised bands top and bottom, incised chevrons round the centre, 5½ inches high. Found in City Ditch, Circus Place, 1905.
Fig. 9. Brazier, dark red earthenware, brown glaze, 6¼ inches high, 9 inches wide.
Fig. 10. Lower portion of brazier, red earthenware, brown glaze inside, 7 inches wide.
Fig. 11. Two-handled basin of red earthenware, yellow-green glaze, diameter 7¼ inches, 4⅛ inches high.
Fig. 12. Watering pot of red earthenware, with rose, the top missing. The top of another example is shown at the side, 12½ inches high.
Fig. 13. Watering pot of red earthenware, with thumb hole at top and holes pierced in the base, 10½ inches high.
Fig. 14. Watering pot similar to fig. 13, but less conical in shape, 13½ inches high.

Plate XXIX.

Fig. 15. Single handled tyg of red earthenware, glazed dark brown, 4½ inches high.
Fig. 16. Mug of red earthenware, dark brown glaze, 4 inches high.
Fig. 17. Tin glazed ointment pot, 2½ inches high.
Fig. 18. Bowl shaped ointment pot, 2¼ inches high.
Fig. 19. Tin glazed ointment pot, 2¾ inches high.
Fig. 20. Brown stoneware bottle, 4⅛ inches high.
Fig. 21. Red earthenware pot, glazed green inside, 4¼ inches high.
Fig. 22. Brown glazed red earthenware whistle in form of a bird, the head missing, 2½ inches high.

Fig. 23. Candlestick of light buff earthenware, upper portion glazed bright green, 4½ inches high.

Fig. 24. Candlestick of light buff earthenware, glazed yellow, diameter 4½ inches.

Fig. 25. Light buff pipkin, glazed green on the inside, 5 inches high.

Fig. 26. Money box of light buff earthenware with yellow-green glaze, 4¼ inches high.

Fig. 27. Portions of chafing dish, light buff earthenware, the top part glazed green inside, diameter 7¾ inches.

Fig. 28. Bone comb, 2¾ inches wide.

Fig. 29. Portion of iron shears with catch and moulded handle, 7¼ inches long.

Fig. 30. Pair of iron shears, 9¼ inches long.

Fig. 31. Portion of iron knife, 6 inches long.

Fig. 32. Blade of iron knife, 7 inches long.

Fig. 33. Blade of iron knife or portion of shears, 5½ inches long.

Fig. 34. Iron file, 7 inches long.

Fig. 35. Fragment of plate, red earthenware painted with white slip, glazed yellow. For section of this plate see *b*, Fig. 23. Metropolitan ware, about 1640.

Fig. 36. Phial, 3 inches high.

Fig. 37. Base of Venetian (?) glass bottle, dark green painted with white enamel, diameter 2½ inches.

Fig. 38. Stem of Venetian glass vessel, ornamented with lions' heads and festoons, 3 inches high.

Fig. 39. Portion of bowl, decoration blue and yellow. The rim at the back pierced for suspension. Diameter 8¼ inches. For section see *e*, Fig. 29. ? Italian.

APPENDIX V.

Some Analyses of Roman Mortars, etc., by Leo Taylor, Esq., F.I.C.

In February, 1905, during some excavations in London Wall, the base of the City wall near Circus Place was laid bare, and the writer had the pleasure, in company with Mr. Reader, of inspecting the construction of the wall.

Samples of the mortar were taken for analysis, also samples of the clean sand at the base of the wall and of the black earth which was exposed by the excavation. (See section, Fig. 2.)

The black earth and sand do not call for any special consideration, and the analysis of these is simply given to be placed on record, and here follows:

	Black Earth.	Sand.
Gritty matter	77·5	86·2
Earthy matter, fine	9·5	8·6
Oxides of iron and alumina	1·0	1·9
Calcium oxide	5·1	0·1
Magnesium oxide	0·7	0·0
Carbon dioxide	3·2	1·0
Combined water and organic matter	3·6	3·2
	100·7	101·0

The mortar yielded the following figures:

Gritty matter	67·0
Fine earthy matter	3·2
Iron and alumina oxides	2·2
Calcium oxide	13·2
Magnesium oxide	0·8
Carbon dioxide	8·3
Combined water and organic matter	5·3
	100·0
Oxides of iron and alumina soluble in concentrated HGl	3·8
Ditto as insoluble silicates	1·7
Silica soluble in 10 per cent. NaHO	6·0
Silica crystalline or as insoluble silicate	60·3
Silica soluble in HGl	1·0

The carbonic acid found is only sufficient to combine with about four-fifths of the lime, but this is rather higher in proportion than usual with the Roman mortars, and therefore leaves a smaller amount than usual combined as silicates.

The proportion of commercial lime to grit in the mortar works out about 1 to 4 by weight, a lower proportion of lime than one expects in good mortar.

Then if one considers the soda soluble silica, it will be observed that this is not as high as has been found by other investigators.

All these points indicate that the mortar used in this particular section of the wall was distinctly inferior to that used elsewhere, and the chemical opinion thus deduced from the analysis certainly confirmed by the physical character of the material, which was softer and more easily crumbled than usual.

In June, 1906, the writer was furnished with a sample of red mortar from an old Roman bath then laid bare in Cannon Street.

The analysis of this sample was as follows:

Gritty matter	41·1
Fine earthy matter	7·1
Iron and alumina oxides	5 2
Calcium oxides	24·9
Magnesium oxide	1·2
Sulphur trioxide	1·6
Carbon dioxide	16·8
Silica soluble in HGl	0·8
Combined water and organic matter	2·0
	100 7
Oxides of iron and alumina soluble in concentrated HGl	10·3
Ditto as insoluble silicates	6·2
Silica soluble in 10 per cent. NaHO	7·9
Silica crystalline or as insoluble silicate	27·0
Silica soluble in HGl	·8

This sample was a very characteristic one of the red mortar, *i.e.* mortar made with crushed tiles as grit instead of or in conjunction with sand.

The very low percentage of silica indicates that crushed tiles were almost exclusively used, and the fine earthy matter was entirely red. The figures for iron and alumina compounds still further indicate this mixture.

As regards the lime compounds, it will be seen that six-sevenths of the lime exists as carbonate only, the low proportion on one-seventh being combined as silicate.

The proportion of silica soluble in soda is fairly high but does not in this instance carry conviction as to the strength of the mortar, because the gritty matter, composed as it is of tile, rather points to a softening effect than to a hardening one.

Plenty of lime was used in mixing the mortar, the figures being in close approximation to 1 of commercial lime to 1·3 of gritty tile.

Physically the mortar is exceedingly friable, breaking up easily between the fingers.

XI.—*Early Iron Age Burials in Yorkshire.* *By Rev.* William Greenwell, *D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read 23rd March, 1905.

The primary purpose of this paper is to give an account of the investigation of a cemetery in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which has been carried out during the last few years. That purpose has been extended so as to make it include what has resulted from an examination of other, though similar, places of burial in the same district. Before, however, any description is given of what has been discovered by the various examinations of these burial sites, something by way of introduction seems to be required, and this it is here sought to supply.

The people who occupied Britain at the time of Cæsar's invasion, B.C. 55, were then, and had been for two centuries or more before that time, in possession of iron for the manufacture of weapons and implements. They were living during a period to which the term Late Celtic or Early Iron Age has been applied. These people, at least those dwelling in that part of the country, the Wolds of the East Riding of Yorkshire, with which this paper has principally to deal, buried their dead universally by inhumation, there not being in any case the slightest trace of the application of fire to the corpse. In this they differed from the custom of their predecessors in the same district, the people of the Bronze Age, who at one and the same time and place practised at their funerals the rite both of inhumation and cremation. Though throughout Britain as a whole at this period inhumation was the prevailing custom, in some parts, principally in

the south-eastern district, cremation appears to have been the mode of disposing of the dead. The cemetery at Aylesford, in Kent,[a] is a very noteworthy instance of the burial of the dead after burning, in that part of Britain. The cemetery at that place, and the same may be said of those at Shoebury and other sites in Essex,[b] if we may judge from the pottery and other constituents of the graves, appears to belong to a later part of the period in question than when the interment of unburnt bodies was the rule. This important change in the manner of burial rites and the advance in manufacturing power and artistic design, so fully exhibited at Aylesford, it is perhaps possible to explain. It may have taken place through an influence which came in with an encroaching immigration from oversea, as well as by trading and other intercourse with a higher cultivation in Gaul and elsewhere, which had affected the people of the opposite coast of Britain, more than it had those in other and more remote parts of the country. It must, however, be remarked in connexion with this suggested influence that the burials in Champagne, a not far distant part of Gaul, were except in rare instances, by inhumation.[c] The cremated burials in that part of Gaul appear to belong to a time not much, if at all, before that of those at Aylesford, but the interments by inhumation in the same district must be assigned to a century earlier or even to a date still further back. The Aylesford graves point to well-developed processes of fabric and ornamentation, in the lathe-turned and gracefully shaped pottery, where vases occurred very similar to those found in the Department of Marne (Fig. 1), and in the elaborately decorative bronze work, where even animal forms are introduced. It is possible, however, that some part of the pottery and metal work in that Kentish cemetery was not made in Britain, but was imported.

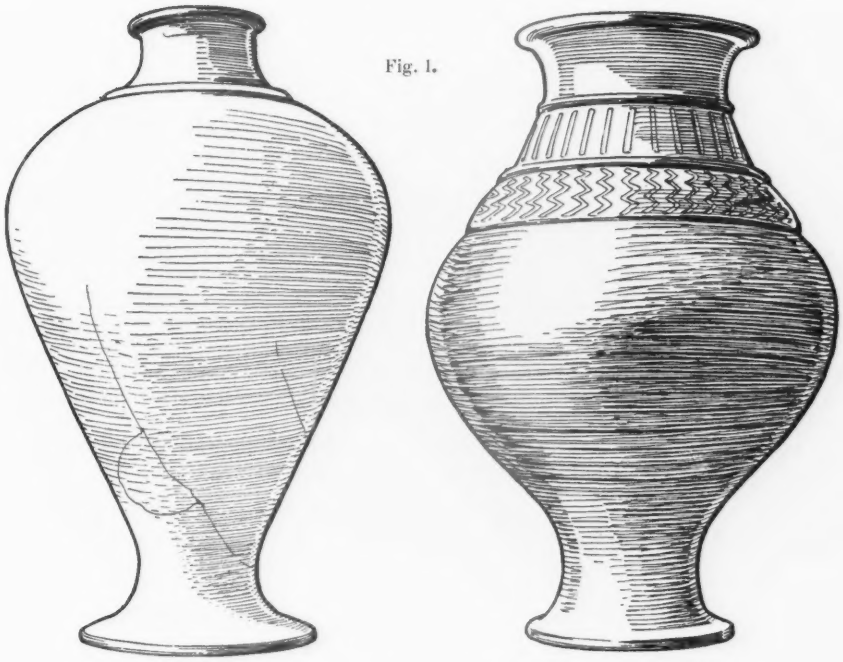
The ordinary mode of burial throughout the period over which the Early Iron Age extended in our country was to inter the dead in cemeteries of greater or less

[a] See a paper by Mr. Arthur J. Evans, F.R.S., F.S.A., in *Archaeologia*, lii. 315-388.

[b] Several discoveries of similar pottery to that found at Aylesford and Shoebury have been made elsewhere in Kent and Essex as well as in neighbouring places in that section of Britain. *Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, N.S. vi. 222. Reference may be made to the same *Transactions*, N.S. ix. 195. For a full account of these finds the reader is referred to Mr. Arthur Evans's paper on "A Late-Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford," above noted.

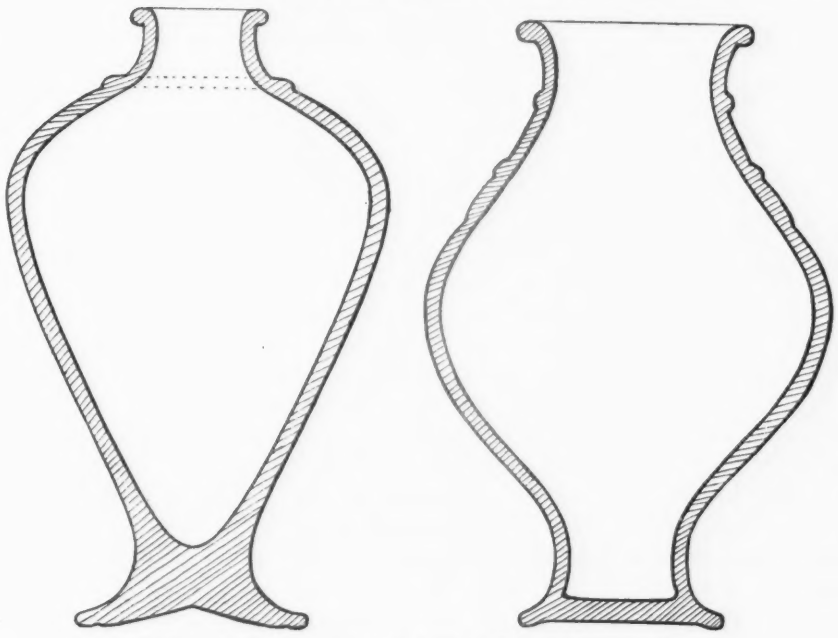
[c] M. Léon Morel mentions the discovery, at Saint Remy-sur-Bussy, of a cremated body in an urn with a glass armlet and an iron brooch. He also records a second instance at Vitry-le-François. (*La Champagne Souterraine*, Reims, 1898. Text, p. 185; album, plate 41, fig. 9.) In Gaul cremation seems to occur chiefly in the lower valleys of the Seine and Somme, and of the lower Rhone.

Fig. 1.



Aylesford, Kent. St. Remy-sur-Bussy, Marne.

Cinerary urns, Early Iron Age. (¼.)



Sections of cinerary urns, Aylesford and St. Remy-sur-Bussy. (¼.)

extent, though isolated places of burial have occasionally been met with. Within these sites the dead were placed in a grave or in a cist, formed by slabs of stone set on edge, with a cover, placed beneath a mound, smaller in size than most of the barrows of the Bronze Age. In some instances there is no appearance of a mound having ever covered the grave, but where the mounds were small, and cultivation of the ground had for long prevailed, all trace of them would naturally have disappeared. It is, however, quite possible that in some cases no barrow had ever been thrown up over the grave.

With the ethnological relations of these people, or their place on the stage of civilization, or their political and social position, this account does not in any way propose to deal, except incidentally, or so far as a more or less detailed description of the contents of the graves may afford that information.

The district in which the cemetery of the Danes Graves is situated (and the same is the case with the not far distant and similar cemetery at Arras) is that which, according to Ptolemy, was occupied by the Parisi, whose principal town was Petuaria, now represented, as has been suggested, by Beverley. These people may, with much probability, be regarded as an offshoot of the Gaulish tribe of the Parisii, whose territory comprised within its limits the capital of the later France, Paris (*Lutetia Parisiorum*). A similar relationship may perhaps be found in the name of the Yorkshire Arras, for, whatever may be its meaning, it appears to be the same word as Arras (*Nemetacum*), the chief town of the Atrebates, the great Belgic clan.

The place, the Danes Graves,[a] where the cemetery, of which an account is here

[a] They are mentioned by Leland, who writing about 1534-1543 says: "Adjacet et Drifelde ager cognomento Daniscus, multis interfectorum tumulis spectabilis. Famaque vulgaris est, belli alea regem in illo occubisse agro, sœviente per illa tempora tyrannide Danica." *Collectanea* (ed. 1770), iv. 34. Sir William Dugdale, in his Book of Arms, now in the Heralds' College, speaks of the place, which he appears to have visited, and states the number of the mounds, as he guesses, to be 300. The country people, he says, call them the Danes Graves. Other notices occur which it is not necessary to mention. There is an entry in the Kilham Parish Register which deserves to be given in full. "Memorandum, May 15th, 1721. That on the day and year abovesaid we began our Perambulation on the West side of Pockthorpe, and in our procession we came nigh the Danes Graves in Driffield field where out of Curiosity we caused a Man to dig in one of the said Graves when Digging we found a large thigh Bone one Leg Bone and one Scull of no extraordinary size with several other Bones after w^ch^ we continued our progress till we came to Gare Closes in Rudston field in w^ch^ round we could not find any Butts or Bounds had ever been set up by Kilham betwixt them and Nafferton, Driffield, Cottam, Langtoft and Rudston we began our motion at 9 o'clock and Returned at 2—being on Horseback in number 28 Horsemen. Tho. Prickett vic^r^."

given, exists, is the property of Mr. William Harrison Broadley, M.P., by whose permission the examination of a large number of the barrows has been made. The site is in the East Riding of Yorkshire on the chalk range of the Wolds, a district abounding in the burial mounds, weapons, and implements of the earlier bronze-using people,[a] and where also have been discovered a few places of burial and other remains of the people of the later (Neolithic) Stone Age. It is situated about four miles north of Driffield, within which parish the barrows are placed, at a point where the three parishes of Driffield, Kilham, and Nafferton converge. The barrows still remaining, a part only of those which originally constituted the cemetery, are about two hundred in number, and occupy a position in a wood on the lower part of the slope of the hill. It has been stated that at one time there were as many as five hundred mounds, and there is no doubt that the cemetery once extended far beyond the limits of the wood. The former existence of mounds, now entirely levelled, is shown by the appearance of round patches of white on the brown surface of the adjoining field, due to the chalk rubble brought up from beneath by the excavation of a grave. An almost equally large cemetery of the same period exists in the district at Arras and Hessleskew, where the mounds, the graves, and their contents present features which have many things in common with those of the Danes Graves. No description, except a very short and incomplete one, has yet been given of the discoveries made in the cemetery at Arras in 1815, 1816, and 1817.[b] I propose, therefore, to introduce into this paper an

[a] The district of the Wolds is also largely covered with lines of earthworks, either defensive or limitary, the date of which is uncertain. Of these the Danes Dyke near Flamborough, which defends the promontory upon which that place is situated, is the most striking in its appearance, as it is in other ways the most noteworthy. The investigation of the great rampart and its accompanying ditch, which was made by General Pitt-Rivers, proved that it had been constructed by people who were using and making implements of flint, and was therefore almost certainly antecedent to the introduction of iron. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi. 455. *Report of the British Association* (1881), p. 690.

[b] A short manuscript account, drawn up by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet, of what was found by him and others at Arras in the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, is preserved in the library of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. In the museum of the same society at York are contained those relics which fell to Mr. Stillingfleet's share of what was then discovered. From these notes, illustrated by the articles themselves, I have been enabled to obtain much information about the contents of the graves at Arras. Notices of the cemetery at Arras are to be found in the following books: Oliver, *History of Beverley*, 3, 4, with a plate; a short note by Mr. Stillingfleet in the York volume of the Archæological Institute, 1846, with illustrations; Davis and Thurnam, *Crania Britannica*, vol. ii. under "Skull from Arras." In the plate attached many of the articles from Arras and Hessleskew are figured, but not very satisfactorily.

account of some of the more remarkable and illustrative features which the graves at that place have disclosed. In addition to these two burial sites, other cemeteries of the same people exist in the East Riding. One consisting of a large number of small mounds remains practically unexplored at Scorborough,[a] and not far distant from that place, at Westwood, close to Beverley, I examined two barrows, part of a small group, in one of which were some remains of a chariot and the bits of the horses which drew it.[b] At Cowlam four small barrows were opened, which may have formed a portion of a larger number, for as those examined were scarcely distinguishable on the surface of the field, others may have been completely obliterated by the plough.[c] In one of them a very beautiful bronze armlet still remained on the right wrist bone of the buried woman (Fig. 2). In another, in addition to a bronze armlet (Fig. 3) in the same position, was a bronze brooch



Fig. 2. Bronze armlet from Cowlam, Yorks. (½)



Fig. 3. Bronze armlet from Cowlam, Yorks. (½)

(Fig. 4) placed in front of the chin, and close by it what had been a necklace of dark blue glass beads, all, except one which had a series of annulets upon it, ornamented with a zigzag pattern in white glass. A very valuable discovery was made on March 20, 1868, at Grimthorpe on the north-west section of the Wolds. In an oval grave, together with the skeleton of a young man, there were



Fig. 4. Bronze brooch from Cowlam, Yorks. (½)

[a] Six of the mounds were opened by Mr. Mortimer in 1895, but in none of them was anything found except the bones of the bodies. *Proceedings of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, iii. 21.

[b] *British Barrows*, 456.

[c] *British Barrows*, 208 *seq.*



Fig. 5. Iron sword in bronze sheath from Grimthorpe, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{4}$)

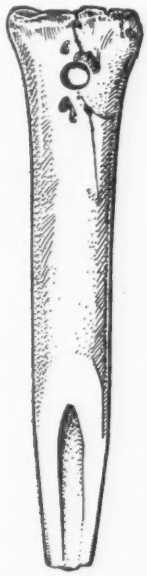


Fig. 7. Bone skewer from Grimthorpe, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{1}$)



Fig. 8. Enamelled sword-handle from Thorpe, Yorks. ($\frac{2}{3}$)



Fig. 6. Bronze fittings of a shield from Grimthorpe, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{6}$)

found an iron sword in a bronze sheath (Fig. 5), the bronze fittings of a shield (Fig. 6), a spear-head and other objects of iron, and sixteen bone pins, (Fig. 7).[a] An iron sword, with enamelled bronze fittings to the handle, was discovered at Thorpe, near Rudstone (Fig. 8). There were no remains of a body, though the nature of the gravel at the place is such as would tend to the preservation of bone. It is, however, quite possible the sword had originally been interred with its owner. An important find was made in 1903 at North Grimston, where, associated with the skeleton of a man, several articles were discovered. They comprise two iron swords of unequal lengths, which were encased in sheaths of the same metal. The shorter one has a bronze handle, which is terminated on the top by a human head. Some iron rings, probably for fastening a sheath to its belt, pieces of the half of a bronze tube, split longitudinally, and part of a jet object were also found in the grave. The body had been laid on the back at full length, with the head to south, and close by were the head and some bones of a pig.[b]

The barrows constituting the cemetery at the Danes Graves have been subjected to examination on several occasions. Five were opened by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club in 1849, a single one having been rifled before 1830, when the bronze armlet, once in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, was found.[c] In 1849 or 1850 Mr. Thomas Kendal of Pickering opened three of the mounds, finding nothing but the skeleton and some pieces of corroded iron.[d] Fourteen were examined by me in 1864,[e] and others were afterwards opened by Mr. Mortimer. The uprooting of some trees by a storm in the autumn of 1881 disclosed at least two interments, with one of which was deposited an imperfect vessel of pottery, and close by it a portion of the humerus of a young pig, once probably contained within the pot.[f] In 1897 and 1898, under the direction of a

[a] An account of the grave was given by Mr. J. R. Mortimer, who supposed the burial to have been of an "Anglo-Saxon," in *The Reliquary*, ix. 180, plates xxii. xxiii. The articles found are now in the British Museum. There were other graves discovered, but all inquiries have failed to obtain any particulars about them.

[b] J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British Grave Mounds*, 354 *seq.*

[c] The armlet was given to the Ashmolean Museum by the Rev. William Drake. There was also found on the left forearm of the skeleton a highly polished but imperfect jet armlet. Both the armlets are now lost. An iron comb is said to have been laid under the skull. It was probably the remains of an iron brooch. *Archæological Journal*, xvi. 83, where is a figure of the bronze armlet. (See fig. 19 *post.*)

[d] Paper by Mr. Mortimer, *Proceedings of Yorkshire Geological Society*, xiii. 291.

[e] *Archæological Journal*, xxii. 108.

[f] Paper by Mr. Mortimer, *Proceedings of Yorkshire Geological Society*, xiii. 296, plate xlii.

Committee of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, a careful and systematic investigation was made of fifty barrows, of which four had been previously opened, and in 1899 Mr. Mortimer examined twenty, of which thirteen were intact.

The cemetery has been commonly spoken of as a burial place of the Danish invaders, the name attached to the graves being supposed to indicate the people who were buried there. The designation of Danes Graves is probably to be explained by the impression made on the Anglian and Saxon occupants of the land by the cruel devastations of the Northern hordes. In the estimation of our remote predecessors Dane and Devil were almost synonymous terms, and as any work the origin of which was unknown to them was not unnaturally attributed to the Devil, so it was equally credited to the Danes. We thus have Danes Graves and Danes Dyke in Yorkshire, Grime's (Devil) Graves in Norfolk, Devil's Ditch in Cambridge, Græme's Dike in Scotland, and other places similarly named.

Down to 1897 nothing had been found in the graves to indicate a Danish origin, nor, with one exception, had anything been met with which gave the slightest indication of the people to whom the burials belonged. The exception is the armlet once in the Ashmolean Museum, upon the decorative part of which Late Celtic influence is manifest In the graves examined by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club and by myself and Mr. Mortimer, all that was found, in addition to the human skeletons and animal bones, were pieces of plain, dark-coloured, rudely-made pottery, portions of vessels similar to those since discovered, and some much corroded and indeterminate pieces of iron, most of them no doubt parts of brooches. It was only in 1897 that conclusive evidence was obtained to enable a correct attribution being arrived at.

It is not intended, nor is it necessary, to make this account a circumstantial record of the contents of all the graves examined in 1864, 1897, 1898, and 1899, but only of those which, on account of the nature of the buried grave-goods and other things connected with them, seem to require a more particular and special description. It will be sufficient to give a general statement of the features which characterise the barrows as a whole, and the graves with their contents, including the way in which the bodies had been deposited within them.

The grave mounds, which occupy a considerable area, are not arranged with any regularity, but are scattered over the ground. Sometimes three or more are placed near to each other, constituting small groups, at other times a single mound is placed by itself. They are all of the same form, that of a shallow inverted bowl, nor do they vary to any great extent in size, being from 10 feet to 33 feet

in diameter, and from $1\frac{1}{4}$ foot to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. Many have a shallow trench surrounding them, close to the base, and possibly they all had one when they were first thrown up. This feature is mainly due to the earth, of which the mounds are formed, having been taken from the space immediately surrounding the place on which they stand. It is possible, however, that the trench may have had some ceremonial or ritual significance, and may have served the same purpose as the circles of stones or the trenches, found sometimes surrounding, and at other times within, the barrows of the Bronze Age.

The body or bodies (for in rare instances more than one interment had been made in a mound) were placed in an oblong grave, rounded at the corners. In a few cases there was no grave, the soil having merely been scraped away, and once the body had been laid on the original surface soil, there being, however, a slight natural depression at the place.[a]

The graves, which as a rule were excavated into the chalk gravel beneath the mould, varied in size and direction. They ranged from $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet to 7 feet in length (one, however, was 9 feet long and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide), from 2 feet to $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet in width, and in depth from $\frac{1}{2}$ foot to 3 feet; the average size being about 5 feet by $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet, with a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot. In respect of compass direction, out of a total of thirty graves, twenty were north-east and south-west, six north-north-east and south-south-west, two east-north-east and west-south-west, and two east and west.

The bodies were generally deposited at the middle of the grave on the bottom, but sometimes at the side. They were all laid in a contracted position, the knees being drawn up towards the face, some indeed so much so as to suggest their having been tightly swathed before burial; in a few cases the body had only been loosely contracted. They were placed on the side, but now and then a skeleton had the appearance as though the body had been laid on the back or front. This is due, I believe, to the bones having been pushed out of place when, after the flesh had decayed, the overlying material fell down upon the bones and disturbed them. The hands were frequently found up to and in front of the face, the hand belonging to the side on which the body had been laid being sometimes under the head. The position of the arms varied; sometimes they were crossed over the chest, at other times one was outstretched in front, or placed on or under the hips or before the knees.

[a] Mr. Stillingfleet says: "The body was frequently laid on the surface of the native bed of chalk. But in many instances we found a cist or excavation in the chalky rock of the depth of about a foot, in which the body was deposited. In a few instances the body was interred above the surface of the chalk."

With regard to the side on which the body had been laid, and the compass direction in which the head pointed, I have been able to ascertain the relative position in seventy-one cases, as is shown in the following table:

Direction of Head.	On the left side.	On the right side.
Head pointing to N.	7	3
„ N.N.W. . . .	2	—
„ N.W. . . .	—	1
„ W.	2	1
„ W.S.W . . .	4	1
„ S.W. . . .	6	1
„ S.S.W. . . .	3	1
„ S.	3	—
„ S.E. . . .	—	1
„ E.	3	1
„ E.N.E. . . .	1	—
„ N.E. . . .	24	1
„ N.N.E. . . .	2	3

It will be seen from this table that by far the larger number were laid on the left side, and that about one-third had the head pointing to north-east. It does not seem, however, that the dead were laid in the grave with the face turned towards the sun, as appears to have been the usual practice of the people of the Bronze Age.[a]

There was no appearance, either at the Danes Graves or Arras, of the bodies having been enclosed in a wooden coffin or in any way protected by wood, in which they differed from many of the burials in the barrows of the Bronze Age. In some cases, however, pieces of chalk were found placed round the skeleton in

[a] The question is discussed in *British Barrows*, 25.

such a manner as to show it was done with intention. That the bodies had been deposited in the grave in their ordinary dress or in some kind of wrapping is shown by the occurrence in many instances of a brooch in front of or behind the neck, and by the presence of dark matter which had the appearance of being the remains of cloth. In one instance a pin was found at the back of the head, but it had been more probably used for the hair than for the dress. There was nothing at all like the buttons or other dress-fasteners which have so often been found in connexion with the body in Bronze Age burials.

Decorative articles were very uncommon; they are represented by the bronze armlet before mentioned, once at Oxford, by another, also of bronze, found in 1899, by two armlets of iron, by a portion of one of jet, by some very small short tubes made of thin bronze, which may have been beads, and by a single bead of glass. At Arras and at Cowlam bronze armlets were of much more frequent occurrence, and at both those places a number of fine glass beads were found. At Arras both gold and amber was present in the shape of rings, but only in one case, where the two rings occurred in the same grave.

Neither at the Danes Graves nor at Arras was there anything of the nature of a weapon or implement; there was no sword, spear, knife, or axe, nor any article of warlike or domestic use, except a solitary spindle whorl at the Danes Graves and one at Arras. That weapons were occasionally placed in the graves of these people is known from their having been so found in Britain; indeed there are three cases on the Wolds themselves where a sword was discovered, one at Grimthorpe, another at North Grimston, both already mentioned, and a third at Thorp, near Rudstone, where, however, there was no absolute proof that it had accompanied a burial.

The most important discovery at the Danes Graves was that of a chariot, one out of possibly eight which have been found on the Wolds or in their immediate vicinity. Three of them were exhumed at Arras and one near to Beverley. A complete account of these chariot-burials, with their attendant circumstances, will be given later on, when the incidents connected with some of the more noteworthy graves and their contents are described.

It is a fact not only strange but difficult of explanation, that, with two exceptions, no burial with which a chariot was associated has been found anywhere in Britain except in Yorkshire, and that there out of possibly ten in number, six should have been on the Wolds and two in the immediate neighbourhood. This is the more extraordinary when it is considered how abundant the chariot must have been throughout the country at large. In addition to the

historical evidence, there is the frequent discovery in almost every part of Britain of articles which were evidently intended for use in the harnessing of horses, many of them apparently for draught purposes, as well as of other things which seem to have formed part of the construction of the chariot itself.

The use of the chariot as a warlike apparatus continued longer in Britain than it did in Gaul, from which country it had no doubt been introduced. It had disappeared thence before the time of Cæsar's campaigns, having been displaced by cavalry, with which arm the Gaulish tribes were well equipped. The distribution of the chariot, and the time during which it was used in various places for

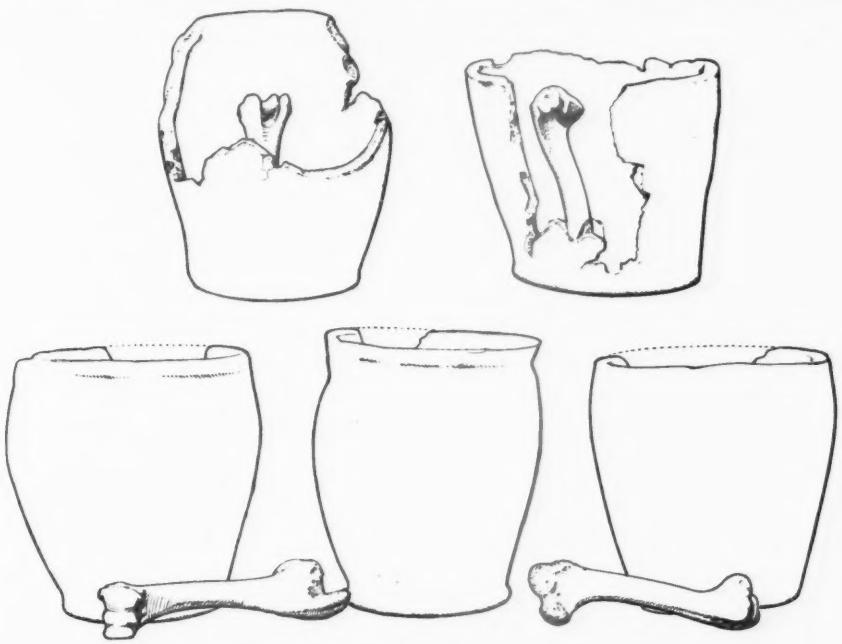


Fig. 9. Clay vessels and bones of pigs found at the Danes Graves (⅓.)

military purposes, is an interesting subject of inquiry, but cannot be entered upon in this account, where it is sufficient to emphasize the fact of its prevalence in Britain at the time in question.

Among the objects found most commonly in the graves were clay vessels, generally in the condition of mere fragments, almost always placed in close connexion with the bodies. The vessels were all, more or less, of one form, and of similar material and manufacture. They are hand-made, of poorly worked and imperfectly fired clay, with small pieces of flint intermixed, of a

dark colour inclining to black, rudely fashioned, and quite destitute of any kind of ornamentation.[a] The shape is not unlike that of an ordinary brown jar, but one has the straight sides slightly expanding to the mouth. They are all small, ranging from $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, from $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches to $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at the mouth, and from $3\frac{1}{4}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches at the bottom. (Fig. 9). There is a circumstance in connexion with them, which can scarcely be accidental, and which is quite inexplicable; they are all imperfect, and even those which approach a perfect condition are rare. This incompleteness cannot be accounted for by decay or damage after they were placed in the grave, for it is quite certain they were imperfect when so deposited.[b] Their position with regard to the body varied; in two cases the vessel was behind the shoulders, in one case it was behind the head, and two were placed at the knees. They appear to have been wanting at Arras, for though Mr. Stillingfleet records two instances where pottery was found there, the only article of the kind which has been preserved at York among the relics given by him to the museum there is a portion of a cinerary urn of the Bronze Period.[c] It is possible that small pieces of pot may have been overlooked by Mr. Stillingfleet, or he may not have thought them worth notice; but it is very unlikely he should have neglected to mention the discovery of a vessel which was in any degree perfect. At Cowlam several pieces of similar ware to that of the Danes Graves were found, but in every case they were mere sherds.

There can be no doubt as to the object with which these vessels were placed in the graves; they were receptacles of food. In the case of four of them the bone of an animal still remained within when they were found,[d] and the fifth had no doubt once contained either flesh without any bone or some provision like pulse, all trace of which had disappeared through decay. In the graves of the people of the Bronze Age a vessel of pottery is a frequent accompaniment of a burial, whether of a burnt or of an unburnt body. In some of these vessels there was found the remains of matter, which an analysis proved to be of animal or

[a] Very similar vessels in shape, size, and nature of clay and baking have been found with cremated interments in Essex, apparently of the Late-Celtic period. In one case an iron spear-head was found inside the pot. Some of these vessels are preserved in the Museum at Colchester.

[b] An imperfect vessel was found by Mr. Mortimer, and is figured in the paper referred to in Note [f], p. 8.

[c] Some of the barrows at Arras belonged to the Bronze Period. A portion of a cinerary urn, referred to in the text, now in the Museum at York, among the relics from Arras, came from one of them.

[d] Some of the vessels at Somme-Bionne and in Marne contained bones of pig, sheep, and other animals. Morel, *La Champagne Souterraine*, 69.

vegetable origin, but, so far as my experience goes, there has never been any portion of bone found in them, though on many occasions the bone of an animal has occurred in association with an interment, where no vessel was present. In every case at the Danes Graves the bone was the humerus of a young pig, either the whole or with one of the ends broken off. In some graves the same bone was found in connexion with the body where there was no pot or any part of one. In one barrow the entire skeleton of a pig had been deposited, and in two there was found the skeleton of a goat, but in these cases they may not have been put there with the same purpose for which a smaller portion of the animal had been placed in the grave. At Arras the foreparts of the skeletons of two pigs were met with in one barrow, and the heads of two pigs in another. Dr. Thurnam mentions that in a barrow opened by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club in 1850, at the Danes Graves, part of the skull and some bones of the foreleg of a young pig were discovered. Mr. Stillingfleet does not record in his notes anything about the finding of small portions of the bones of the pig or of any other animal at Arras. It may be, as has already been suggested in reference to pieces of pottery, that he did not think the discovery of a small portion of bone of sufficient importance to make a note of it; still this apparent absence of animal bones seems to coincide with the absence of any vessel of pottery in the graves at Arras.

The pig, therefore, appears to have been the favourite animal in the dietary of these people, if the provision made for the dead may be taken as an index of the taste of the living. Their predecessors of the Bronze Age seem to have had the same appreciation of pork and of the same joint, for part of the fore leg of a young pig has occasionally been found with an interment of that time.[a]

The presence of charcoal in close proximity to an unburnt body, so universal a feature in the graves of the people of the Bronze Age,[b] was not noticed, except in a few cases, at the Danes Graves, and in these it may only have been there accidentally.

Before an account is given of those graves and their contents which require a special description, it is desirable to notice specially certain articles which were connected with the series of burials as a whole. Their number is only small, for the graves, except in rare instances, contained nothing beyond the bones of the

[a] The finding of a bone of any animal, deposited with the body, is of rare occurrence, though bones, usually broken to extract the marrow, are frequently met with in the material of the barrow. I do not remember more than one or two occasions where any animal bone, except that of a pig, has been found associated with a burial of the Bronze Age.

[b] *British Barrows*, 30.

buried person, accompanied, now and then, by the bone of an animal or a pot or some part of one.

The articles found in connexion with the interments consisted, in addition to the chariot and its belongings, of fastenings of the dress of more than one kind, of personal ornaments, and of a spindle-whorl. The most frequent of these was the brooch (*fibula*), of which there were two made of bronze, part of (possibly) a third of the same metal, and a number made of iron, almost all of which were in a very decayed and fragmentary condition from the oxidization of the iron.

The two bronze brooches are remarkable and of more than ordinary interest, one of them especially so, in regard to its form, the nature of its design, and the material of which a part of the decoration is composed. They both differ from

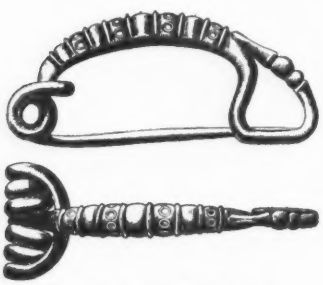


Fig. 10. Bronze brooch, Dux, Bohemia. (½.)
(La Tène I. type.)



Fig. 11. Iron brooch, La Tène, Switzerland. (⅔.)
(La Tène II. type.)



Fig. 12. Bronze brooch, Swiss lake-dwelling. (⅔.)
(La Tène III. type.)

the type which ordinarily characterises the brooches of the Late-Celtic Period, to some part of which time they undoubtedly belong. The form and construction of that type, which, with many and varied modifications, prevailed throughout a considerable space of time, and was spread over a wide area, is possessed of very distinctive and well-marked features. The bow of the brooch, which is more flat than curved, has at the head a spiral coil, constituting a spring, from which the pin is prolonged. The other end of the bow is drawn out, and after forming the catch for the point of the pin, is turned back upon itself, ending usually in an ornamental termination. The two brooches from the Danes Graves and one from

Arras differ essentially from this particular form,[a] to which the name of La Tène has been attached. (Figs. 10, 11, 12.)

The larger and more decorated brooch is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and somewhat massive. (Fig. 13.) The body is bow-shaped, but it does not curve upwards as is usual, but in the contrary direction, thus making the top concave. The pin is parallel to and follows the same line as the body of the brooch, the point fitting into a catch, formed in a rather peculiar way, at what has more the appearance of the head than the tail of the bow. The head of the pin is not constituted by a spiral spring, but swings on a pivot, which is held by two small plates riveted to the body of the brooch. The brooch is made entirely of bronze, with the exception of the pivot, which is iron, much of the decorative portion being vitreous paste.

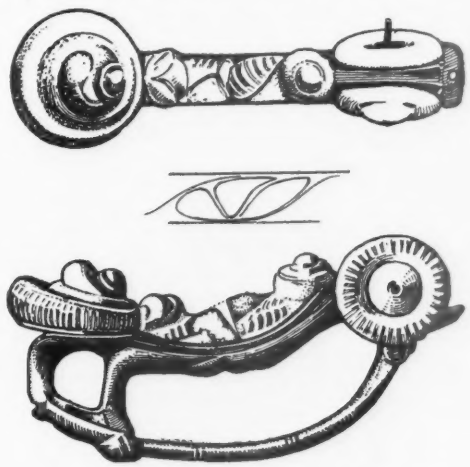


Fig. 13. Bronze brooch, with paste decoration, from the Danes Graves. (½.)



Fig. 14. Bronze brooch from the Danes Graves (½.)

Whatever may have been intended to be represented on its ornamental part seems to be constituted by the bronze and paste combined. On each side of the hinge of the pin is a circular ring of paste, grooved on the edge, and filled at the centre with a boss of the same material (one of the rings and boss is now wanting).[b] As this brooch and other articles are fully illustrated by figures, and will be best understood through them, it will only be necessary to give a somewhat brief account of each one as it comes under notice.

[a] The brooch found in one of the graves at Cowlam is a quite typical one. *British Barrows*, 209.

[b] The design may originally, when it was applied to an earlier piece of ornamented work, have presented some special form, of which the pattern on the brooch is a degenerate and meaningless representation.

The other brooch (Fig. 14), a much smaller one, but very delicately and skilfully fashioned, is made entirely of bronze, except that it had originally a small disk, probably of paste, now lost. As the pin works in a somewhat novel way it will be well to note its peculiarity. The head is formed by two round loops, shaped like a pair of spectacles, one of which is bent back upon the other, to enclose the corresponding loop at the end of the body of the brooch. Through the circular hole thus made, a tube, which acts as a rivet, is passed, the edges being turned over to embrace the sides of the hole, in the same way as an eyelet hole is formed.[a] There is some similarity between the pattern on this and that on the larger brooch, and both have the same fine grooving on the edges.

It has already been mentioned that a number of iron brooches were found in the graves.[b] They were all, with one exception, very much corroded and in a quite fragmentary condition, so imperfect, indeed, that but for the complete one



Fig. 15. Iron brooch from the Danes Graves. (½.)

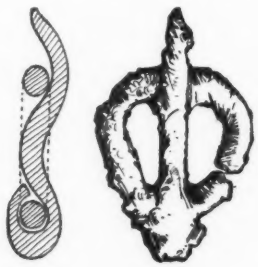


Fig. 16. Penannular ring brooch from the Danes Graves. (½.)

it would have been impossible to say what was represented by them. Though they vary in size, they all appear to have been very similar in shape and construction. The perfect one (Fig. 15), which is 3½ inches long, has been manufactured from a piece of round iron wire, by making a single coil at the head and turning the wire round to form the pin, the pointed end of which is fitted into a clasp

[a] A very similar brooch was found, with a contracted body of a woman, in a grave at Newnham, Cambridge. It was laid on the bones of the chest with two other brooches; placed on the right arm just above the wrist was a bronze armlet. Some other articles of bronze were found in the grave, the whole contents of which are in the museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. A brooch almost identical in form and structure was found in 1886 at Beckley, near Oxford, and is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum.

[b] Mr. Stillingfleet does not appear to have detected the nature of some of the iron articles he found at Arras, but from his description it seems certain that one was a brooch, though, apparently, it was the only one discovered there.

made by bending back the other end of the wire to meet it. It is in every way made like the present safety pin. In one of the graves an iron article which has the appearance of a buckle was discovered. (Fig. 16.) It is much corroded, but the opening in the ring is quite apparent, and there can be no doubt that it is a circular penannular brooch. Two similarly formed brooches of bronze, but of superior workmanship, were found in a barrow at Huntow, near Bridlington, in the East Riding. They were accompanied by a third brooch, also of bronze, which has a spiral spring at the head of the pin.[a]

The position in which these brooches were almost always found, close to the neck of the body, seems to imply that they served for fastening the dress in which the person was buried, though they might have been used in connexion with a shroud, if such a funeral investment was provided. The penannular brooch just mentioned, the only perfect one of that form met with, was placed between the back of the head and the shoulders of the skeleton. It has been made from a piece of round iron wire, is circular in form, 1 inch wide, and quite plain. The pin, looped at its head over the ring, is $1\frac{1}{3}$ inch long and projects a little beyond the ring. In the grave where an iron armlet was found on the left wrist of the skeleton, a small iron article had become attached to the lower jaw through the oxidization of the metal. It is 2 inches long, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide at the broadest part, and shaped like an attenuated figure of eight, one lobe being slightly longer than the other. It had probably served some purpose in fastening the dress.



Fig. 17. Bronze pin from the Danes Graves. (½.)

The only other article which may have been connected with clothing, though its position at the back of the head, some of the bones being stained green by the contact, suggests that it had held together and adorned the hair, was a very well made and prettily decorated pin. (Fig. 17.) It is 5 inches long, and has a head formed by a circular ring, which encloses a cross. Out of the entire length the circular head occupies $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The head, which resembles a wheel with four spokes, is composed of a ring

[a] Wright, *Essays on Archaeological Subjects*, i. 22. A brooch not unlike that from the Danes

of bronze, grooved on each side and on the outer edge. The ring encloses a cross, which has a round boss of white material, probably coral, at the centre, and a similar one at the middle of each limb. The enclosing sides of the groove on the outer edge of the ring have a corded pattern upon them. The groove extends to only three-quarters of the circumference, and out of the fourth the pin itself springs, making a curve of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, and then tapers gradually in a straight line to a point. The grooves on each side and on the edge are filled with coral, and a round boss of the same material is fixed by a bronze pin to the upper part of the curve at the top of the pin.

A pin, found in the bed of the Thames at Hammersmith, has so much in common with that from the Danes Graves, and is so interesting in itself, that a description is here given of it. (Fig. 18.) It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, of which the head occupies $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch, the remaining part, including the bend, being $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches long. It is made of bronze ornamented with coral. The upper part of the head is oblong, $\frac{15}{16}$ inch by $\frac{9}{16}$ inch. Placed on the top of this are four cylindrical pieces of coral $\frac{8}{16}$ inch long, fastened by pins which pass through a narrow ribbon of bronze of a wavy pattern and through the pieces of coral themselves. The remaining portion of the oblong head beneath the coral rods has once been filled probably with coral, held in place by two pins, the holes for which still remain. Below the oblong is a vertical grooved bar, once containing coral, which connects it with a circular boss placed on the front of the bend; it is hollowed at the top, and has a hole at the centre for a pin to fasten the coral or other material which filled it. At the back of the oblong is a bronze rod, which turns abruptly, and turning again, is continued to form the bend of the pin. It expands where it turns into a bulbous form, on each side of which is a circular hollowed boss once filled with coral. I have suggested coral as the material which once occupied the several hollows, because the cylindrical rods on the top of the oblong are made of it, it is possible they may have been filled with vitreous paste, which is found in combination with coral on the pendant from the Queen's barrow at Arras.

Graves, but with a longer pin, was found in a cist with an unburnt body, at Craigie, near Dundee. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxxviii. 235, fig. 1. A contracted body was discovered in a cist at Moredun, near Gilmerton, Midlothian, with which were associated an iron circular penannular brooch, like that of the Danes Graves, an iron brooch of La Tène type, and an iron pin with a circular head and the top of the stem turned at a right angle to the head, making an elbow. This form of pin, which occurs made of bronze and ornamented, is not an early one, and has been found with Samian ware. *l.c.* xxxviii. 433, fig. 4. A brooch and pin, very similar to those from Moredun, formed part of the relics discovered in a broch at the Laws, Monifieth, Forfarshire. *l.c.* xvii. 301; xxxviii. 434, fig. 6.

The personal ornaments found in the graves were very few, and are confined to armlets and beads. Two armlets, made of bronze, have been discovered; one, once in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford,[a] is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, and is made from a piece of thin wire, which expands slightly at each end, where the wire overlaps for $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch It is smooth on the inner side, and is ornamented on

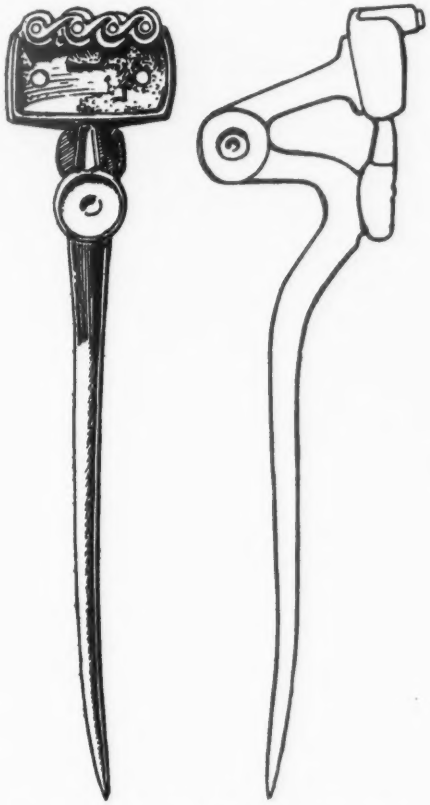


Fig. 18. Bronze pin with coral setting from the River Thames at Hammersmith. (½.)



Fig. 19. Bronze armlet from the Danes Graves. (½.)

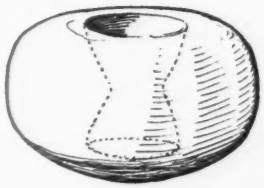


Fig. 20. Spindle whorl of chalk from the Danes Graves. (½.)

the outside by parallel, closely adjoining grooved lines in pairs, placed scarcely $\frac{1}{8}$ inch apart. (Fig. 19.) The other, found in one of the barrows opened in 1899, is described later on, where an account of the barrow is given. Two iron armlets, made of thin wire and quite plain, one on the wrist of a child, were the only

[a] It is described in the *Archæological Journal*, xvi. 83, where an engraving of it is given. The Society is indebted to the Royal Archæological Institute for the loan of the block (fig. 19).

other ornaments of the kind which were met with, except the broken pieces of an armlet of jet found in the same grave with the armlet once at Oxford. A small plain blue glass bead and some tubular beads of thin bronze are the only other articles of personal decoration which have occurred at the Danes Graves. In a grave which contained five interments one of the skeletons had on the arm some thin pieces of bronze, and another had the wrist-bones stained green from contact with some article of bronze which had gone to decay; each of these may have been an armlet of very delicate make. The remaining article to be noticed is a spindle whorl. It is roughly made of chalk, of a round form, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and just under 1 inch think, the hole being $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide.[a] (Fig. 20.)

The nature of the interments at the cemetery of the Danes Graves seems to point to its having been the burial place of a community which was not possessed of much wealth of goods of any kind. With very few exceptions none of the bodies had anything associated with it beyond articles of a very humble description, and with far the greater number nothing had been buried. The vessels of pottery, too, were of a poor rude kind, and are not in any way equal in shape, fabric, or decoration to the vases found in the graves of the earlier Bronze Age people. A plain iron brooch, and that only in a few cases, was the sole fastener of the dress, besides the two bronze brooches. Nor, except in two graves, was there anything in the shape of ornament beyond a couple of iron armlets, one small glass bead, and a few ill-made beads of bronze.

The rudeness of the pottery of the Danes Graves has just been cited as a fact which indicates the poverty of the people who were buried there, and of the little advance they had made in the manufacture of one of the most necessary requirements of daily life. In reference to this incident it may be asked, Were the vessels found there those of ordinary use in the household, or were they specially made for sepulchral purposes, and therefore not representative of the domestic pottery of the people? If, however, they possessed vessels of better make, such as have been found elsewhere, it seems strange that among the material of the burial mounds, gathered up as it was, to some extent at least, from the surface of the ground on which they stood, there should not have been a single piece of such

[a] I am not acquainted with the occurrence of a spindle whorl with interments of the Bronze Age in Britain, though the process of weaving was well known to the people of that time. Spindle whorls are common on the site of the Swiss Lake Dwellings of the time of bronze. It is a frequent accompaniment of the burial of a woman in Anglian and Saxon cemeteries as the spear-head is of a man. In Bavaria, when property passed through male descent it was said in old legal language to pass through the spear-side, when by female descent through the spindle-side.

pottery lying about, to be lifted up with the turf of which to some extent the barrows were composed. This of course supposes that the cemetery was so closely associated with the village where they lived as to unite upon one site the homestead of the living and the graveyard of the dead. Whether this was so or not, and as much may be said on one side as on the other, I offer no opinion. That pottery of a much superior kind was made by the occupants of other parts of Britain there is abundant evidence to prove. The remains of numerous vessels which show a skilled hand in their manufacture, and no mean taste in their decoration, have been discovered at Hunsbury, Glastonbury, and many other centres of occupation, without taking into consideration the vases found at Aylesford, Shoebury, etc. associated with interments. It is possible, however, that the pots at the Danes Graves were made for purposes of burial, and were not such as were made for common domestic use. The vessels so frequently met with under similar circumstances in the barrows of the Bronze Age may perhaps have had their origin in the same sepulchral necessity.

In the absence of historical records it is difficult to assign even an approximate date to sepulchral or other remains which may exist in any country. This is made more difficult when the country is one like Britain, which has been subjected, it may be on several occasions, to the invasion and occupation of more than one immigrant people. This difficulty is encountered in regard to these cemeteries. Nor can they be considered as belonging to a single generation; they were in use during a period which may well cover two or three centuries, or even more.[a] It would be unsafe to assign any precise time for the beginning of this period, or any, except a somewhat uncertain one, for its close. That these burial places were not in use during any part of the time when bronze was the metal employed for weapons and implements is beyond question. They are the graves of a people who were acquainted with and who habitually used iron. As the advent of that metal into Britain may be placed between the third and second century before Christ, these cemeteries cannot be attributed to a time before that date, and they may not have been occupied until a later time than that. Whatever may have been the period when they were first used as a site for the burial of the dead, they appear to have served that purpose until after the beginning of our Era.

[a] It must be kept in mind that burial places of the dead and sites of occupation of the living may have been used for those purposes over a lengthened period, during which changes in the shape and material of manufactured articles had taken place. This has been too often disregarded, and in consequence weapons, implements, and ornaments which belonged to different times and peoples have been treated as if they were of one and the same time.

The absence of the buckle at the Danes Graves (nor was it found at Arras) is a fact of some importance when the question of the time during which that cemetery was in use is being considered. That form of fastening does not seem to have been known in the earlier stages of the cultivation which resulted from the introduction of the use of iron. The people of Hallstatt who were working the salt mines there during the period of the transition from bronze to iron and afterwards, when iron had entirely superseded the older metal, were unacquainted with it. Buckles do not occur at the Lake Dwelling of La Tène, so rich in relics of the Late Celtic Period, nor, indeed, in any site which can be assigned to the early years of that stage of progress. The buckle appears to have come in not long if at all before our Era, with the less civilised tribes, whether kindred or alien need not here be considered, who were beginning those inroads from the north which ultimately resulted in the overthrow of the Roman power. In those cases where a buckle has been found in Britain, associated with articles of personal or other use, those articles seem to belong to a time which dates more frequently after than to one before A.D. 1. It appears on the whole most probable that these cemeteries ceased to be employed when the district in which they are situated became a part of the Roman Empire, and subjected to its various influences. At neither cemetery, and the same was the case at Cowlam and other places where similar burials have been discovered, has anything been found which shows the slightest trace of Roman workmanship or civilisation, though the frequent finding of pavements, pottery, coins, and other things attests conclusively that the district in question was fully occupied by Roman soldiers and settlers.

A general account of the barrows at the Danes Graves and their contents having been given, together with a description of some of the more remarkable objects found associated with the interments, in order to complete the history of that cemetery, I propose to describe in detail the contents of those grave-mounds which seem to require it. In addition to, and in illustration of, the information afforded by the Danes Graves, it is desirable that an account should be supplied of what has been discovered in similar places of burial in the same district. I will therefore relate the incidents, so far as I have been able to collect them, connected with the burials of the Late-Celtic Period which have been brought to light at Arras and other sites on the Wolds and some near adjoining places, which have never yet been adequately described. To this will be added a few illustrative notices of discoveries made in cemeteries in France and elsewhere, which belong to a similar area of culture.

Although I propose giving a specific description of the contents of some of the barrows at Arras, it will be best, before doing so, to adopt the same course as has been taken in the case of the Danes Graves, by describing what was the nature and circumstances of the burials at Arras in their general aspect. It is unfortunate that the notes made by Mr. Stillingfleet, which have already been referred to, are very slight and not always clear, and also that the numerous articles found in the Arras and Hessleskew cemetery were scattered at the time of their discovery, and that many of them cannot now be recovered. There is, however, sufficient information in the notes, when supplemented by the remaining relics, to permit of a fairly satisfactory account being given.

The barrows there, as at the Danes Graves, were of small size, both in their height and circumference. There were a few large ones, but those, as is shown by their contents, belonged to an earlier time than that of the cemetery itself, and were undoubtedly barrows of the Bronze Age. Mr. Stillingfleet says nothing about a surrounding ditch, but as the land had been long under cultivation all trace of that would naturally have disappeared under the action of the plough. The burials were in most cases in graves sunk into the chalk rock, but many were laid on the surface of the rock, the excavation extending only through the overlying soil. The bodies, as a rule, were placed in the contracted position on the side; those which Mr. Stillingfleet describes as having their legs crossed and as lying on the back had probably been laid on the side when buried, that position having been disturbed by the falling in of the earth on the decay of the flesh. A few bodies, he says, were laid at full length. The head usually pointed to the north, a number, however, had the head to the south, but none seem to have been laid with the head to the east or west. There was a greater abundance of grave-goods than at the Danes Graves. Bronze armlets of various patterns, many beautifully made and ornamented, were frequent. In one case, Mr. Stillingfleet says, "one of the skeletons had a bracelet around the leg bone." This statement is no doubt correct, anklets having been found in some of the graves in Champagne, described by M. Morel. Another article of personal decoration, a bronze collar (*torques*), is said to have been found there. It is referred to in Mr. Stillingfleet's notes, and is mentioned in a letter of Dr. Hull of Beverley, now in the library of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.[a] No representation or description of the

[a] Dr. Hull's letter, written October 2, 1827, says, "Some [skeletons] had rings of brass upon their arms, and one had a torques of brass round the neck." Mr. Stillingfleet states that the "torques" was 5½ inches in diameter.

collar has been preserved, nor is it known to be in existence. During the period covered by the Late-Celtic culture in Europe, collars for the neck of very varied design were abundant. They have, however, rarely been found in Britain, and never, so far as I know, with an interment, unless the account of the finding of a skeleton wearing a torc and associated with Roman objects at Dorchester, Dorset, be a case in point.[a] It is much to be regretted that no description of the Arras collar has been recorded.

There was a noticeable absence of dress-fasteners, and though, as regards brooches of a richer kind, the two cemeteries were about equal, the more ordinary brooches of iron, so common at the Danes Graves, were represented by a single specimen at Arras. Jet was present in the graves of both cemeteries; but amber, wanting at the Danes Graves, occurred twice, in the shape of a ring, at Arras. There was also there the rare occurrence of a ring of gold. Glass was found only in one barrow at the Danes Graves, and there in the shape of a single small plain bead. At Arras beads occurred in two graves, in one case there being a large number, all of them of fine quality and colour. Ornaments of bronze decorated with coral and vitreous paste were met with in about equal quantities in each cemetery. Three chariots were found at Arras and only one at the Danes Graves, and the equipment of those at Arras much exceeded in richness that of the chariot at the Danes Graves. Two mirrors were discovered at Arras; there was not one at the Danes Graves. Weapons and implements were equally absent from both places, with the exception of a spindle whorl, one of which occurred at each cemetery. The absence of pottery at Arras, where it is doubtful if any was found except some pieces of a cinerary urn of the Bronze Period, is a remarkable fact, when its frequency at the Danes Graves is considered. The corresponding scarceness at Arras of animal remains in association with the dead is equally difficult to account for.

I now proceed to give a detailed account of the phenomena disclosed by some of the graves at the Danes Graves and Arras which seem to require such a treatment. The barrow at the Danes Graves which impresses itself most strongly upon attention is that in which the chariot of the owner had been deposited with him in the grave. The mound under which he was buried was 27 feet in diameter and 3 feet high. Like the others, it was made up of mould with some chalk intermixed. The grave, oblong in shape, with rounded corners, was placed at the centre of the barrow, sunk to a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet through the surface soil

[a] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1841, p. 303.

into the chalk gravel. It had a direction north and south by east and west, and was 9 feet long and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, being much above the ordinary size. Upon the bottom of the grave towards the east side two adult males had been interred in the usual contracted position, that towards the south end being the most so. The body at the north end, which was the larger of the two, was laid on the right side, the head pointing to south-west; the right hand was in front of the face, the left touching the right knee. Close to the left shoulder, some of them being upon it, were the bones of the head and forepart of a pig, including a tusk. Lying partly under the head of the man was a plain iron ring, 2 inches in diameter, and between the left elbow and the hip, but nearer to the latter, was an indeterminate article, partly made of iron, much eaten away by rust. Though it consisted principally of iron, there are remains of bronze, as well as of some white material, probably coral or shell, in its composition. In its present state it is irregular in shape, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch long, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide, and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, with a groove along one side. At one end of the top is a round knob probably of coral, and the appearance suggests that originally there had been a similar knob at the other end. It may be the remains of a fastening for a waist belt. The other body, the crown of whose head was about 1 foot from the face of the first, was laid on the left side, with the head to north, the right hand being on the hips, the left in front of the face.

In the grave, and placed, like the bodies, on the bottom, were a number of articles, principally of iron, with some of bronze. That they had all belonged to a chariot and its equipment and to the harness and other furniture of the horses that drew it there can be no doubt. Close to the west side of the grave, each about a foot west of the respective bodies of the men, were the iron tires of two wheels, laid flat on the bottom of the grave. They differ a little in size; that which was placed towards the south end of the grave is 2 feet $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, the other 2 feet $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They are flat, of the same width, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. At the centre of each tire were two thin iron hoops, those of the corresponding naves, laid overlapping each other. They are flat on the inner face and curved on the outer, and are $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. Within the southernmost tire, near to its edge, on the south-west side, was an iron article, no doubt a linch pin. It is curved in form, 8 inches along the curve and 6 inches across it, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, and made from a round bar. The head is square, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, flat on the top, from which point it gradually tapers to the other end, where it terminates in a small knob. Another, precisely similar, was laid just outside the tire, on its north-east side. Still within the tire, almost touching it, on the south-west side, was an irregularly shaped curved article

of iron, which retains on its oxidised surface the impression of the wood into which it had been inserted. It is made out of a round bar, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick; one end is flat and broad, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide, the other tapers almost to a point. On the east side, and still within the tire, was a small convex disk of thin bronze, 1 inch wide. It is pierced, the interstices being filled in with reddish coloured material, possibly vitreous paste, making a design somewhat like that of a Maltese cross. Within the northernmost tire, in addition to the two hoops of the nave, placed close to the east side, was a hollow ring of thin bronze, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. Four rings, from 2 inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, two of iron coated with bronze, and two made entirely of iron, were found, lying separate from each other, just outside the tire on the same side. Close to one of these rings, towards the north, was a circular disk of thin bronze, 2 inches wide. On the east side of the northernmost tire, laid close together, were two snaffle-bits. They are made of iron coated with bronze, of which metal only small portions are left; they are so much decayed and fragmentary that no exact description of them can be given; they appear, however, to be similar to those found at Arras, which are described later on.

I now propose to give an account of the contents of four barrows in the same locality as the Danes Graves, where remains of a chariot have been found.

The first was at Westwood, near Beverley, where there are a few small mounds, all probably of the same class, two of which I opened. In one nothing whatever was discovered, the bones, as was the case in the other grave, having entirely decayed away, and if any grave-goods had been deposited, they must all have been of a perishable nature. The other was 21 feet in diameter and 2 feet high, and had at the centre an oval grave, lying almost north and south, $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep. None of the bones of the body were left, the nature of the mould, with which the grave was filled, being such as I have always found to decompose the bones without leaving any visible trace of their former presence. About the middle of the grave, towards the east side, were the tires of two wheels, laid flat, side by side, each having within it a ring, the hoop of the respective naves. The tires are 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, the hoops of the naves, which are practically round, being $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. On the west side of the grave were two snaffle-bits, too much decayed to allow any measurement or description being given. The whole of these parts of a chariot and harness were made of iron, of which metal there were other pieces, some apparently the remains of rings, but all so much decayed and imperfect as to render any attribution of their purpose quite impossible.

Three chariot-burials have been discovered at Arras and Hessleskew. Two were found by the Rev. E. W. Stillingfleet and others in 1816-1817, the third by workmen quarrying chalk in 1877. The description I am able to give of the two first is taken, partly from the notes made on the spot by Mr. Stillingfleet, now in the library of the York Philosophical Society, supplemented by a verbal explanation he gave to Dr. Thurnam,[a] and partly from the contents of the graves themselves, some of which are preserved in the Museum of the same Society. The description of the third is taken from the information given to me by the workmen who opened the grave, and from an examination I made of the grave, before it was destroyed, and of the soil and chalk which had been thrown out of it.



Fig. 21. Linch pin from the King's Barrow, Arras. (¼.)

The size of the first of the barrows at Arras, which had the name of King's Barrow attached to it by Mr. Stillingfleet, was, like all the others in the cemetery, quite small, being about 26 feet in diameter. It contained a nearly circular grave of rather large diameter, 11 feet or 12 feet, sunk through the overlying soil into the chalk rock to a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot. Within it on the bottom was placed the skeleton of an old man, laid on his back, the head pointing to north by east, the arms being crossed over the chest, "the thigh and leg bones appear to have been crossed in opposite directions," as Mr. Stillingfleet describes them.[b] Near the head of the man were the heads of two pigs.[c] On each side of the skeleton of the man was the iron tire of a wheel, of which some pieces of the wooden part still remained attached to the metal. Within each tire were placed the two hoops of the nave, made of iron coated with bronze. The tires, which are not quite flat, are 2 feet 11 inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad; the nave hoops being $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch broad, flat on the inner side, where the bronze

[a] *Crania Britannica*, vol. ii. under "Skull from Arras."

[b] The peculiar position which Mr. Stillingfleet describes was probably due to dislocation of the bones after the flesh had decayed, the body having been interred in the usual contracted form.

[c] It is possible that, as was the case in the third barrow at Arras, some other portions of the

coating does not quite meet, and curved on the outer side. Lying partly under each wheel was the skeleton of a horse, the head of each being placed not far from that of the man. They had been of unequal height, but both small, under thirteen hands. The leg bones were slender, which, perhaps, may indicate their being well bred. On the west side of the grave, near the ribs of the skeleton of the man, were two articles, certainly linch pins (Fig. 21); they are 5 inches long, and made of a round iron bar, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide, with a bronze termination at either end. That at the larger end is $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long and has a flat circular top, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a neck beneath it, which swells into a round flat-bottomed bulb, with a bevelled band where it unites with the iron bar. The other end terminates in a curved

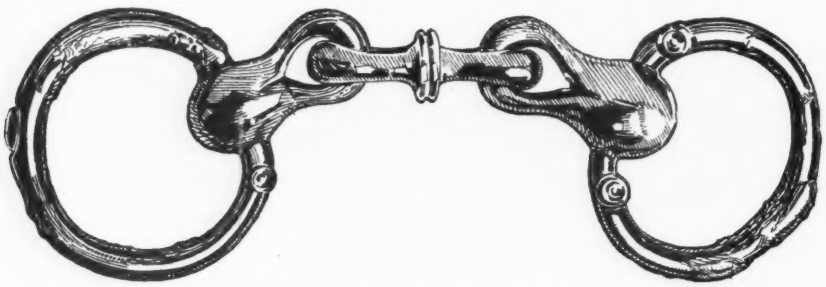


Fig. 22. Iron bit coated with bronze from the King's Barrow, Arras. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

form, somewhat in shape like the hoof of a horse; it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long with a flat circular end $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide.[a] Also in the western part of the grave were two larger and two smaller rings (each $\frac{7}{8}$ inch wide), all of iron, plated with bronze. The two largest, one of which is imperfect, were no doubt connected with the harness. They consist of a straight flat bar of iron, which is prolonged into a curved form above, where it becomes round and bronze-coated. The upper part is ornamented, as is frequently the case in this kind of ring, with sets of double leaf-shaped and

pigs ("wild boars" Mr. Stillingfleet calls them) were there and not noted. In a sketch of the grave among Mr. Stillingfleet's papers the entire skeleton of the animals is represented, one or each side of that of the man.

[a] Among the various articles found at Stanwick in the North Riding, now in the British Museum, are six more or less perfect linch-pins, of two forms. One of them is very similar to that under notice, but has on the top a ring like those connected with harness, which have pairs of double, pointed oval, diverging projections upon them, it is perfect, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, made of iron plated with bronze, and has upon it three pairs of projections. It is figured in the York volume of the Archæological Institute, plate iv. fig. 2, of Introduction, and in the *Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, p. 89, fig. 3. (See Fig. 40, *post*.)

diverging projections, of which there are nine on the perfect, and seven on that which is imperfect through the loss of the flat iron bar; one is $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide, the other $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Still on the west side and near to the legs of the man were two bits. (Fig. 22.) They are made of iron coated with bronze, and are about 10 inches in their full length. At each end is a ring,[a] $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, to which a bar, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, is attached; this terminates in a loop which is linked on to another bar, shaped like the figure of 8, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, which has a grooved rib at the middle, extending along its whole course. One of the rings has upon one side near to the bar two cup-shaped bosses, the ring at the other end having only one.[b]

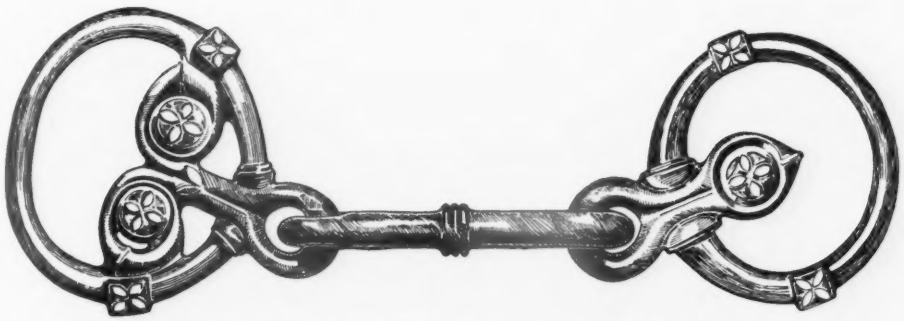


Fig. 23. Enamelled bronze bridle-bit from Rise, Holderness, now in the British Museum. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

The second barrow, called the Charioteer's, was a very small one, being only 8 feet in diameter and not quite 2 feet high. The size of the grave has not been recorded, neither has the position of the body, except that the head was towards the north. It is stated that the skeleton was laid upon what was presumed to be, and which probably was, a shield. The size is not mentioned, nor are any further particulars given, except that a portion of what was supposed to be the rim, made of iron, 1 inch broad, still remained. Some bronze bosses, how many Mr. Stillingfleet did not remember, were also found; one of them, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, which had when discovered some wood attached to it, is now in the York Museum. (Fig. 24.) It consists of a round disk of thin bronze, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, embossed with a circular rib $\frac{5}{16}$ inch wide, enclosing a circular depression with a raised border. At

[a] Mr. Stillingfleet says, "and the rings had a very pretty chain pattern running round them." This pattern does not appear on the bit now in the York Museum.

[b] A bit of similar construction, but richly decorated, now in the British Museum, was found at Rise in Holderness, East Yorkshire. Nothing is known about the circumstances of its discovery. (Fig. 23.)

the centre of the depression is a mass of oxidised iron, suggesting the head of a rivet. The disk has been surrounded by a half tube of bronze to form a border, which had been fastened to the edge of the disk by two pairs of iron rivets, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch apart, which pass through the disk and the tube. These disks or bosses, as Mr. Stillingfleet calls them, were no doubt decorative parts of the shield, supposing there had been one in the grave.[a] On each side of the skeleton were the remains of a wheel, which it was thought had had sixteen spokes, set 6 inches apart.[b] The iron tires, slightly convex, are 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. The hoops of the nave, made of iron, 6 inches in diameter and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch broad, are rounded on

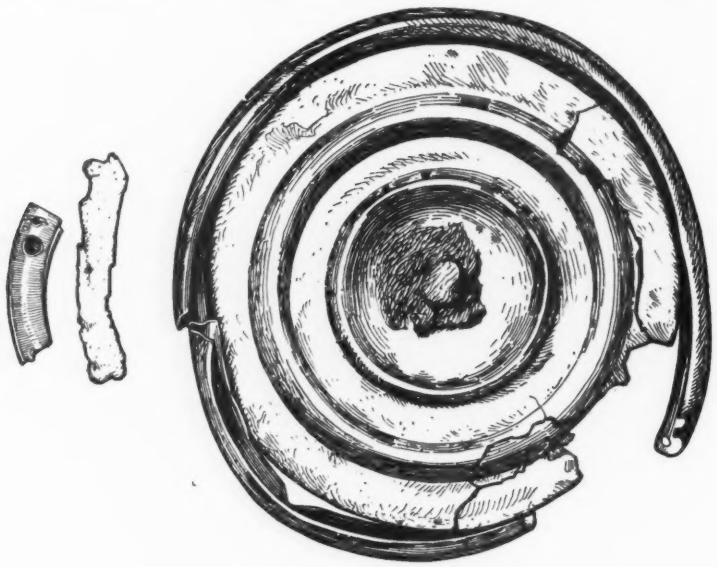


Fig. 24. Bronze boss from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras, now in the York Museum. ($\frac{3}{4}$.)

the outside and flat within, and have iron rivets to attach them to the wood of the nave, some of which was there when they were found. Near to each wheel was an iron bit now lost.[c] Laid upon the bones of the man were what Mr. Stillingfleet

[a] This is not the only instance on the Wolds where a shield had been buried with its owner. At Grimthorpe, in addition to a sword, spear, and other articles, the remains of a shield were found in the grave.

[b] Mr. Stillingfleet records in his notes, "The wheels had rested in an inclined direction (inclining from the body)."

[c] Mr. Stillingfleet says "they were much resembling the harsh snaffle-bit now used by our horsebreakers." One of these bits was found entire, with some other iron rings, which had probably been attached to the harness of the chariot; the other bit was injured by the workmen.

calls two boar's tusks, and a peculiar article of bronze.[a] One of the so-called tusks is preserved in the York Museum, and is made from the tine of a red deer's antler. It is curved in form, polished over the whole surface, with an ornamental band, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, at the butt-end, which has a trellis-work pattern on it. It is 5 inches long, and at a distance of $\frac{7}{8}$ inch from the butt-end has a quadrangular perforation, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch by $\frac{4}{16}$ inch, which passes through from back to front.[b] (Fig. 25.) The bronze object, which was regarded by the finders as the case of the deer's horn tine, and by others as the end of the pole of the chariot, is a curious and enigmatical article. It consists of a straight half tube of thin metal, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, at which point it turns upwards, forming a tube $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide, which rises to a height of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch, expanding there into a flanged mouth, 2 inches wide, in the edge of which there have been at least fourteen rivet holes. On the inside of the lip of the mouth is a deposit of rust, the result probably of the oxidization of the iron rivets, which fixed something, which has perished, on to the mouth. A round-ended piece of bronze, which has a rivet hole through it, projects from the lower part of the tube. Upon the curve of the semicircular part, at a distance of 2 inches from the end, is an oxidised iron rivet, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch from which is a quadrangular hole, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. Close to the edge at the end on the top of the curve is an iron rivet, and on the edge of each side of the half tube are two rivet holes, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches apart, in one of which the rivet still remains. (Fig. 26.) There were some other things in the grave of which the position has not been recorded. Among them is a bronze disk, ogee-shaped in section, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide; the central part, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, which is open, is capped by a three-legged dome, on the back of which is some

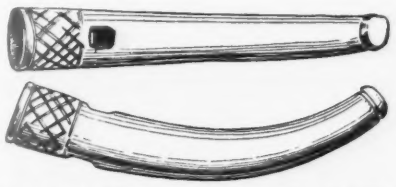


Fig. 25. Object of deer's horn from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras. (About $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

[a] This is the account given by Mr. Stillingfleet to the meeting of the Archæological Institute at York in 1846, but in his original notes he says, "On the body of this charioteer had been placed two horns, one of which with part of its outer case of thin brass plate was found pretty entire, with the very hole (square) by which it had been suspended to the belt of the charioteer."

[b] There is some resemblance between this curved instrument and the similarly shaped ones of deer's horn, which have been found on the site of Lake Dwellings of the Bronze Age in Switzerland and elsewhere, and which have been regarded as the cheek pieces which, in connexion with a leather thong, formed a bridle-bit. The resemblance is, however, only a general one, and the absence of any perforation, except that at the base, seems to indicate that the two articles could not have answered the same purpose.

rust. (Fig. 27.) A complete ring, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in diameter, and several pieces of rings and some indeterminate fragments, including what may have been part of a linch pin, all of iron, were also found.

The third barrow, removed in 1877, was situated immediately south of the road from Market Weighton to Beverley. It was 14 feet wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot high. The circular grave, 12 feet in diameter, was sunk 3 feet into the chalk rock. On the bottom, about the middle, was the skeleton of what competent anatomical

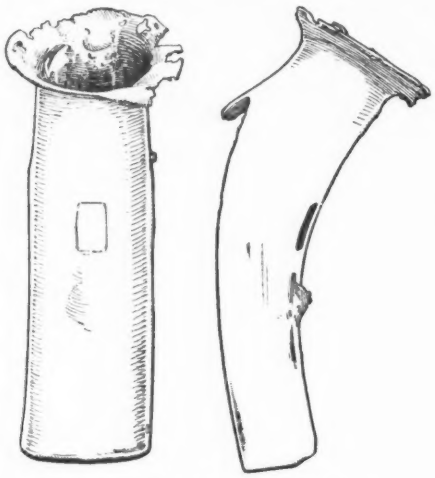


Fig. 26. Bronze object (2 views) from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)



Fig. 27. Bronze disk from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras. ($\frac{1}{1}$.)

examination of the bones has declared to be of a woman.[a] The body had been laid on the left side, with the head to north, the left hand in front of the face.

According to the positive statement of the two workmen, who were intelligent and observant, the body was extended at full length, a position in which the body appears to have been placed in other barrows at Arras. Behind the head were the bones of the forepart of two pigs. Underneath the head of the woman was a mirror. Behind the back were the iron tires of two wheels laid partly the one over the other, and within each tire were two bronze hoops, those of the

[a] In a grave at Ciry-Salsogne (Aisne) the skeleton of a woman was found laid at full length on the back, and beyond the feet was the bit of a horse made of iron. There was also a bronze torque round the neck and an armlet of the same metal on the right wrist. A brooch had fastened the dress near the shoulder, and in addition to two earrings there was a profusion of ornaments about the chest. Seven vessels of pottery of elegant shapes and much decorated were placed round the body. Moreau, *Album Caranda* (1892), plate cxxxix. (Nouv. Série.)

corresponding naves, and a circular piece of iron. In front of the face were two bits laid slightly above the bottom of the grave. A small article of very thin bronze (now lost) was also found. It was in shape like a small round box lid, about 1 inch wide and the same deep. Opposite each other were two thin bronze pins to fasten it on to the wood, some of which was still there. It was no doubt, as the workmen suggested, the metal cover of the end of a whip shank. On

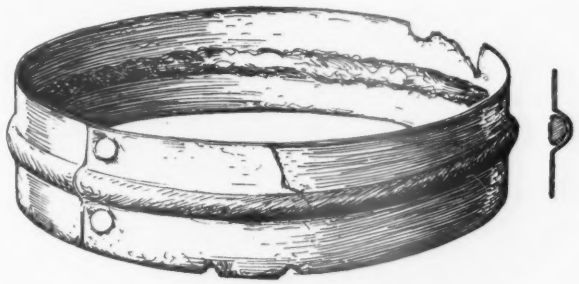


Fig. 28. Bronze and iron nave-hoop, chariot-burial, Arras. (½.)

turning over the filling in of the grave, which had been thrown out, I found a ring made of bronze and iron. The tires, which as is usual were made of iron, are slightly rounded on the outside, 2 feet 10 inches in diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide. The hoops of the naves, made of thin bronze, are $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch



Fig. 29. Bronze bridle-bit, chariot-burial, Arras. (½.)

wide; they have an embossed rib about the middle, and have been fastened on to the wood each by two rivets. (Fig. 28.) The bits are made of iron coated with bronze, and as they are in form almost the same as that already described from the King's Barrow, it is not necessary to describe them here. (Fig. 29). The ring is very similar to two found in the King's Barrow and noticed in the account just given of it. It is one of the class of rings connected with

harness, of which many have been discovered in various parts of Britain, some of them highly ornamented and decorated with enamel.[a] That in question is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, the same in height, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick, and has ten sets of the double leaf-shaped projections, which are found so often on this class of ring. (Fig. 30.) This ornamental addition is produced by a subtle and effective use of a principle in design, that of the returning spiral, which is so characteristic a component in the decorative work of the Late-Celtic Period. In no part of Europe is that well-marked feature of applied ornament so adequately represented as in Great Britain and Ireland, in which countries it reached its highest point of development, and where in later Christian times were produced those marvellous creations of artistic skill and exact and delicate training of eye and hand, the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels.



Fig. 30. Bronze and iron harness ring, Arras. (½)

The mirror consists of a thin circular plate of iron, $6\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, with an iron handle, $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, which terminates in a ring of the same metal; the handle is decorated by two narrow bands of bronze, one of which encompasses it at each end. (Fig. 31.)

The manner of burial in this grave as well as in others at Arras was different from that universally adopted at the Danes Graves, where the bodies were all more or less contracted, a position in which they agree with the practice of their predecessors, the people of the Bronze Age. At Arras, on the contrary, some of the bodies were interred at full length.[b] Nor is this the only circumstance in which the two cemeteries do not agree. The absence of any vessels of pottery and of remains of food, presumably intended for the dead, and the much larger number of personal ornaments at Arras, are in strong contrast to what was the case at the Danes Graves, whatever the cause of that difference may have been.

When the practice of interring with the dead some of their possessions which

[a] See Kemble and Franks, *Horæ Ferales*, 196, plate xx. and *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd S. xx. 57.

[b] The extended mode of burial was that practised in Gaul, where the body appears to have been always laid at full length in the grave. In the large cemetery at Hallstatt, which, however, in the main belongs to an earlier period, the time of the transition from bronze to iron, the extended position was that in use.

they might be supposed to require in another life, is considered, it is not surprising



Fig. 31. Bronze-mounted iron mirror, from chariot-burial, Arras. (½.)

to find a chariot interred with its owner, occupying as it did so important a place

in the armament of the British tribes, and also at one time with those of Gaul.

Chariot burials have rarely been found in Britain, and their discovery has been almost entirely confined to Yorkshire. In that county by far the larger number has occurred on the Wolds and at places closely adjoining. One was discovered by the late Mr. Kendal of Pickering, near the Cawthorne Camps in the North Riding, of which the tires of the wheels and some other iron articles have been preserved. No record of the place nor of the circumstances of the find seems to have been made by Mr. Kendal, but Mr. Mortimer obtained some information from William Dawson, the foreman of Mr. Kendal's workmen. From what he remembered the whole chariot, including the pole, seems to have been buried. No bones either of man or horse were discovered.[a] This account tallies with what Mr. Kendal told me many years ago. At Stanwick, in the North Riding, a large number of objects of various kinds of bronze and iron were found in 1844. (Figs. 32 to 41). They included a sword of iron in its bronze sheath, rings connected with horse furniture, linch-pins, and bits for horses. It is reported they were found deposited in a pit, 5 feet deep. Iron hoops, apparently tires of wheels, are said to have occurred in close proximity. The account of the discovery is wanting in precision and is too vague to admit of any safe conclusion being arrived at, but it seems to be almost certain there had been a burial at the place, where a chariot had accompanied the interment.[b]

Some other problematical chariot burials are recorded by Mr. Mortimer. One was discovered about the year 1862, in a hole, sunk into the gravel, near the Seamer railway station, west of Scarborough. The remains of what were thought to be those of a small horse and cart were found.[c] Another is said to have been discovered by a farm labourer (John Gilbank) at Haywold, near Huggate-on-the-Wolds, when removing a barrow. The iron tires of two wheels and many bones were unearthed.[d] A third was discovered in 1888 in making a cutting on the Market Weighton and Driffield line, between Middleton and Enthorpe. In letting down some rock from the side of the cutting, a quantity of rusty iron and bones were observed. Some of the things found were saved by one of the navvies, but were all ultimately lost, except a linch-pin, of bronze and

[a] Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, 361.

[b] York Volume of the Archæological Institute, Introduction, plates ii. iii. iv.

[c] Mortimer, *l.c.* 358.

[d] *l.c.* 359.

iron, which he gave to Mr. Mortimer. It is of a quite characteristic form, and is figured by Mr. Mortimer.[a]

Outside Yorkshire, so far as I know, there are only two places where a



Fig. 32. Bronze sword-sheath, Stanwick, Yorks. (L. 23 inches.)



Fig. 33. Embossed bronze, Stanwick. (L. 3·8 inch)



Fig. 36. Bronze bar of bridle-bit, Stanwick. (¾.)



Fig 34. Bronze mount, Stanwick. (½.)



Fig. 35. Curved bronze plate, Stanwick. (L. 5¼ inch.)

chariot-burial has been met with. One was within the camp at Hunsbury in Northamptonshire, where the skeleton of a man was discovered, with which were deposited part of the tire of a wheel and other pieces of iron, together with a

[a] *l.c.* p. 360, fig. 1022.

snaffle-bit, made partly of iron and partly of bronze.[a] The other was at Hamden Hill in Somersetshire, also within a camp, where human bones, skulls, spear-heads,



Fig. 38. Part of bridle-bit, Stanwick. (¾.)



Fig. 37. Part of bronze mount, Stanwick. (½.)





Fig. 39. Bronze open-work mount, Stanwick. (½.)



Fig. 41. ? Ring of a bit, Stanwick. (¾.)

Fig. 40. Bronze and iron linch-pin found at Stanwick. (¾.)

the tire of a wheel, a snaffle-bit, all of iron, and rings and other articles of bronze, were discovered in what seems to have been a cemetery.[b]

The bones of a man and horse and some remains of what was supposed to be the tire of a wheel, horse trappings, and a shield boss, all of iron, found in 1829 at

[a] *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports, etc.* xxi. 71.

[b] Letter from Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. *Archaeologia*, xxi. 39 *seq.* plates v. vi.

Ballindalloch in Moray, were believed to have belonged to the interment of a man with his chariot. None of the things said to have been found are now extant, and the evidence as to their nature is by no means satisfactory.[a] This discovery cannot, therefore, be regarded as a case where a chariot had been deposited in a grave as part of the funeral equipment of the buried person, if, indeed, there had been any interment at the place.

There is no record of the discovery of a chariot or of any part of one in Ireland, though, judging by the frequent mention of it in early Irish story, it was in common use there in late Pagan times. Other articles, however, both warlike and domestic, belonging to the Late Celtic period, have been found there in abundance, many of them connected with horses and their trappings.

Burials where the chariot accompanied the body of the owner have been much more frequently found in France, principally in the north-eastern part, the department of La Marne and adjacent districts, as well as in the Côte-d'Or and Switzerland.[b]

[a] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, ii. 153.

[b] An account of the discovery of some chariot burials in France, where the circumstances of the burials are fully recorded and the articles deposited in the graves well illustrated by figures, will be found in M. Morel's work before cited. I have added a brief description of two other burials which will be of interest in connection with the Yorkshire instances.

A very remarkable interment where the remains of the chariot and the bits of the horses had been buried with the dead warrior occurred at Sesto Calende, at the south end of Lago Maggiore. The body, which had been burnt, was in a grave under a tumulus. In addition to the chariot there were associated with the interment a helmet and greaves made of bronze, an iron sword in a bronze sheath, the handle of which terminated in two antennæ, a spear-head and two arrow-points of iron, a bronze bucket ornamented with figures of horsemen and footmen, animals and birds, and some pottery painted in black and red. Montelius, *La civilisation prim. en Italie, Série B.*, pp. 317, 318, plate lxii.

A valuable discovery was made by M. Chauvet in Western France in 1883. Under a large earthen mound (38 métres in diameter), called Le Gros-Guignon (Savigné, Vienne), were two mounds of stone, each of which covered a place of burning. They stood north and south, and in the latter he found, together with the partially burnt bones of the buried person, a large number of articles connected with his equipment. The body had been placed between the two upright wheels of a chariot, near which were some horse bones. The various bronze and iron articles comprised two iron tires of wheels (3 centimétres wide), fragments of iron rings, probably of the naves of the wheels, bronze disks, bronze and iron nails, numerous other bronze and iron fragments, and two vessels of brown pottery. "Le Gros-Guignon," par Gustave Chauvet, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de la Charente* (1883), vi. 145.

Reference may be made to burials at Berru and Gorge-Meillet, both in the Department of La Marne, described respectively by A. Bertrand, *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise* (ed. 1889), 356, and by E. Fourdrignier, *Double Sépulture Gauloise de la Gorge-Meillet.*

When a chariot is said to have been discovered, it must not be understood that the whole vehicle had been placed in the grave. That seems to have been the case only on rare occasions, the practice generally having been to deposit a part only as representing the whole, a well-known proceeding, and frequently occurring in many different relations. In the graves just described, with the exception of that in the King's Barrow, little, if anything, more than the wheels and axle appear to have been placed in the grave, and even in the King's Barrow, though there was, perhaps, space enough to contain the whole chariot and its appliances, there was an absence of many things which it might be thought were necessary to its completeness. In some of the barrows the grave was much too small to have admitted the entire chariot within its limits.

In a vehicle which was to be used in war, and over rough ground, in the way in which the chariot was manœuvred, lightness was no doubt an essential requirement, and therefore as little metal as possible would be employed. But strength was equally necessary, and it does not appear likely that the requisite stability could have been acquired without the use of metal bolts or other instruments for fastening the various parts, but such things have only been found on rare occasions. The position in which the wheels have usually been met with in the graves, laid flat on their sides, makes it certain they could not have been deposited there in their proper position, but must have been removed from it, a fact not consistent with the entire vehicle having been buried. In many of the chariot burials in France there can be no doubt that the whole chariot had been placed in the grave, the body of the owner having sometimes been laid upon it.[a] In some cases the wheels have been found in an upright position, kept in their place by having the lower part inserted into a groove cut in the rock for that purpose. In at least one instance a special provision had been made to receive the pole by cutting a groove, which extended beyond the limits of the grave itself. In addition to these provisions for the wheels and pole, many articles for fastening the various parts of the chariot were in that instance found in the positions they might be expected to occupy in that connection.

A parallel case to that of the wheels being buried as representing the chariot itself is afforded by the presence of the bits of the horses though the horses themselves are absent. This occurred at the Danes Graves, and in all the graves

[a] This occurred in a grave in the cemetery of Somme-Bionne (Marne), *Champagne Souterraine*, p. 23, plate vii. *seq.* M. Morel refers, at p. 28, to a similar discovery by M. Moreau at Fère-en-Tardenois.

at Arras except in that of the King's Barrow, the only one where, owing to the size of the grave, it was possible for the whole chariot to have been interred. The same practice prevailed in Gaul, where, though the horses have sometimes been found, in by far the larger number of burials there were only the bits to represent them.

In connexion with the chariot there is a circumstance which it may be desirable to refer to. It is a popular notion that the British chariots were provided with scythes fixed to the axle. No countenance is given to this belief by the remains of chariots which have been found in Britain, France, or elsewhere. It is true that the whole of the vehicle seems rarely to have been interred, but if a scythe had ever been attached to the axle it might be expected that it would have remained in connexion with the wheels, so many of which have been met with. The statement that the British chariots were provided with scythes is made only by Pomponius Mela[a] and Jornandes,[b] not any other author, who has written about Gaul or Britain, having said anything of such a practice. Had the Britons, at the time of Cæsar's expedition, been in the habit of using so important an addition to the chariot, it seems impossible he should have made no reference to it, for he describes the chariot and the way in which the Britons dealt with it in battle with more than ordinary attention to detail.[c] Moreover, in the account of the war in Pontus with Pharnaces, it is expressly mentioned that the chariots had scythes attached to them.[d]

In connexion with the third chariot-burial at Arras, a question arises of some interest in regard to the social condition of the people to whom that cemetery belonged. There can be no doubt that the person buried there was a woman; the evidence afforded by the nature of the bones, which indicate sex, is conclusive on that point, to which identification the presence of the mirror gives corroboration. Historical relation has thrown light on some features connected with the life and habits of the British people of the time, which has been illustrated in other ways. These indicate that the woman occupied an important place in their polity, not only in relation to the family but in a wider connexion,

[a] *De situ orbis*, liber iii. cap. viii. (London, 1719), 55.

[b] Cassiodori opera. Jornandes, *De rebus Geticis*, (Paris, 1588), 16.

[c] *De Bello Gallico*, liber iv. cap. 33. Some interesting notes on the subject will be found in a paper by Professor E. B. Tylor, F.R.S. "On the Origin of the Plough and Wheel Carriage," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (1881), x. 74, and to some remarks on the paper in the same volume, p. 127.

[d] *Bellum Alexandrinum*, cap. 75.

being at times even in the position of the ruling power. The names of Boadicea and Cartismandua (I use the ordinary and familiar spelling) suggest themselves. At a still earlier time the same social state appears to have prevailed in Britain. The graves of the Bronze Age, where a large burial mound has been found to cover the body of a woman as its primary and principal interment, show that in some cases a place of high distinction was allotted to a female member of the tribe.

The mirror is an article of personal use which has occasionally been discovered in Britain, almost always, however, made of bronze. In a few instances they have been found associated with an interment. In all these cases, except this in question and a second one of iron, also found at Arras but now lost,[a] they were made of bronze, and had the back in each case richly ornamented with designs characteristic of the decorative work of the period.[b]

[a] Mr. Stillingfleet's notes, which are accompanied by a rough sketch, state that the mirror was found with a skeleton in a small barrow, there being nothing else in the grave. He says they found "the round iron instrument, which we familiarly termed the oat cakes baker, from its resemblance to that culinary utensil. The shape of this instrument resembles the rough draft. It is like a modern hand screen. The diameter of the circular part is about $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The length of the handle, including the perforation (a ring at the end of the handle and another where it joins the mirror), $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The iron is much corroded. The outer diameter of the two perforations $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the inner diameter about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch."

[b] As the number of burials where a mirror formed part of the grave-goods is small, I think it will not encumber this account if a brief notice of these very important discoveries is given.

At Trelan Bahow, in the parish of St. Keverne, Cornwall, some graves were found in 1833. They had a direction nearly east and west, and the excavation in each case was lined with flat stones set on edge and covered with similar flagstones. Nothing is said about bones, but the interments were presumably of unburnt bodies. In one grave, together with bronze rings, portions of brooches, beads, some of blue and others of black and grey streaked glass, and remains of much corroded and indeterminate objects of iron, there was deposited a bronze mirror, the back of which is ornamented over nearly the whole surface. *Archæological Journal*, xxx. 267, where there is a figure of the mirror.

At Mount Batten, Plymouth, several graves containing unburnt bodies were discovered in 1865. Among the various articles found in the graves were brooches, armlets, and rings of bronze, an iron dagger in a bronze sheath, other iron implements, portions of coloured lathe-turned pottery and of glass vessels, and a bronze mirror without its handle, and two handles apparently belonging to mirrors. The back of the mirror is decorated with a very characteristic Late Celtic pattern. *Archaeologia*, xi. 500.

The most valuable discovery was one made in 1879, near Birdlip, on the Cotswold Hills. There were three cists constructed of thin slabs of stone, placed in a line north and south. The two outer ones contained each the skeleton of an adult male with whose body nothing was associated. In the

The absence of a sword or of any other weapon at the Danes Graves and Arras,[a] which has already been noticed, is a very remarkable fact and one impossible to account for. In France the sword and spear are of frequent occurrence, and in some cases they have been found in graves where there was also a chariot. It is another example of the many differences that are found to exist in the interments of the time of iron, as there are also in those of the Bronze Age, and shows how impossible it is to predicate what may or what may not be found when a barrow is opened. It may be adduced as a reason, it is hoped a good and sufficient one, why the skilled investigation of these sepulchral mounds should be continued. An examination of any one of them may disclose important but hitherto unknown evidence in relation to our predecessors in Britain in the various phases of their life and habits.

Another of the barrows at Arras contained so many articles of interest that, although the record of its opening is not a very complete one, I propose to give a description of the contents of the grave as far as that is possible. It had the name of Queen's Barrow given to it by Mr. Stillingfleet. He makes no mention

middle one was deposited the skeleton of a woman who had died in the prime of life. Upon her face was laid a bowl, well made of hammered bronze, near which was a handle, probably belonging to it, while near by was a similar but smaller bowl. There were also in connexion with the body a silver brooch, coated with gold, which has a spiral head to the pin, a hollow penannular armlet and some rings all of bronze, two bronze handles, one of which had the head of an animal upon it, and a number of large rings, some 2 inches wide, made of red amber, jet, and dark grey marble. A very fine and perfect bronze mirror completed the grave-goods. It is beautifully ornamented on the back with a design of Late Celtic type. *Proceedings of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, v. 137, plate xix.

The last discovery of a burial with a mirror, and not the least interesting one, was made outside the town but within the borough of Colchester, in 1904. With a burnt body in a grave, in addition to the mirror, which like all those of bronze was decorated on the back, was a small cup of the same metal, with an engraved handle, which had a small boss of red coral on it, and part of a bronze pin. The pottery was especially valuable; besides a pedestalled vase ornamented with belts, in which way most of the vessels were decorated, there were two large jugs with handles and a covered pot, both types new to Britain. All the vessels were well made. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd S. xx. 213.

[a] Mr. Stillingfleet records in his notes the finding of two swords at Arras, but he does not state that they were discovered in connection with a burial. Somewhere within the limits of the Arras cemetery, he says: "Not many years ago were found the remains of two swords with brass handles and iron blades . . . . now unfortunately lost. . . . . In 1816 one of them was found and given to Dr. Hull of Beverley." It is possible that these swords were of the Late Celtic period, when bronze fittings to the handle are not infrequent. Had they been ordinary comparatively modern swords Mr. Stillingfleet would most likely have stated the fact.

of the size, except that it was not large and about 3 feet high. The grave was 1 foot deep, and contained a skeleton laid in a contracted position, with the head to north. Near the head and neck were about one hundred round glass beads,



Fig. 42. Necklace beads from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. (½.)

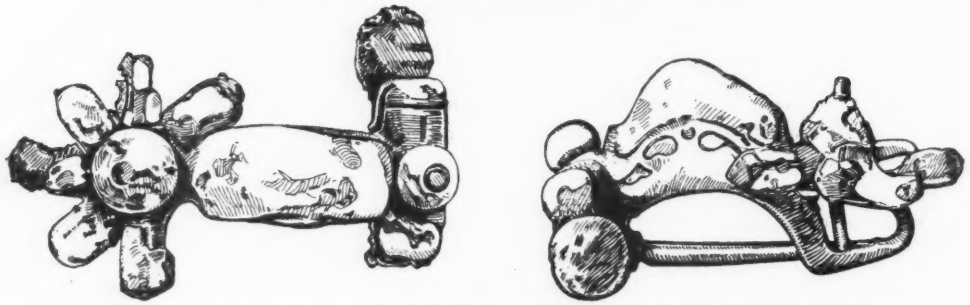


Fig. 43. Bronze and coral brooch (top and side views) from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. (½.)

from ¼ inch to ½ inch in diameter, the necklace of the buried woman. (Fig. 42.) The greater part are of two shades of blue, with annulets of white glass upon them,[a] which are in some cases three and in other cases fifteen in number; others have a zigzag pattern in white glass. The remaining beads, from ¼ inch to ⅝ inch in

[a] Similar beads of blue glass with white annulets upon them were found at Cowlam. *British Barrows*, 208. I am not aware that any like them have occurred accompanying an interment elsewhere in Britain. In the cemetery at Hallstatt there were many beads of the same blue colour with white annulets. Von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, plate xviii. figs. 32, 37.

diameter, are of a clear greenish-coloured glass, with a zigzag in white glass. In front of the chest was an amber ring, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch wide in its outer and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in its inner diameter, and close by were a brooch and a pendent ornament.

The brooch is of unusual form and otherwise noteworthy. (Fig. 43.) It is slug-shaped, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the body being made of bronze and coral, with a pin of the same metal. The head of the pin is a ribbed bar, a survival of the spiral of the earlier form of brooch; it revolves between two rather large knobs of white material, probably coral[a] (one of which is wanting), riveted on with iron pins. The pin itself issues from two plain fillets, which have another, transversely grooved, placed between them; the three combined rise above the level of the bar and embrace it. Above the bar is a cylindrical rod of coral, 1 inch long, which has at the middle a knob of the same substance attached to it by a bronze rivet. The upper part of the body of the brooch, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, is hollowed out along its length, the hollow being filled in with coral, which rises above the bronze in a curved form with a hump atop. The coral is held in its place by a transverse bronze rivet, which has on each side of it a pear-shaped hollow filled in with coral. The point of the pin lies in a sheath, formed at the end of the body of the brooch, which is turned back and terminates in a circular plate, upon which an egg-shaped boss of coral is fastened by a bronze rivet, which passing through the plate is fixed into the sheath. From the base of the central boss seven short cylindrical rods of coral (one of which is wanting) diverge to form a star-shaped termination, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide, to the end of the brooch.[b]

[a] This white material, which also formed part of the Arras pendant and of the Danes Grave pin, has been examined by Professor Church, F.R.S., who has come to the conclusion that it is shell, though it may be coral. I have, however, as his opinion was not a decided one, called it coral, because, judging from the occurrence of that substance upon the metal work of the time, it was more likely to be coral. Upon this coral there is a deposit which has been regarded as a coating of silver. Professor Church says of it: "As to the coating on the white material of the brooch, it must be regarded as adventitious, and formed no part of the original structure. It is a subsequent deposit, and may be called 'epigene.' It contains iron and copper, chiefly as hydrated oxides. During the decay of the object it has been deposited from water with more or less regularity upon the white material."

[b] A star-shaped figure, suggesting the same motive, occurs on a brooch found in the cemetery of La grande Sérenne in the valley of Barcellonette. It is made of bronze and is fixed upon a circular disk which forms the termination of the reflected end of the bow. Chantre, *Premier Age du Fer*, plate x. figs. 1, 2. A somewhat similar brooch, with seven rays of coral on the foot plate, was found in a cemetery attributed to the second century B.C. at Uzès, Dépt. Gard. *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1897, p. 488. A bronze brooch (fig. 43), decorated with coral, which has a radiating pattern on the circular foot-plate, was found with a burial at Pleurs, Marne. Morel, *l. c.* Album, plate 27, fig. 3. Another similarly decorated was found in the same cemetery. (Fig. 44.)

The pendant is circular with a flat loop attached, the whole height being $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the width $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch. (Fig. 46.) The face of the circular part, which with the loop is made of bronze, is ornamented with three narrow concentric rings of coral enclosing a slightly convex disk of yellowish brown vitreous paste, 1 inch wide, fastened on by an iron rivet which does not pass through to the front of the disk. The back is apparently lathe-turned, having at the centre two narrow concentric circular ribs; at the back of the loop, beneath the hole for suspension, is a round-ended V-shaped plate of bronze, fastened on by three bronze rivets.

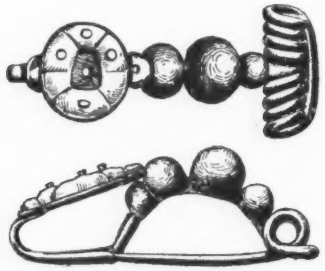


Fig. 44. Brooch ornamented with coral, Pleurs, Dépt. Marne. ($\frac{3}{4}$.)

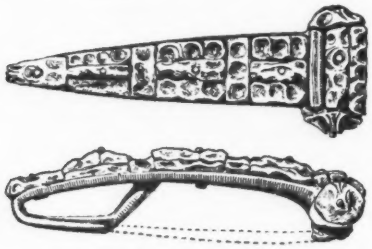


Fig. 45. Brooch ornamented with coral, Pleurs, Marne. ($\frac{3}{4}$.)

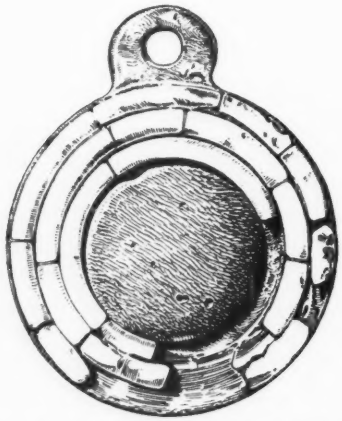


Fig. 46. Bronze pendant inlaid with coral and paste, from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. ($\frac{1}{1}$.)

According to Mr. Stillingfleet's notes, there were also found in the grave, their position not being further noted than that they were on the skeleton, "two bracelets, not a pair, of inferior workmanship, of the diameter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, a small ring of scarcely 1 inch diameter, a pair of tweezers, and a pin of 2 inches in length with a ring at its end." The articles in the York Museum attributed to the Queen's Barrow illustrate and amplify Mr. Stillingfleet's account. In addition to the brooch, pendant, beads, etc. already described, there are a bronze armlet, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, made from a square bar twisted, and fastened by a mortice and tenon, which has a circular setting, now empty, close to the mortice (Fig. 47); an annular armlet, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, made of a plain round bar of iron, bronze

coated, having a ball upon it which contains three circular hollows filled with coral (Fig. 49); a penannular bronze armlet, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with flattened circular ends; a penannular bronze ring, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, with a moulded bronze bar, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, suspended from it (Fig. 50); a round bronze rod, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, ornamented with groups of three narrow grooved encircling lines, split at one end for about half its length, and having a movable ring upon it to tighten its grip, if it was a pair of tweezers; a bronze ring, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter (Fig. 48); and a fragment of a very small bronze ring.

A gold ring[a] (Fig. 51), which was exhibited at the York meeting of the



Figs. 47, 48. Bronze armlet and ring from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. (½.)



Fig. 50. Ringed pin from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. (½.)



Fig. 49. Bronze armlet from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. (½.)

Archæological Institute in 1846, was found with the buried woman, but Mr. Stillingfleet does not mention its position in the grave. It was apparently not given by him, with the other relics, to the Museum, nor have I been able to trace where it is. It was of "very nearly standard gold, in weight 3 dwts. 21 grs. In front this ring is clasped in a kind of rose or quatrefoil."[b]

[a] A plain gold ring was found upon the right hand of a man who was buried with a chariot, in a grave at Somme Bionne. Morel, *l.c.* pp. 24, 33, plate ix. fig. 2. A bronze ring with an ornamented face was discovered in a grave at Mount Batten, Plymouth. *Archaeologia*, xi. 507, plate xxxi. fig. 4.

[b] Mr. Stillingfleet's notes, where there is a full-sized drawing, apparently an accurate one, of the ring.

Mr. Stillingfleet says an iron knob was found on the top of the grave, and that similar knobs were of frequent occurrence and "puzzled us much." They were no doubt nodules of pyrites of iron, which are often found on the surface of the ground, coming out of the decomposed chalk rock.

It will have been observed that the woman interred in the barrow just described was accompanied by a large number of glass beads. The bead, however, so common as a personal ornament in all ages, was, except in this case, almost entirely wanting at Arras. At the Danes Graves it was only in one of the last opened barrows in 1899 that a bead, a small plain one of dark blue glass, was found. As there were other decorative articles, some of them of a novel description, among the contents of this grave, I give herewith a short account of it. The



Fig. 51. Gold ring from the Queen's Barrow, Arras. (½.)

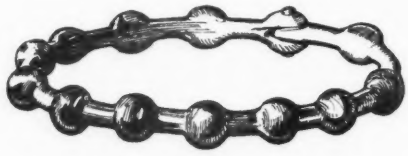


Fig. 52. Bronze armlet from the Danes Graves. (½.)

barrow was small, the grave being of the usual shape. The body, much contracted, had been laid on the left side, with the head to north north-west, both hands being up to the face. In front of the chest was some dark-coloured matter, the remains, probably, of cloth, among which were two small tubes of bronze and the bead already mentioned, the humble necklace of the buried woman. Upon the right wrist was a bronze armlet, 2 inches inside diameter, ornamented with thirteen equidistant round knobs.[a] (Fig. 52.) The tubes, about ¼ inch long, which probably served as beads, are made by turning over the edges of a thin piece of bronze so as to bring the sides together. Two similar tubes, of slightly larger size, were found in front of the chest of the body, together with an iron brooch, in another barrow opened at the same time.

[a] An armlet similar to this was found in one of the Arras barrows, but was given away, nor have I been able to trace it. Armlets of much the same pattern occurred in the cemetery of Somsois, Marne. Morel, *l.c.* Text, p. 89; Album, plate xvii. figs. 1, 5, 12; and in a grave at Pleurs: Morel, *l.c.* p. 117, plate xxvii. fig. 10.

The way in which this armlet is joined is somewhat peculiar. The one end, which is placed beneath a knob larger than the others, has been split horizontally, and into the opening thus made, the other end, which is flat and pointed, has been inserted and fixed there by an iron pin.

Mr. Stillingfleet and his fellow explorers were very fortunate in their first attempt, beginning as they did upon a barrow more than ordinarily rich in its contents, all of which are now unfortunately lost. "The first barrow" (I quote from Mr. Stillingfleet's notes) "which we opened was in the ground of Arras. In this we found a pretty perfect skeleton, with a couple of bracelets, a brooch, a ring which I should conclude to have been part of an ear ornament. The bracelets[a] were of different patterns and closed with a spring, the same as our modern bracelets, but wanted the swivel. Their inner diameter is almost $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and they have enclosed a circular ornament of stone or glass, which unfortunately we were unable to find. They are composed of brass painted a beautiful varnish green, and this was the style of all the ornaments we found." (The "varnish green" was of course the patina of green oxide so common upon ancient bronze articles.) The brooch" (evidently a very fine one, of which Mr. Stillingfleet gives an outline) "is an ornament of two parts, a parallelogram and a heart, united by a kind of bridge. A kind of composition has been included within the brass work, round, of about the size of a large rush, and three of these go over the bridge of the brooch.[b] It fastens with a tongue exactly like our modern brooches." It was $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, the width of the "parallelogram" and of the upper part of the "heart" being each 1 inch; the length of the "bridge" is 1 inch and its width just over $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

In one of the early opened barrows on the Hessleskew farm were found "a torques or neck collar pretty entire . . . . a brass ornament similar to a little wheel,[c] a circumference with four radii, and the jet beads of one necklace." In the York Museum (labelled from a barrow at Hessleskew) are nine small round jet beads, which are no doubt those in question. Neither the brooch, "torques," nor the ornament like "a little wheel" are among the relics at York, not,

[a] Mr. Stillingfleet, speaking of the armlets found at Arras, and referring to those in his possession now in the York Museum, says, "We found several much finer bracelets, but they did not fall to my share."

[b] The ornamental addition to the bow of the brooch was probably composed of coral or vitreous paste, similar to the substance found on some of the brooches and pendant already described.

[c] The "little wheel" may have been the head of a pin similar to that found at the Danes Graves. In another note Mr. Stillingfleet says it was 1 inch in outer diameter and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in inner diameter. A bronze article which looks as if it might be similar to the Arras "wheel" was found at Stanwick, and is figured in the *Catalogue of Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, p. 90, fig. 15. A pin with a wheel-shaped head, but which has a straight shank, is figured in Wylde, *Catalogue of Bronze Antiquities in the Dublin Museum*, p. 559, fig. 422.

apparently, having fallen to Mr. Stillingfleet's share of what was found, nor have I been able to trace them.

In others of the barrows at Arras numerous articles of various kinds were discovered, many of which have disappeared. Some, which cannot, however, be assigned to any special barrow, are preserved in the York Museum and others in the British Museum, which I proceed to describe. They comprise two bronze armlets, a pair, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in inside and just under 3 inches in outside diameter; they are very similar in design, but not so delicately fashioned, as one of those found at Cowlam. There is one (Fig. 53) much like them, and another of a different pattern (Fig. 54), in the British Museum; where are also a small ring

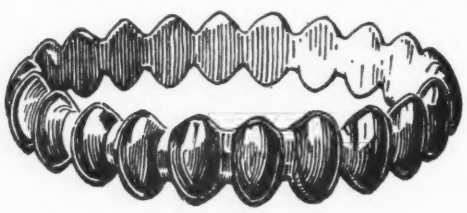


Fig. 53. Bronze armlet in the British Museum, from Arras. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

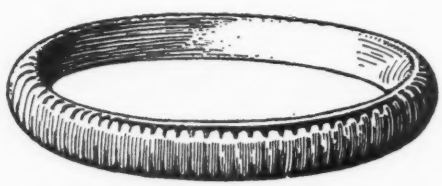


Fig. 54. Bronze bracelet, Arras. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

(Fig. 55), with annulets upon each face, a flat piece of lead, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, with a bronze rivet through the middle, and a jet ring, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide; they came from Arras, but it is not known if from the same barrow. The remaining articles are all at York. A bronze armlet, $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in its outer diameter, fastened by a mortice and tenon; it has a cable moulding upon it and expands at each end into a flat circular plate, on to which a disk of paste or coral, now wanting, has been fixed by a rivet; from the same barrow came the half of a plain bronze armlet, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, which has at the remaining end a round plate similar to those on that last described, which is still filled with a setting of variegated red paste. Other barrows produced, either as the whole or a part only of their contents—one, a penannular bronze ring, about 1 inch in diameter, with overlapping ends, has a reeded pattern upon it. From another barrow came two plain bronze rings, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch and $\frac{6}{8}$ inch wide respectively. Among the rest is a truncated cone of chalk, perforated vertically, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch high, the same width across the base, and $\frac{7}{8}$ inch across the top. (Fig. 56.) Though rather large, it is no doubt a spindle whorl; a round one, also made of chalk, has already been described from the Danes Graves.



Fig. 55. Bronze ring, Arras. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

A most remarkable relic among those at York, one of great interest and very difficult to account for in connexion with a burial of the period to which the Arras cemetery belongs, is a miniature socketed and looped axe of bronze, 1 inch long. (Fig. 57.) It is said when found to have had "a pin which connected it when used with a small light-blue glass bead."[a] Placed upon the same card in the York Museum on which the axe is fixed are the half of a jet bead, a piece of amber, a small blue glass bead, and a fragment of a bronze ring of thin wire. The two last-mentioned articles may possibly represent the pin and bead mentioned by Mr. Stillingfleet as having been attached to the axe.



Fig. 56. Chalk spindle whorl, from Arras. (½)

It is difficult to believe that at the time in question axes or any other implement of bronze were in use, for the burials at Arras belong undoubtedly to a period when the manufacture of iron and the cultivation with which that metal was associated had reached a high state of development. There were no signs in that cemetery of a change from bronze to iron, nor indeed does Britain afford any evidence of such a condition of things as is supplied by the graves at Hallstatt and by other places in Europe. It is probable, indeed almost certain, that the knowledge and use of iron came into Britain from a source oversea where it had already passed through the stage of transition, and had become the established metal for weapons and implements. This toy implement cannot therefore be regarded as having in its origin anything connected with the people who buried their dead at Arras. It belonged to a time about the date of which it is vain to speculate, when the ordinary cutting axe was made of bronze,



Fig. 57. Miniature bronze axe from Arras. (½.)

[a] Mr. Stillingfleet refers to the axe in two places in his notes. Speaking of four barrows opened June 2, 1815, he says "in one of them we found brass ornaments for the ears, painted green; one of them in my possession is a beautiful hatchet or British battle-axe in miniature, which has been ornamented and confined by a glass bead." In another and later part of his notes he says: "In W. 57 (the number refers to a plan which accompanies the notes) we found a skeleton and the beautiful miniature little axe ornament. I think also the little pellet ornament." This is probably what is figured in the notes 88, with the following description: "The outer shape of a brass ornament (probably appended to an earring) found in a barrow at Arras. It is formed of four brass or copper pellets." In another note Mr. Stillingfleet says it was ⅝ inch wide on the longest side of the square.

and in shape as well as in material a very different instrument from that used by the iron-equipped folk of the Wolds. For what purpose and in what relation it was first fabricated need not be inquired about. Representative weapons and implements are not uncommon in association with interments in Denmark, Egypt, and other countries, but I am not acquainted with the occurrence of such an article connected with a burial in Britain.[a] A suggestion may perhaps be hazarded about the cause of its being deposited in a grave at Arras. It was originally made during the Bronze Age, lost, and found many years afterwards, treasured as a curious thing, possibly worn as an ornament or charm, and in the end laid in the grave with the woman on whose neck it was hung when living.

There are two incidents connected with the burials at the Danes Graves which have not yet been brought under notice. The first has reference to the occurrence of animal remains in the barrows. The custom of placing in the grave in intimate connection with the buried person some portion of an animal, usually part of the foreleg of a young pig, has already been mentioned, but at the Danes Graves there were two instances where an entire animal had been deposited in the grave. One was in a barrow opened by me in 1864. It was small, and a grave of ordinary size had been excavated to a depth of 2 feet below the surface. On the bottom of the grave was laid the skeleton of an adult male, in a much contracted position, on the right side with the head to the west. On either side of the body was the skeleton of a full-grown goat, identified by the horn cores. Close to the mouth of the man, some of his teeth being discoloured by the oxidised metal, was an iron brooch.[b] The other instance was in one of the barrows opened in 1898. The barrow and grave were of the ordinary form and size. The body, that of an adult man, was placed at the middle of the grave in a slightly contracted position, on the right side with the head to the east. The arms were crossed over the stomach, and lying on the left humerus was an iron brooch. In front of the knees were the bones of a young pig, still higher up, and in front of the body were the bones of a goat. Over the feet and hips of the man was the skeleton of a very young pig, and behind his back were the bones of a second goat. Four animals therefore had been interred in this grave, two goats and two young pigs, a much larger provision for the dead, supposing they were deposited with that

[a] A miniature bronze axe was exhibited by Mr. Albert Way at the Worcester meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1862. There is no notice of it in the Journal of the Society, nor have I been able to learn anything about it.

[b] Engraved in *Archæological Journal*, xxii. 110.

intention, than was usually made. It is possible, however, that in these cases something more than such a provision was intended. I do not remember a similar instance having occurred among the burials of the Bronze Age.

The barrows at the Danes Graves contained as a rule each a single interment,[a] but seven, including that of the chariot burial, had more; in six there were two and in one five bodies buried in one grave, and apparently all placed there at the same time. In two of the barrows where there was a double interment, one of the bodies was of a child, and in that where the grave contained five bodies two were of children. In none of these cases, however, was there that intimate connection in the position of the bodies which has so frequently been found in the barrows of the Bronze Age, and from which an inference has been drawn, not perhaps unfairly, in regard to the relationship, as of mother and child, which existed between the buried persons.[b]

As the barrow which contained five interments possesses in addition to that unique characteristic some incidents which have an interest attached to them, I think it will be useful to give an account of its contents. It was larger than usual, being 30 feet in diameter and 3 feet high. The grave was of the usual form, $7\frac{1}{4}$ feet long, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. Near to its southern end, placed just beneath the top of the grave, was the body of a child about seven years old, laid on the left side with the head to west-south-west, having the right arm across the body and the left hand under the head. Close to the right forearm was a broken and much corroded iron ring, probably the remains of an armlet. On the east side of the grave, about 1 foot above the bottom, was the body of a young adult male laid on the left side, but slightly turned over on to the back with the head to the north. The body was only loosely contracted, the right hand being laid on the right shoulder, the left hand under the head. Immediately underneath was another body placed on the bottom of the grave on the left side. The head pointed to the south, the right hand was up to the face, the left under the head. On the upper part of the right arm were some thin pieces of bronze very much corroded, and in front of the chest were remains of what may have been a bronze brooch. At the west side of the grave on the bottom was the loosely contracted body of an adult laid on the left side with the head to the north, the right arm was across the chest, the left hand in front of the face. The bones of the wrist of the right arm were stained green, indicating

[a] The same was the case at Arras. Mr. Stillingfleet says, "Each barrow we found to contain the skeleton of one human body."

[b] *British Barrows*, 156 note, 260, 309, 399.

that some bronze article, probably a thin armlet, had been once on the wrist. In the north-west corner a young child had been laid on the bottom of the grave, but the bones were too much decayed to allow of their position being determined. This barrow is the only one at the Danes Graves where anything like a number of bodies had been buried in one grave, nor was there anything to show that the barrow had ever been opened since the time when these bodies had been deposited in it. Nothing at all like it appears to have occurred at Arras, where, in that large cemetery, no barrow of the time of iron contained more than one interment. The rule in both these burial places was an almost universal one, that a sepulchral mound was the memorial over the grave of one person. This practice was a very different one from that of the people of the Bronze Age, where in the same barrow numerous interments have frequently been found, in many cases all certainly buried at one and the same time, although in others interments had been made at subsequent and different times.

It will have been remarked that in the barrow just described there were the bodies of two children, a very unusual occurrence. In addition to this there were only two other barrows at the Danes Graves where a child had been interred, making in all four children, a very small proportion out of the number of bodies there buried. Mr. Stillingfleet does not mention the discovery of the body of a child at Arras. It is certain that children must have died in much larger numbers during the time when these cemeteries were in use than is indicated by the small amount of bodies that were found. It appears therefore that children were not buried in them as a rule, but only on certain and special occasions. Into the cause of these very infrequent departures from the general custom it is in vain to inquire. In neither cemetery had a memorial mound been thrown up to commemorate the burial of a child, as in some instances had been done during the Bronze Age. One of the largest barrows on the Wolds was found to cover the body of a very young child as the primary and principal interment.

The account it was proposed to give of the two cemeteries has now been completed. It seems, however, desirable to supplement that by the addition of a few matters for consideration suggested by the subjects which have already been discussed. In this relation the two cemeteries may be treated as one, for though there are some differences between the articles discovered in the graves at the two sites, there is so much in common in their principal and more important features, that they must be regarded as burial places of people whose habits and manner of life were similar, and where the necessaries and appliances of daily existence were practically the same.

The first question which arises is that of the race or tribe who were buried at the Danes Graves and Arras, and to what division of the human family they belonged. In connexion with this a most essential, and perhaps the principal, factor is the physical characteristics of the skeletons themselves, and especially the general nature and distinctive racial elements of the skull form. For this investigation a quite sufficient amount of material is available, a large number of skeletons having been recovered in a state of preservation complete enough to admit of proper measurements being taken and of a thorough examination being made. This, however, does not apply to Arras, from which place only two skulls have been preserved. One of these is described and figured by Dr. Thurnam in *Crania Britannica*. The other is that of the woman of the chariot-burial now in the New Museum at Oxford. Some of the skeletons found by me in 1864 were described by Dr. Thurnam, but not with sufficient minuteness of detail, in the *Archæological Journal*.[a] The best preserved out of twenty-two skulls in the possession of Mr. Mortimer of Driffield have been reported on by William Wright, M.B., F.R.C.S., in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*.[b]

A further examination of all the available skulls has been made by Dr. Wright, now F.S.A., to whom the Society is indebted for the account appended to this paper.

It would not be prudent to insist too strongly upon the similarity of the grave-relics at the Danes Graves and Arras with those discovered in other parts of Britain, or in countries oversea, as being proof that the two belonged to the same race of people or even to the same area of cultivation. The apparatus of war, the instruments and luxuries of ordinary life, even rites of burial, have so often been taken over by one people from others, where there was no relationship by blood that it would be unwise to argue in favour of identity of race upon this basis alone. But on the other hand, unless the evidence to the contrary is abundant and trustworthy, where such things as have just been referred to are found to be similar in two districts, the presumption is strong that they were in the main occupied by people who were united by the affinity of blood. If this argument may be considered a valid one, then the tribe who dwelt in that part of Yorkshire, where these cemeteries are situated, may be regarded as kinsmen of that family of Celts who occupied the north-eastern and adjacent part of Gaul, as they were related to some sections of the population of Britain itself.

When we endeavour, and we can scarcely avoid doing so, to form a picture of what may have been the domestic and social condition of these people, their habits

[a] Vol. xxii. 109.

[b] N. S. vi. 66-73.

of daily life, their occupations and industries, we are met by the serious difficulty which is caused by the small amount of material, and that too of a somewhat contradictory nature, which is at our disposal. And there are other difficulties. The quality of the vessels of pottery, which has already been discussed, is so bad that it would be despised by many a tribe of savages, and yet the same graves have produced other things so excellent that an educated and practised artificer would regard them as not unworthy of his power. Some of these articles show great skill in manufacture as well as artistic capability in decorative work, where instructed and well-trained labour has been bestowed. The inference which might be drawn from this, as showing their advance in the processes which are developed from the cultured hands and brain of the craftsman, requires to be qualified, at least to some extent. The bronze brooches, the pin, the pendant, and some other things, which exhibit the high qualities just referred to, may have been imported into Britain from foreign parts, and may, therefore, not be due to native workmen. Intercourse by way of traffic was then widely spread, and goods passed by one channel and another through divers routes, and the products of one land were the frequent possession of the people of another. It may not be possible, it is true, to attribute to any special place the source from which the ornaments in question may have come, nevertheless it seems on the whole most likely that they were foreign to Yorkshire, and were not made by the people with whose burial places we are concerned. At the same time, even if we regard these luxuries as not being of home manufacture, the fact that they were imported, used, and appreciated implies in itself no small advance in cultivation and in the attendant elevation of social life and its surroundings.

The people at the Danes Graves do not appear to have been in possession of so much wealth of goods as their kinsmen at Arras, though there, probably, was no great difference between them in the ordinary conditions of their life. Both communities appear to have advanced to the same stage of progress as had been attained by the inhabitants of large portions of Britain, and by many of the allied Gaulish tribes, with whom, through the requirements of trade, community of interests, and relationship, intercourse was habitually kept up.

The resemblance between the articles found in these graves of the East Riding and the contents of burial places of people living at the same time in other localities in Britain and oversea in Europe, is a subject in general of great interest and value. It becomes one of still higher importance when the development in Britain, which accompanied the displacement of bronze by iron, is in question. The inquiry is one too large to be investigated in this account, the

principal object of which is to put on record the discoveries made in these cemeteries, in order that they may be used in a wider connection than is here sought to be discussed.

The rare occurrence of chariot-burials, confined, as it is, to a very limited area in Britain, is a matter about which it seems necessary to make some remarks. It is true that, as regards Britain in general, but few burial places of the Iron Age have been found which can be attributed with certainty to a time before the Roman occupation. They are less frequent in Scotland and the adjoining country south of Tweed. Indeed, with the exception of the district in Yorkshire with which we are concerned and the south-east corner of England, it is only here and there that an interment of the period in question has been discovered. It could scarcely then be looked for that many cases, where a chariot was associated with the dead person in the grave, should have been met with. Such burials are, however, comparatively abundant in the district where these cemeteries are situated, nor is there any apparent cause why they should occur there more commonly than they do in any other part of Britain. The circumstance, singular and interesting as it is, cannot I fear be explained.

It is evident from the account given by Cæsar of his campaign against the South-eastern Britons that the chariot formed an important and effective element in their military equipment and tactics. That there was a large employment of the chariot in other parts of Britain is shown by the numerous discoveries of articles connected with horse trappings and harness which have been made throughout almost the whole country. It might, therefore, have been expected that when the chariot was in such common use, burials would have taken place, in which it formed part of the funeral goods, equally in other parts as it did in the district in question, but that has not proved to be the case. As has just been stated, except in East Yorkshire such burials are all but unknown.

The absence of the sword, spear, or any other weapon is another circumstance which cannot be accounted for, and the absence is more difficult to understand when the large number of graves which were examined is taken into account. The numerous discoveries of these weapons which have been made in different parts of the country, many of them in connection with an interment, show that they were abundantly used by the Britons. Indeed at a not very distant place on the Wolds a grave was discovered, in which with the skeleton of a man were associated a sword and spear with other things, at another place two swords were found in the grave, and it is possible that the sword discovered at Thorp, near Rudstone, had accompanied an interment. It is possible, though it is very

unlikely, that this absence was accidental. Among the many interments which had taken place at the Danes Graves and Arras there must at least have been one of a man who owned both sword and spear.

There was also in the cemeteries an absence of any ornamental or other article into whose composition enamel had entered. This fact, like others that have already been noticed, has a significance which is of importance in relation to the time when they were occupied as places of interment. Of all the materials employed for decorative purposes, there was none which exhibited such effective and characteristic features in the native bronze work of the period as enamel. How constantly it was used and how largely applied in the manufacture of many different instruments and ornaments is evident from the abundance of various objects, many very richly decorated with it, which are amongst the choicest treasures of our museums. At whatever period the use of enamel commenced in Britain, where, as is believed on good grounds, it originated, its application as a decorative material belongs to the time of the highest developement of the Late Celtic cultivation. If that is true, there is a strong probability that the two cemeteries belong to an earlier phase of that remarkable culture, for not the slightest trace of enamel was found either at the Danes Graves or at Arras. The non-appearance of any article of Roman manufacture or of any signs of Roman influence may be adduced as adding some strength to the conclusion, already arrived at, with regard to the time when these burial places were in occupation.

The occurrence of plain iron mirrors at Arras, while none of bronze were discovered, may, perhaps, be regarded as an incident to some extent parallel to the absence of anything upon which enamel had been employed, and one favourable to an early date being assigned to these Yorkshire cemeteries. In a few instances in Britain, a bronze mirror, which in every case was richly decorated on the back, has been found associated with an interment. The other grave-goods which were deposited in these burial places have been such as belong to a late period of the cultivation in question. This is corroborated by the circumstances which have attended the discovery of bronze mirrors unconnected with sepulture. If the burials at Arras, which were accompanied by a mirror, had belonged to the highest developement of the Early Iron time, we might have looked for the occurrence of a mirror made of bronze and enriched with the decoration which is always found upon those articles of the toilet. These facts are certainly not conclusive, but in the absence of more satisfactory evidence they may, perhaps, be offered as suggestive.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the preceding pages have passed through the press, a valuable discovery of a chariot-burial has been made on the north-eastern verge of the Wolds, about twelve miles north of the Danes Graves. It occurred near Hunmanby, and was accidentally disclosed by the falling in of gravel overlying a clay pit. There still remained some indications of the mound which had been thrown up over the grave. The grave itself was 3½ feet deep and 11½ feet in diameter, with slightly sloping sides. The various articles found were partly among the material which had fallen in and partly in the portion of the grave which remained undisturbed. Nothing belonging to the skeleton of the buried person was met with, but a piece of bone and two much-decayed teeth of a horse were found.

Numerous articles of bronze and iron came to light, many of which can be identified, but others were too fragmentary and decayed to admit of their original purpose being ascertained. Among those, the use of which is evident, are the broken tires of two wheels. They had been nearly 3 feet in diameter and over 1 inch wide, slightly turned over at the edge. From the position in which they were found, they appeared to have been attached to the body of the chariot, and not deposited, as was sometimes the case, merely as detached wheels. The nave-hoops, about 6 inches in diameter, were also present, but in a broken condition, though of thicker fabric than the tires. To both tires and nave hoops portions of wood were still attached. Two large curved articles of iron are probably linch-pins. Other indeterminate pieces of iron may have been connected with the chariot. A single bit was found. It is stated to be made of bronze, but is, no doubt, like many others which have occurred elsewhere, of iron bronze-coated. It is quite similar in size, general form and construction, to those found at Arras, two of which are represented in the foregoing account. (Figs. 22, 29.) In all other cases two bits have occurred, as was to be expected when the chariot was drawn by two horses. In this case it does not appear likely that so large an object could have been overlooked by the explorers, but as a portion of the grave had fallen in before it was examined, another bit may have been carried off by some one visiting the place. It is possible, however, that in this instance a single bit was deposited in place of the pair, just as in other cases the bits and the wheels were thought sufficient to represent the chariot itself and the horses that drew it.

There was nothing to show that any offensive weapon had been deposited in the grave, certainly there had been no sword, and among the various portions of bronze and iron articles none indicated the presence of a spear. The remains of an important defensive weapon were found in numerous fragmentary parts of a shield. From what was left of the wooden foundation it must have been more than 2 feet long, with straight sides and rounded ends, one of which was left, and in shape much like the shields from the rivers Thames and Witham now in the British Museum. The wood had been partly covered with thin plates of bronze, some of which remained, but in a fragile and decayed condition. They had been fixed by bronze pins. Though little of this bronze coating was preserved, enough was left to show that it had been ornamented with a characteristic Late-Celtic pattern in embossed work.

The wood of the shield had been bordered by a bronze rim, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, which had been turned over the edge on to the inner side to the same width, and fastened by bronze pins $\frac{1}{4}$ inch long. A flattened tube of thin bronze about 6 inches long, which was found lying across one end of the shield may have been connected with its metal covering. It will be remembered that in a grave at Grimthorpe, on the north-western verge of the Wolds, the body of a man was discovered, with whom, in addition to an iron sword in a bronze sheath and an iron spear-head, a shield (Fig. 6) had been buried. Part of the bronze covering of that shield consisted of two semi-cylindrical rods, and it is possible that the tube found in the grave at Hunmanby may have had a similar use.

It remains to notice "a thin lenticular piece of plain bronze, measuring about 3 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is polished on the convex side." It had at the edge a bronze pin for attachment to something which had perished. It has been suggested that it was part of a mirror, but that does not seem to be probable.

The position in which the wheels were found, and the various articles of bronze and iron probably connected with the construction of the chariot, as well as the remains, small though they are, of the horses, all seem to point to the conclusion that the chariot itself and the horses belonging to it had been interred in the grave.

This important discovery adds one more instance to those already numerous in proportion to other districts where a chariot burial has been found on the Wolds or in their immediate proximity.

APPENDIX.

Notes on the human remains found in the Danes Graves. By WILLIAM WRIGHT, *Esq., M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A.*

Of the former inhabitants of Yorkshire who were buried in "the Danes Graves" I have been able to examine in addition to a number of long bones no less than sixty skulls. So large a number of prehistoric skulls from so small an area is most unusual, and permits one to generalise with much more confidence than is ordinarily the case.

The skulls are widely scattered now; they are to be found in the Mortimer Museum, Driffield, the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York, the University Museums of Cambridge and Oxford, and the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

Of the twenty-five in the Mortimer Museum which I have examined I have already published a description of twenty-two,[a] the remainder were obtained by Mr. Mortimer and myself subsequent to the date of that communication. In the York Museum there are two skulls from these graves, at Cambridge and Oxford four and ten respectively, and in the Royal College of Surgeons nineteen.

In the paper contributed to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* I concluded that the skulls could be assigned to one or other of five types, illustrations of four of which I am permitted to reproduce. (Fig. 58 and Plate XXX.) A more extensive examination of the skulls from these graves and a deeper study of craniology confirm that conclusion, but I am compelled to acknowledge that the types are not sharply defined and all gradations between them are to be observed. Further, the types are not far removed from each other, and all the skulls may be said to lie, in their shape, somewhere between No. 1 and No. 18. Here too it must be borne in mind that much of the difference can be attributed to sex, for No. 1 is the skull of a woman while No. 18 belonged to a man. Sex for instance

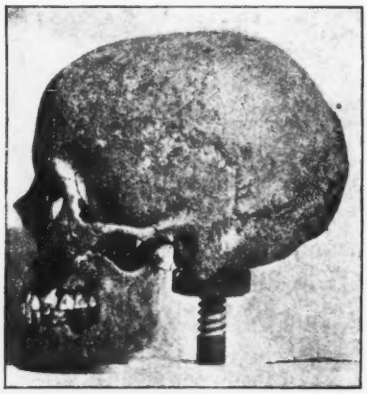
[a] *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, N. S. vi. (1903), 66-71.

readily accounts for the more vertical forehead of No. 1 and for the prominence of the frontal, parietal, and occipital eminences which occasion its pentagonoid appearance when viewed in the Norma Verticalis.[a]

The skulls form a series as uniform as one can expect in Europe, as uniform as that from the Neolithic Barrows of England.



No. 1. *Norma Facialis.*



No. 1. *Norma Lateralis.*



No. 1. *Norma Verticalis.*



No. 1. *Norma Occipitalis.*

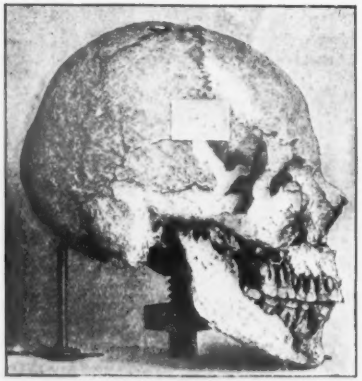
Fig. 58. Skull from the Danes Graves.

The importance of this fact lies in its suggestion, apart from all archæological evidence, that the skulls belonged to individuals living in tribal fashion.

[a] The skulls are all photographed with the lower border of the orbit, and the upper border of the external auditory meatus in the same horizontal plane, that is in the position recommended at the Frankfort Congress.



No. 8. *Norma Facialis.*



No. 8. *Norma Lateralis.*



No. 8. *Norma Verticalis.*



No. 8. *Norma Occipitalis.*



No. 18. *Norma Facialis.*



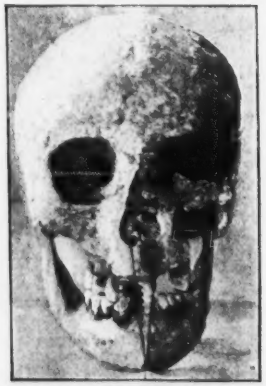
No. 18. *Norma Lateralis.*



No. 18. *Norma Verticalis.*



No. 18. *Norma Occipitalis.*



No. 21. *Norma Facialis.*



No. 21. *Norma Lateralis.*



No. 21. *Norma Verticalis.*



No. 21. *Norma Occipitalis.*

SKULLS FROM THE DANES GRAVES.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1906.

The skulls may be described as seen in the Normæ Verticalis, Lateralis, Facialis et Occipitalis.

Norma Verticalis.—In this Norma the cranium [a] hides the face, the zygomata are not seen. The shapes occurring are the ellipsoid [b] and ovoid, occasionally a slight tendency is observed to the pentagonoid or beloid. The minimum frontal diameter is in a few instances strikingly small.

Norma Lateralis.—All the crania are long and the vast majority possess the ellipsoid shape. The regularity of the curve is in most cases broken by supraciliary, frontal, or occipital eminences, by a flatness in the posterior parietal or superior occipital regions, by the flatness or external concavity of the inferior occipital squame. The latter condition when combined with a prominence of the superior occipital squame gives an appearance which has been well compared by Sergi [c] to the blunt beak of a bird. It is seen in No. 1 and No. 21.

The supraciliary eminences are not as a rule well developed, those of No. 18 being unusually pronounced for these skulls.

The other irregularities of the curve give to the cranium an ill-filled appearance, but it would be wrong to argue therefrom a condition of low intellectuality; since long skulls are prone to such an appearance from the fact that undue enlargement of one diameter, such as the anteroposterior, interferes with that regularly rounded appearance which results when enlargement takes place more or less equally along the three dimensions of space.

As to the profile view of the face, the nose will be seen to project well forwards, the upper part being concave upwards and forwards, the lower part showing the beginning of a convexity. It is unfortunate that the bony portion of the nose is so small that one is unable to form an adequate idea of the shape of the nose in life. It will also

[a] The skulls are all photographed with the lower border of the orbit, and the upper border of the external auditory meatus in the same horizontal plane, that is in the position recommended at the Frankfort Congress.

[b] Sergi, *Specie e Varietà Umane*, 1900.

[c] Sergi, *Nuove osservazioni sulle forme del cranio umano.*

be seen from the illustrations that the face bones are slight, and the mastoid processes and osseous asperities for the attachment of muscles poorly developed. While no skull was observed to be prognathous, some exhibited a greater approach to that condition than did others.

Norma Facialis.—The predominant shape is ellipsoid; in other words the lateral surface of the cranium, the zygoma, and ascending ramus of the mandible are almost in the same vertical plane, the arch of the cranium and body of mandible completing the figure above and below. The chief variation from this is the ovoid type, an example of which is shown in No. 1, the vertex is wide and the outline gradually tapers towards the chin, which, however, is rounded; the type is confined to females.

The face is seen to be large, particularly in its vertical diameter.

The cheek bones are not unduly prominent, although probably a few, as for example No. 18, would have had them sufficiently pronounced to affect the surface form.

Rarely is the lower jaw squared; in a few instances, if the soft parts closely followed the underlying bone, the chin was dimpled.

The temporal ridges are in many cases sufficiently developed for them to be recognized in life through the skin and superficial tissues.

Norma Occipitalis.—In this Norma the crania have the shape of a pentagon, varying in the proportion which the breadth bears to the height, in the development of the parietal eminences, in the flatness or sharpness of the vertex. The shape possessed by No. 8 and No. 18 was frequently observed, the line from the parietal eminence to the mastoid process being practically vertical.

So gradual is the transition from type to type that it is impossible to assign with confidence the vast majority of the skulls to any one of the five types, which are only of value in that they show the lines along which variation tends to occur. Similarly the variations themselves vary so much in degree that it is impossible to give correctly the proportion of skulls in which any given variation may be said to be present.

It may, however, be stated that the forehead is more frequently inclined than vertical, the supraciliary eminences are as a rule slightly developed; in only one

instance could the upper rim of the orbit be described as thickened, a condition frequently seen in the skulls from the Bronze Age barrows. The post-parietal flattening is so frequently present that it forms a feature characteristic of these skulls, but, as before stated, it may be to some extent at least attributable to the fact that the skulls are long. The form of the occiput again, for probably the same reason, is frequently pointed "come un becco corto di uccello."[a]

Of other irregularities in the cranial contour the backward projection of the superior occipital squame is never sufficiently pronounced to fully deserve the title of "capsuläres Hinterhaupt." No instance of a sagittal ridge was observed, but a shallow longitudinal depression gradually deepening from the bregma to the obelion, at the bottom of which lay the sagittal suture, was noticeable in two skulls, viz. Nos. 462 and 463 of the Oxford series. A distinct post-coronal groove was present in three or four cases, a pre-coronal one being evident in No. 560E of the Royal College of Surgeons' series. No marked asymmetry was noted. The skulls were on the whole fragile, accounting for the fragmentary state in which they are not infrequently found. There were, however, exceptions, the one denominated No. 560A being a good example of a heavy skull of robust type.

A better idea of the skulls can be obtained from a study of the accompanying illustrations than from any mere verbal description. They show examples of the four most common types and exhibit the range of variation. The fifth type is rarely encountered; it is characterised particularly by an almost horizontal inferior occipital squame and an equally vertical superior occipital squame, which together with a vertical forehead produce a cranium of a cubical form.[b]

Wormian bones were present in almost half the cases; they were in the vast majority of instances found in the lambdoid suture, occasionally they extended into

[a] Sergi, *Nuove Osservazioni sulle forme del cranio umano.*

[b] There are two skulls from Arras in the Museum of the University of Oxford. Their measurements are as follows:

	246	247
Sex	♂	♂
Glab. occ. length	184	183
Max. breadth	134	?
Cephalic index	73	?

They bear a striking resemblance in general shape to those from the Danes Graves.

the sagittal and parieto-mastoid sutures. In one instance, obviously due to the fusion of an epipteric bone with the squamous portion of the temporal bone, a fronto-squamous suture resulted.

Metopism was observed in five skulls.

As regards the teeth, they were on the whole in good condition and regularly disposed. A very unusual anomaly was present in "Body A," York, viz. a small accessory upper molar lying behind the wisdom tooth.

Irregularities in the eruption of the teeth were as follows: in No. 530 the left upper canine was very oblique and erupted through the socket for the lateral incisor; in No. 560C the left upper canine had not erupted but presented through the palate; in No. 560H the left upper canine had actually erupted through the palate. The mandible of 560X was practically edentulous, and in that of 560M there only remained the canine, lateral incisor, and first bicuspid on the left side and the first molar on the right side; the edentulous state was not due to the teeth having dropped out after death, as the alveoli were absorbed.

As regards the measurements of the crania, I only propose to give those of the maximum length, the maximum breadth, and, when possible, the minimum frontal breadth. The numbers denominating the skulls are those by which they are known in the different catalogues.

	DRIFFIELD. (Excavated 1902.)			YORK. (Mound 13.)	
	1.	2.	3.	Body A.	Body B.
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂	♂
Glab. occ. length	190	189	186	184	190
Max. breadth	132	141	142	145 ?	139
Cephalic index	69·5	74·6	76·35	79 ?	73

	CAMBRIDGE.			
	526.	527.	528.	530.
Sex	♂	♂	♂	♂
Glab. occ. length	188 ?	183	179	186
Max. breadth	142 ?	137	130	139
Cephalic index	75·5 ?	75	73	75
Min. front. width	97	100	87	100

OXFORD.

	459.	460.	461.	462.	463.	464.	465.	466.	467.	468.
Sex	♂	♂ *	♂	♀	♂	Child	♂	♂	♂	♂
Glab. occ. length	191			179	176	162	183	184	176	198
Max. breadth	130			133	142	123	127	132 ?	133	140
Cephalic index	68			74	80	76	70	72 ?	75·5	70
Min. front. width	96			100						

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

560

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
	♂	♀	♂	♀	♂	♀	♀	♂	♀	♂
Glab. occ. length	187	176	183	175	189	181 ?	183 ?	189	183	187
Max. breadth	140	133	141	141	141	128 ?	138 ?	132	131	132
Cephalic index	75	75·5	77	80	74·5	70 ?	75·4	70	71·5	70
Min. front. width	105	94	100	97	98	93	96	101		

	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
	♂	♂	♀					♂	♂	
Glab. occ. length	188	189	175					192		
Max. breadth	134	124	123					137		
Cephalic index	71·5	65·5	70					71·5		
Min. front. width										

* Certain skulls are merely recorded, their fragmentary state precluding all measurement.

	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	Z *a*	Z *b*	Z *c*	Z *d*	Z *e*
				♂		♂		♂		♂	♂
Glab. occ. length . .				186 ?		185		182		183	180
Max. breadth . . .				115		124		132			117
Cephalic index . . .				62 ?		67		72·5			65
Min. front. width . .											

These measurements, with the cephalic indices calculated from them, show that twenty-two of the skulls are dolichocephalic, and thirteen are mesaticephalic; those previously published proved thirteen to be dolichocephalic, eight mesaticephalic, and one to have an index of 81 ?. Of all the fifty-seven skulls whose indices have been estimated, no less than thirty have an index of 72, 77, or an intermediate figure. The lowest reliable index computed was 65·5, the highest was 80.

In addition to the skulls, a number of long bones from these barrows have been preserved. They are in the Mortimer Museum, Driffield, and in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. They present us with nothing noteworthy, but they enable us to form some idea of the stature and build of the people buried in these graves.

Mr. Mortimer published in 1897[a] a list of measurements of nineteen femora; of these seventeen belonged to adults. These measurements, which were originally in inches, I have changed into centimetres, and from them estimated the stature according to the formulæ of Karl Pearson.[b]

Further, I have myself measured the femora in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons and estimated the probable stature.

The results are as follows:

[a] *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.*

[b] Mathematical Contributions to the Theory of Evolution. V. On the Reconstruction of the Stature of Prehistoric Races.—*Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 1898.

DRIFFIELD.

Sex.	Femoral Length.		Stature.
	Inches.	Centimetres.	
♂	17½	48·6	172·674
?	17	47·2	170·042
♀	16	44·4	159·202
♂	17½	48·6	172·674
♂ ?	17	47·2	170·042
♂	16	44·4	164·778
♂	18½	51·4	177·938
♀ ?	16¾	46·5	163·386
♀	18	50	170·094
♀	17¼	48	166·204
♂	18¼	50·7	176·622
♂	17½	48·6	172·674
♀	17	47·2	164·648
♀	17½	48·6	167·371
♂	17½	48·6	172·674
♀ ?	18½	51·4	172·817
♀	16	44·4	159·202

The stature of the males is here seen to lie between 165 and 178 centimetres [5 feet 5 inches and 5 feet 10 inches], that of the females between 159 and 172 centimetres [5 feet 2½ inches and 5 feet 7⅔ inches]. The average stature of the males is 172 centimetres [5 feet 7⅔ inches], that of the females is 165 centimetres [5 feet 5 inches].

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

560	Sex.	Femoral Length.	Stature in centimetres.
A	♂	46·9	169·478
B	♀	39·5	149·671
C	♂	42	160·266
D	♀	41·1	152·783
E	♂	40·8	158·010
F	♀	39·8	150·255
H	♂	44	164·026
J	♂	45·9	167·598
K	♂	40·1	156·694
L	♂	41·6	159·514
M	♀	44·4	159·202
S	♂	41·5	159·326

Here the stature of the males is seen to lie between 157 and 169 centimetres [5 feet 2 inches and 5 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches], that of the females between 150 and 159 centimetres [4 feet 11 inches and 5 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches]. The average stature of the males is 162 centimetres [5 feet $3\frac{3}{5}$ inches], that of the females 153 centimetres [5 feet].

There is thus seen to be a difference in average height of no less than 10 centimetres or 4 inches between the statures estimated from the femora in Driffield and from those in the Royal College of Surgeons. The discrepancy is no doubt due to the great variation in height which is found in races and the small number, twenty-nine in all, of femora measured. With this conflicting evidence it is impossible to attach much weight to stature in arriving at any conclusions as to who these people were. Taking Mr. Mortimer's figures, which are the higher, and trusting that the employment of Professor Karl Pearson's formulæ will give accurate results, I find the stature to be 172 centimetres, whereas the average stature in the East Riding to-day is 175 centimetres.[a] The difference is

[a] Ripley, *Races of Europe.*

little, but it must be remembered that the range in average stature throughout the British Isles is only 168 to 178 centimetres. Perhaps, paying attention also to the measurements of the femora in the College of Surgeons, we may safely conclude that the people of the Danes Graves were of a low to medium stature. As to their general size, from the slender nature of their skeletons I think we may regard them as of slight physique, although there is evidence for the presence of individuals of a more robust type.

Having determined so much, and further that they were dolicho- or mesaticephalic with long oval faces, we have next to consider who they were and whence they came.

The first question to which one naturally addresses oneself is, Are they the descendants of the Neolithic and Bronze Age populations, or are they later immigrants from the Continent? Although certainties are far beyond our grasp, and we are reduced to the balancing of probabilities, there is little doubt that the latter view is the correct one. The long-headed Neolithic people, probably inhabiting originally more the western than the eastern half of our country, could scarcely fail to be driven still more westward by the powerful bands which found our shores towards the close of the Neolithic Age or the dawn of that of Bronze. No county in all probability suffered a more complete alteration of its population than did Yorkshire. No county gives better evidence of the change.

Reconstituting the Bronze Age population of East Yorkshire from the remains[a] in the barrows of that period, we find a very mixed population, so far as skull shape is concerned, in undisputed possession of the country. Examples of the most advanced dolichocephaly and brachycephaly are readily obtained. Further, the skulls, even the long ones, are heavy, with powerful jaws and strongly developed ridges for muscular attachment. They form a most striking contrast to those from the Danes Graves.

Although I am far from sharing the view that skull shape can be regarded as inflexibly persistent, the difference found in the populations of the two periods is so great as to render it in the very highest degree improbable that one can be directly descendent from the other.

Having given adherence to the view that these Early Iron Age settlers were immigrants into the East Riding, we have next to consider whence they came. We know that during this period successive waves of population

[a] Wright, "Skulls from Round Barrows of East Yorkshire," *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, 1903, 1905.

entered our country along its eastern border, that the trend of movement was westward. This makes it more probable that they came from the Continent than that they developed their type in a more western region of our country.

Assuming therefore that they came from the Continent, the next question calling for answer is, from which part did they come? Did they enter Yorkshire and England at the same time, or did they make their way into Yorkshire between the marshes of East Anglia and the forests of the Midlands? It is impossible to say, but their nearness to the coast perhaps favours the former view.

As to the precise country from which they sailed little can be said. Gallia Celtica was probably already inhabited by a brachycephalic population, and may be hence regarded as the southern limit. Northward there is no limit, although the low stature does not suggest a far northern origin.

The anthropological evidence accords best with the view that the people of the Danes Graves came from somewhere in the southern half of the region between the Seine and the Baltic.

More one cannot say since little is known of the physical anthropology of Western Europe in any prehistoric period, and no contemporary series of skulls are forthcoming with which to compare that from these graves.

Whether they were fair or dark we have no evidence to determine.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

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OR

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PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, PARLIAMENT MANSIONS, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER.

AND SOLD BY THE SOCIETY'S AGENT, BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET.

M.DCCCCVII.

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LONDON:

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AND SOLD BY THE SOCIETY'S AGENT, BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET.

M.DCCCCVII.

XII.—*An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Ipswich.* *By* Nina Frances Layard, *F.L.S.*

Read 29th November, 1906.

On January 4th of this year (1906) when visiting some works that had been started for the relief of the unemployed at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, I was fortunate enough to discover that the high land which was being levelled was the site of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The slope overlooks the river Gipping, and is on the west side of the town, near the railway. (See plan, Fig. 1.) Already over 150 men had been at work for two months, little dreaming that treasures of antiquity were being thrown away at nearly every stroke of the pick. Five skeletons had been found, but these had been pronounced quite recent, and were re-interred without further notice being taken of them.

An examination of the ground from which the skeletons had been removed convinced me that the interments were of great age, for the Crag was in a very clean condition, almost entirely free from any signs of organic decay.

A week after my first visit to the field, while searching round the walls of the cutting, I noticed human bones protruding. A skeleton was disinterred, but nothing was found with it. It lay facing north-east. On January 19th another grave was found, and this gave the clue to the real nature of the burials. The skull of this skeleton was of extraordinary shape, the forehead being more receding than that of the Neanderthal skull, and I at first hoped I had come upon a calvaria that would eclipse that of Pithecanthropus itself. As strict accuracy is important as regards such discoveries, a photographer was sent for, and a picture taken as the skull was removed from its place. Further investigation,

however, revealed the boss of an Anglo-Saxon shield. I at once communicated the find to Sir John Evans, who explained the true nature of the discovery.

The skull was sent to Professor Macalister of Cambridge, who pronounced its peculiar formation to be due to damp and the weight of the earth on the unprotected skeleton. Pressure from above had flattened out the forehead. That

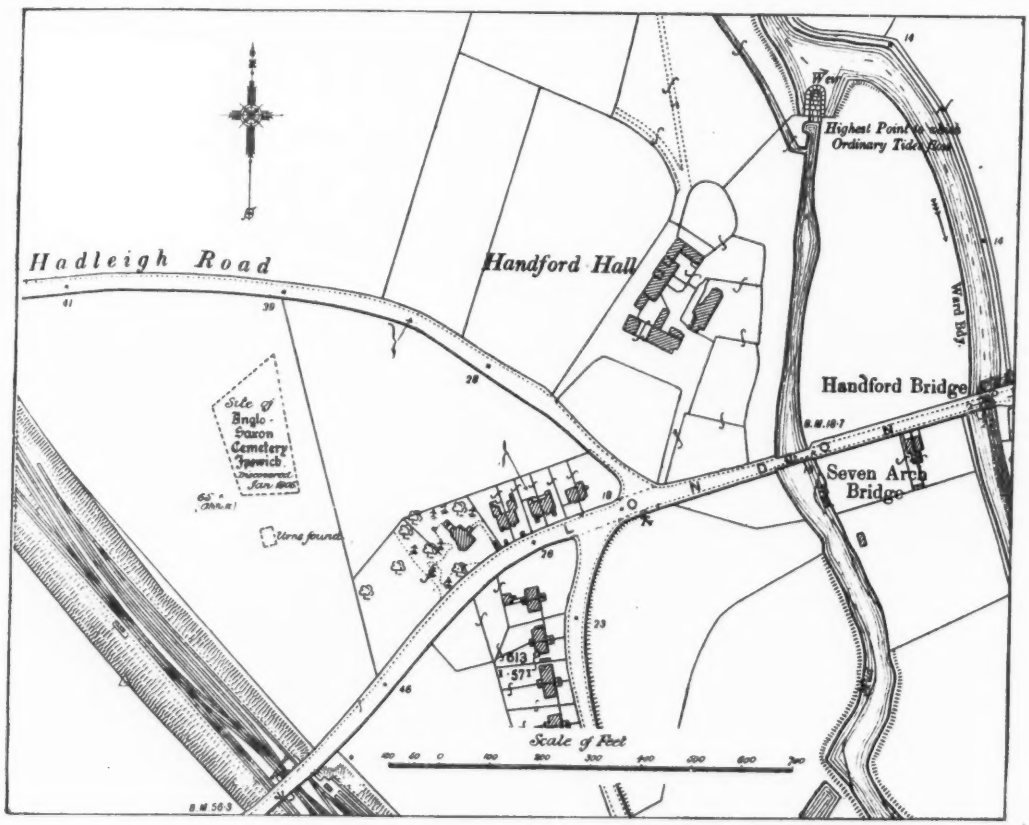


Fig. 1. Site of Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ipswich.

this was the case was soon proved by the finding of perfect skulls into which earth and stones had worked, filling them up and so preserving the normal shape.[a]

Owing to the fact that the "unemployed" workmen were engaged in piece-

[a] A number of skulls since found have also been subject to post-deformation, the result of burial without a coffin.

work, the search for relics was attended with great difficulties, as no sooner was the earth picked down than it was carried off in wheelbarrows and flung into the valley below.

Only by watching their rapid work as carefully as possible, and seizing upon any scrap of rusted iron or verdigrised metal that fell out, was anything saved. Finally I communicated the discovery to Mr. Packard, the chairman of the Ipswich Museum, and offered my services to the committee, when we obtained leave to have certain areas marked out for more serious research, and employed four men, whom I trained to the work, to excavate with a view to the Anglo-Saxon remains only. The scheme was warmly taken up by the Museum authorities, and the funds for this extensive work liberally supplied, so that it might be done as efficiently as possible.

As skeletons turned up at various parts of the large area that was being levelled, it became evident that our small gang would have to turn over the whole of the surface in advance of the army of unemployed, if we were to lose nothing of this important find. The depth of the graves varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet, and they were to be found in the softer material overlying the ballast; so that while the rest of the workmen had to remove the hard clays and stony bands below, we were able to keep ahead of them by continually moving from one part of the field to another.

Our labours were soon rewarded by the discovery of a number of interments, often accompanied by the interesting relics peculiar to Saxon burials. I have already superintended the examination of 110 graves, making in all, with the four skeletons previously found, 115 burials.[a] There is still much to be done, and I hope when the field has been completely looked over we shall have a collection of Anglo-Saxon relics at Ipswich which will hold its own with other local collections of the kind.

Summing up the results of our work up to the present, the following is a list of relics found:[b]

Forty-two spear-heads, including a toy lance (or arrow-head).

Seventy-seven knives.

Sixteen bosses of shields (some broken).

Seven handles of bosses.

[a] Since reading this paper the work has been continued, and the total number of graves examined has now reached 159. See Appendix.

[b] For the full number of relics found, including those since the paper was read, see Appendix.

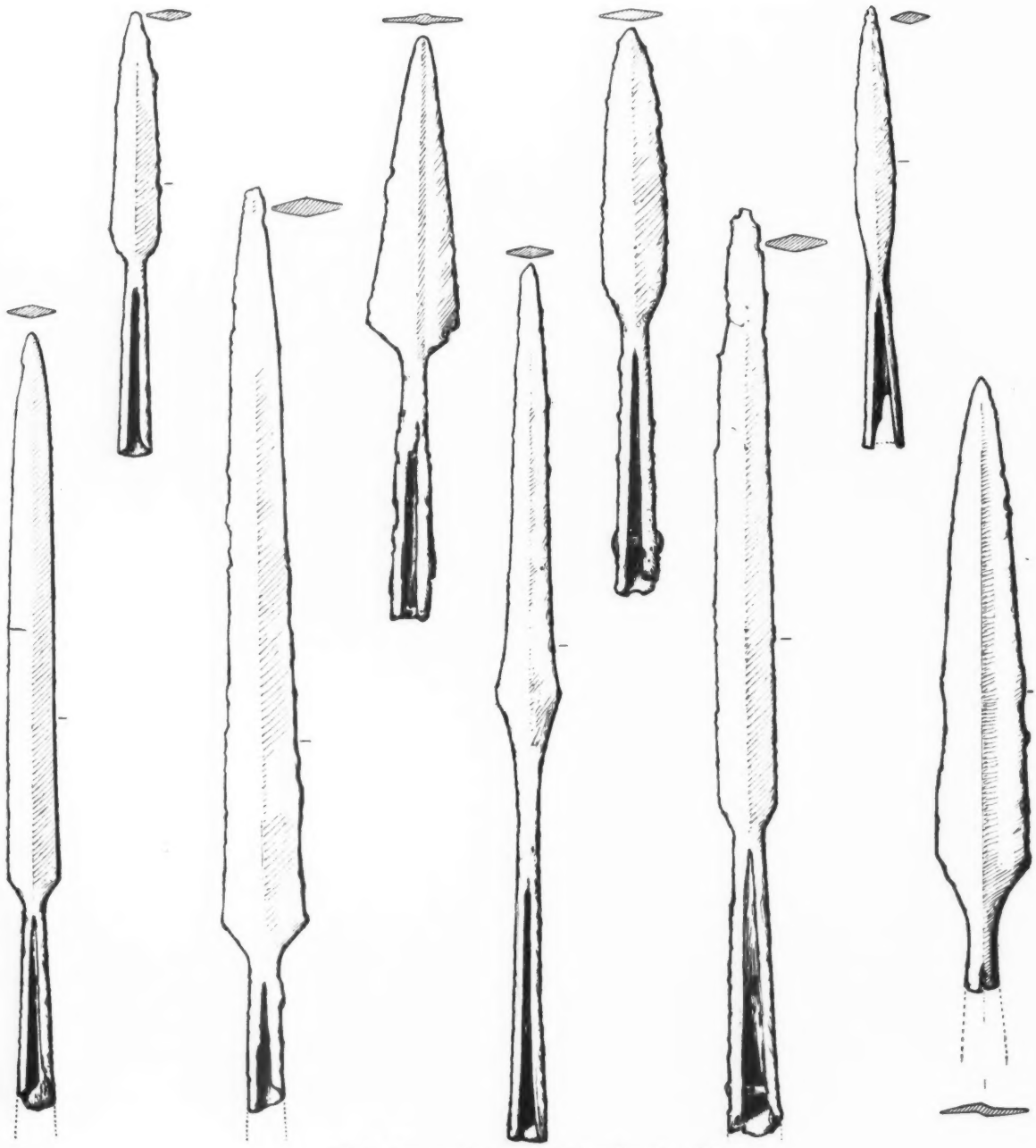


Fig. 2. Iron spear-heads, with sections, Ipswich. (¼.)

Thirty-two necklaces of beads, containing in all 848 beads; also three single beads worn by men.

One necklace composed of a silver ring, on which is one amber bead.

Twenty brooches.

One large ornamental buckle in three parts (of the Frankish type).

One ditto smaller ornamented with bronze bosses.

Sixteen small bronze buckles with and without shanks.

One iron key.

One bronze key.

Six iron pot-hooks (?) and latch-keys (?).

Two double-toothed combs.

Twenty-four brownish-black urns (with and without bones), many broken.

Four glass drinking cups.

Two pairs of tweezers.

Two small finger-rings or ear-rings of twisted wire.

One ditto of bronze.

Three small circular silver pendants.

Four bronze rings.

One spindle-whorl of red pottery.

Four strike-a-lights.

One large ornamental bronze ring.

One square fragment of a bronze ornament.

Nine iron buckles.

Six iron rings.

Two frameworks of situlæ; besides miscellaneous scraps of iron objects, such as chatelaines, etc.

One Roman coin of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161.[a]

The spear-heads and javelin-heads (Fig. 2) are of great variety, no two being identical in shape. They vary from the short broad form to the long slender weapon of great elegance, but all with one exception have the longitudinal slit in the socket to receive the wooden staff. In many the wood may still be seen. Some of these spears appear to have been lying on cloth, for material of a coarse texture is imprinted on the iron rust. Where we have been able to uncover them completely before removal, they have been mostly found on the left side of the

[a] This coin was unfortunately lost in the post, and has not been recovered.

skeleton, with the point upward, reaching a little above the skull, though in a few cases they are on the right side.

On November 2nd last, when opening the 101st grave, a curious spectacle presented itself. Working from the feet upwards, and hollowing out the grave without removing the top, we were surprised to find that, instead of lying towards the north-east, the lower limbs of the skeleton were turned in a northerly direction.[a] A rather large knife was found at the waist, but the spear-head, instead of lying horizontally beside the skeleton, was raised at an angle of 45 degrees, the point being within a foot of the present surface. From the direction of the socket, the shaft of the spear appeared to have been beside the hand of the skeleton. This at first suggested the idea that the person buried had moved, and had attempted to thrust the spear through the $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of earth that covered him. I took a sketch of the skeleton, as it lay, with the spear raised. Since writing the above I have found another skeleton with a spear raised at an angle of 20 degrees, from which we may conclude that there is a less gruesome explanation of the peculiarity.[b] I have found small spear-heads apparently buried in the graves of youths, and one which was beside a rough earthen pot is so small as to suggest its possibly being the toy weapon of a child. There is, however, a difference in the arrangement of the slit in the socket, which does not run in a line with the flat surface of the spear-point, and may prove that it was the point of some other weapon. The knives are invariably worn at the waist. I have found them on the right side. They vary both in shape and size. The women's knives, though sometimes smaller, are not to be distinguished from the men's. I found one firmly welded by iron rust to an iron ring, which it exactly crossed in the middle. They are worn with the point downwards.[c] Iron axes have before been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, but the only weapon of the kind found in this cemetery was an axe-head or adze exactly corresponding to the La Tène type.

The bosses (Fig. 3), like the spear-heads, show considerable variety in form and size. Three are of the rare conical form. One of these was very tall and egg-shaped, but it is unfortunately broken. Two of more ordinary type have tin-plated

[a] This is I imagine due to land creep, as I have since noticed the same peculiarity in other skeletons.

[b] Possibly the spear, being too long for the grave, was placed in a more or less upright position.

[c] I believe all the knives were originally in leather sheaths, and were stuck in a belt.

studs in the centre, and one is covered with hide. As to their position, it appears

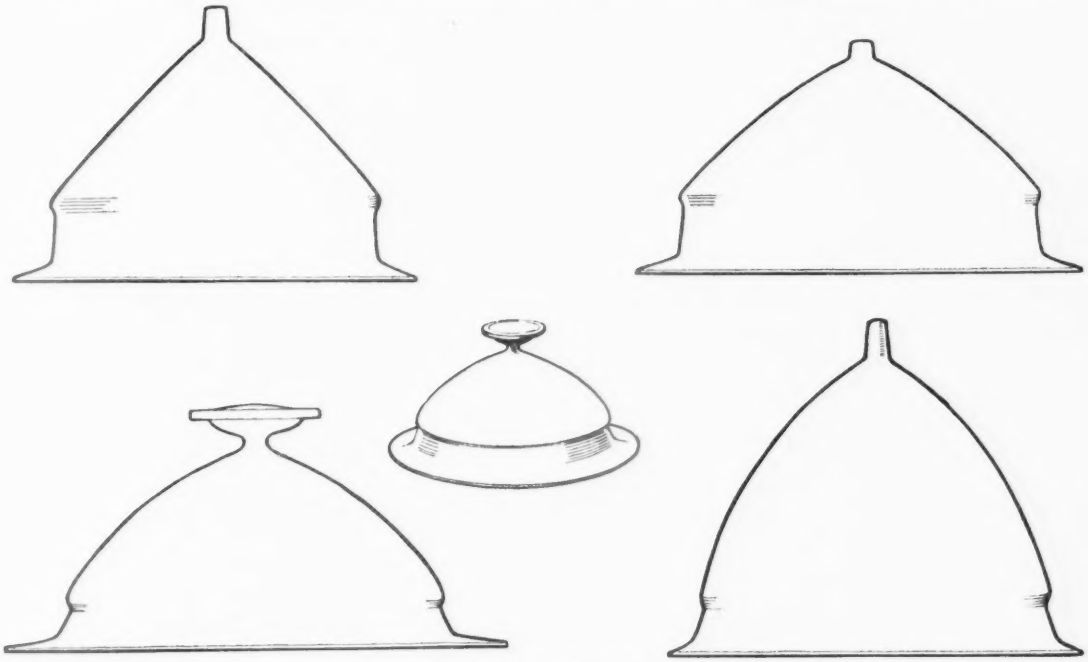


Fig. 3. Iron shield-bosses, Ipswich. ($\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$.)

to vary, some having been found on the right side of the skeleton and two over the mouth. As I thought this evidence important, I have kept the teeth which they covered, some of which were found when cleaning out the boss. Most of the iron handles which crossed the bases of the bosses are broken, but one I found complete and in position. They appear to have been covered with hide or wood.

The iron rings and iron buckles (Fig. 4) were found both in the graves of men and women, and invariably near the waist of the skeleton, the larger ones beside the men and the smaller beside the women. From the rings depended the pot-

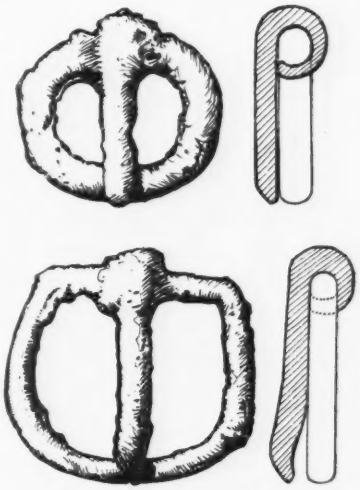


Fig. 4. Iron buckles, with sections, Ipswich. ($\frac{1}{1}$.)

hooks (Figs. 5 and 6) and keys, in the case of the women, and probably other instruments in the case of the men. The most common form of pothook or key in this cemetery is the crook-shaped hook (Fig. 6). Another of different form was hanging from the right side and was lying across the body, with the lower part of the hook against the left hand. I took a drawing of it in position before it was removed. Four iron strike-a-lights were in the graves of men.

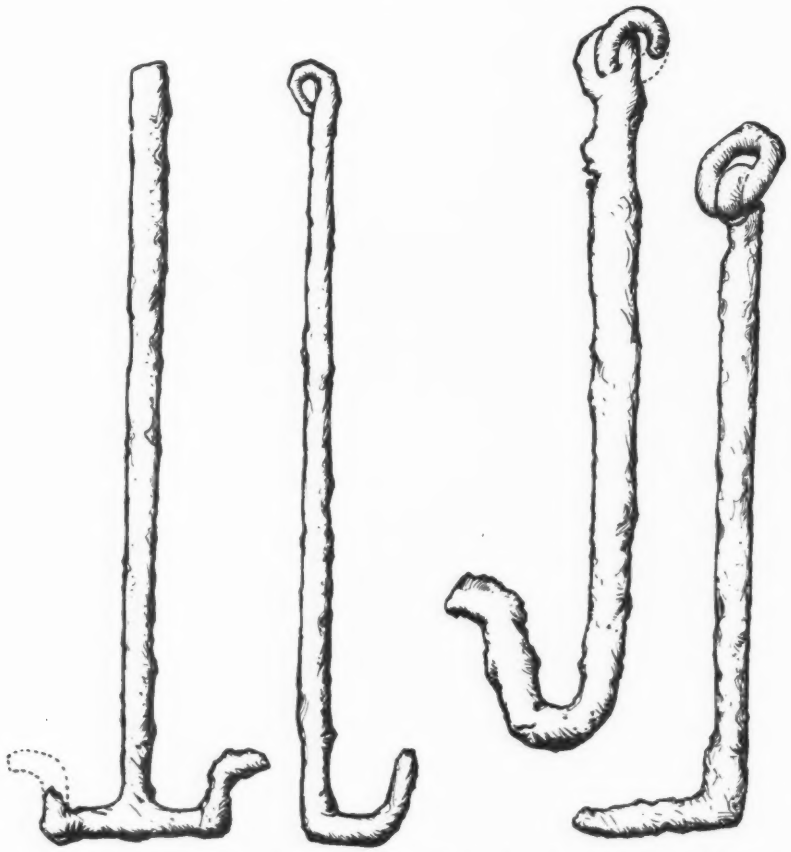


Fig. 5. Iron girdle-hanger. Ipswich. (½.)

Fig. 6. Iron girdle-hangers. Ipswich. (½.)

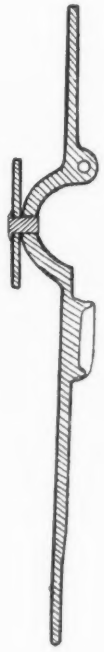


Fig. 8. Section of brooch (Fig. 7, no. 2), Ipswich. (⅔.)

Among the eight square-headed brooches, which are of bronze gilt, beaten on to them, two are deserving of special attention. One (Fig. 7, no. 2) has a stud on the bow (Fig. 8), a type rarely found in England. Another example of the stud was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries by Sir John Evans, who mentioned a few others as known to him. Brooches with studs on their bows have been found in the Island of Bornholm, Denmark.

Another is of a pattern quite distinct from the rest (Fig 9, no. 1); not only is the general outline of the brooch dissimilar, but the central boss has also supported a stud, which unhappily is lost. Several of these brooches are in a very perfect condition, some having the silver plates with which they were invariably decorated still upon them. The largest of these had been broken and mended with iron. With regard to the position in which the brooches were



Fig. 7. Square-headed bronze-gilt brooches, Ipswich. (½.)

placed, it is probable that it varied according to the numbers in use. In the Ipswich cemetery we never find more than one of the larger brooches on one individual, though the smaller ring brooches are found in pairs. That both the square-headed brooches and the circular jewelled brooches were worn in the centre beneath the chin we have the evidence of the verdigrised condition of many of the chin and neck bones. I noticed this in six instances, and preserved the discoloured

bones as evidence. It has been generally believed that the square-headed brooches were always placed with the narrow part downward, but the last brooch of this character found by me was certainly in the reverse position. Mr. Godfrey-Faussett, who examined the Saxon cemetery at Bifrons (near Canterbury), found that the hammer-shaped brooches were invariably placed with the square part below.

Two beautiful specimens of jewelled brooches of the Kentish type were also found. As these are very rarely met with in East Anglia, it is a great satis-

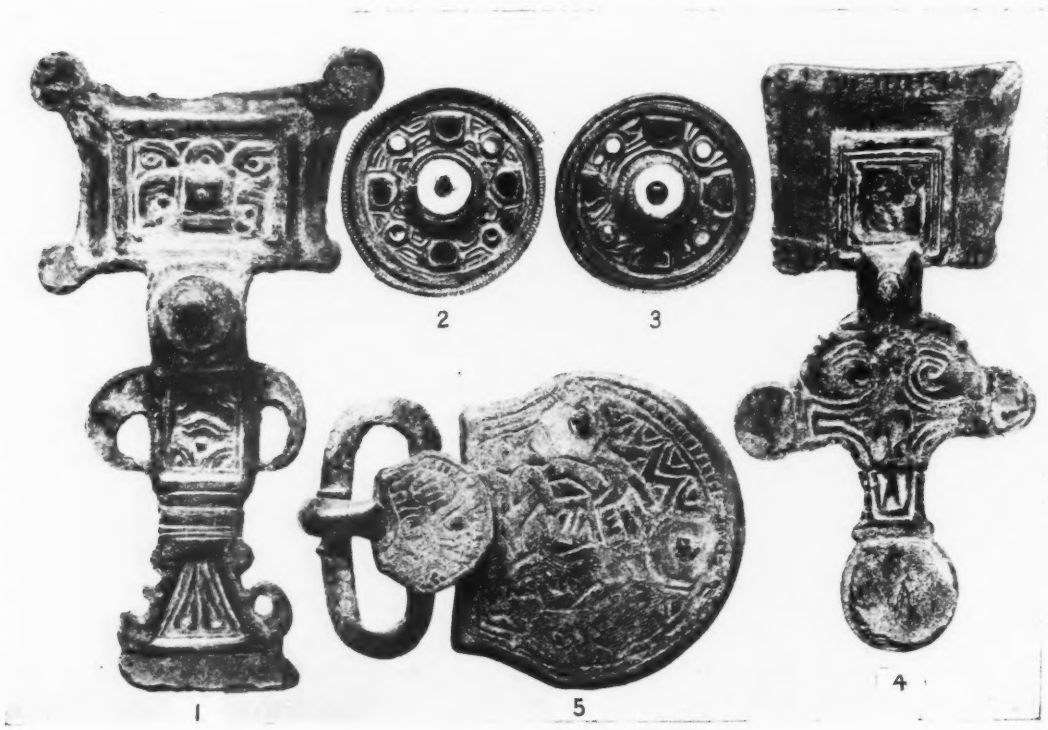


Fig. 9. Brooches and Frankish buckle, Ipswich. (¾.)

faction to have discovered them in Ipswich. One (Fig. 9, no. 3) is unusually perfect, the central boss with its ruby-coloured carbuncle being intact. When found, the central jewel of the other brooch (Fig. 9, no. 2) was also in its place, but I had the mortification of seeing the shell or ivory setting dissolve into impalpable dust as I lifted it from the grave. Happily the garnet dropped into the cavity left by the boss, and with it the hatched leaf of gold foil which had been placed behind the stone to increase its brilliance. The garnet is now mounted on plaster of Paris.

The flat circular fibulæ or ring brooches are mostly plain, two only being ornamented, one with rings and dots and the other with scratched markings curiously like the ornamentation of the old Highland brooches. I have lately seen in Scotland tinker-made ring brooches exactly resembling these, both as to size and fastening. In several of the specimens found in Ipswich the garment is still seen adhering to the pin, and even the folds caused by forcing the pins through the material are distinctly visible. In two instances these brooches were placed one below the other on the breast, the upper one immediately below the chin-bone, which was discoloured by it.

Except in one instance where four beads were found in a man's grave, and in three others where single beads were found with men, all the bead necklaces were in the graves of women. I have obtained up to the present thirty-two of these. In every case the wire or thread which held the beads had disappeared, and they were only found by careful sifting of the earth, after picking out all that could be discovered about the neck of the skeleton. In a large number amber beads predominate, but in some of the necklaces these are entirely absent. The rest of the beads consist of glass, clear and opaque, vitreous pastes, and crystal. The largest of these necklaces contains 108 beads.

The arrangement of the beads is more or less obvious. In most cases a distinct gradation in the size of the beads can be recognised, from the large central bead, which is almost invariably found, to the small specimens into which the necklace tails off[a]. The disposition of the beads is also suggested by the fact that a large majority of them are found in pairs, or at any rate in equal numbers, from which it may be inferred that they were arranged symmetrically on either side of the centre bead.

The patterns of the beads are extremely varied. (See Plates XXXI., XXXII., and XXXIII.) In four of them a serpent is portrayed. This I first noticed on two barrel-shaped beads which lend themselves to such a design. It is also clearly seen on a single bead of blue-black glass. The serpent is conspicuously represented in opaque white on the flattened surface. Among the beads are a few both yellow and blue of the melon shape.

Double beads are also frequently found. In one case only did we discover beads near the wrist. These were of amber, while the necklace was formed of vitreous paste.

A silver ring necklace with a single amber bead is possibly a unique find.

[a] In the accompanying plates the order of the beads has been somewhat rearranged so as to show every variety of pattern found; consequently the necklaces do not show the symmetrical order above referred to, nor the large proportion of amber beads.

As the only other object with it was a small knife, it is difficult to determine whether it belonged to a male or female skeleton.

Another rare discovery was that of a large bronze buckle of Frankish type. (Fig. 9, no. 5.) Buckles closely resembling it from graves in the north-west of France are to be seen at the British Museum, and I have also seen similar specimens in Sir John Evans' private collection of Merovingian jewellery; but so far as I know this is the first instance of a buckle of the kind occurring in an Anglo-Saxon grave. One of the small bronze buckles with shank is interesting from the position in which it was found, namely, attached to one of the bones of the ear. Although in cleaning it, it became detached, it has been replaced on the bone, which is stained with verdigris. From this it would appear that it held either a helmet or other head-gear in position. Another bronze object which has an ornamental pattern, is the handle of the rather mysterious instruments often to be found hanging from the girdles of women; possibly part of a key or purse. Bronze rings are found near the waist in the graves of women. On November 24th I obtained another ornamental bronze buckle, an illustration of which is here given. (Fig. 10.)

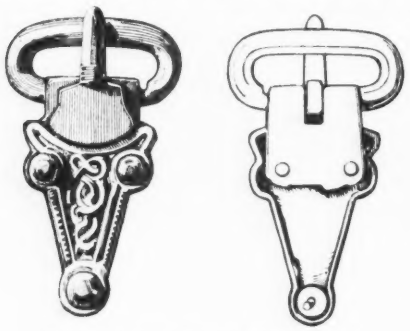


Fig. 10. Bronze buckle, Ipswich. (½.)

Two amber-coloured glass drinking-cups (Fig. 11) were found and brought to me a few days after I first visited the Anglo-Saxon site. They were said to have been discovered at the depth of 1½ foot, but by the time I had arrived on the field the section had been cut away, and I could get no further particulars.[a] Although I have personally superintended the opening of 110 graves, we never came upon glass again until October 18th last, when two shallow glass bowls of a pale blue-green colour (Fig. 12) were found at the feet of a female skeleton. They are true tumblers which had to be emptied before they could be put down.[b]

The grave also contained a bone comb ornamented with dots and circles, a

[a] One other which was taken from the field was purchased by Clement Casley, Esq., and has been presented to Ipswich Museum.

[b] Analysis of fragments of the blue glass bowls, by E. G. McBretney, F.I.C., F.C.S., Castleford, Yorks.

Silica . . .	69·19	Lime . . .	7·12
Oxide of Iron . .	0·48	Magnesia . .	0·49
Alumina . . .	0·57	Alkalies . .	22·15



ANGLO-SAXON BEAD NECKLACES FOUND AT IPSWICH. (½)

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small bronze buckle with shank at the waist, fragments of a pot of superior make, two finger or ear-rings of twisted wire with movable knots, and a pot-hook hanging from the waist and lying across the skeleton to the left hand. I sketched the pot-hook in position before it was removed.

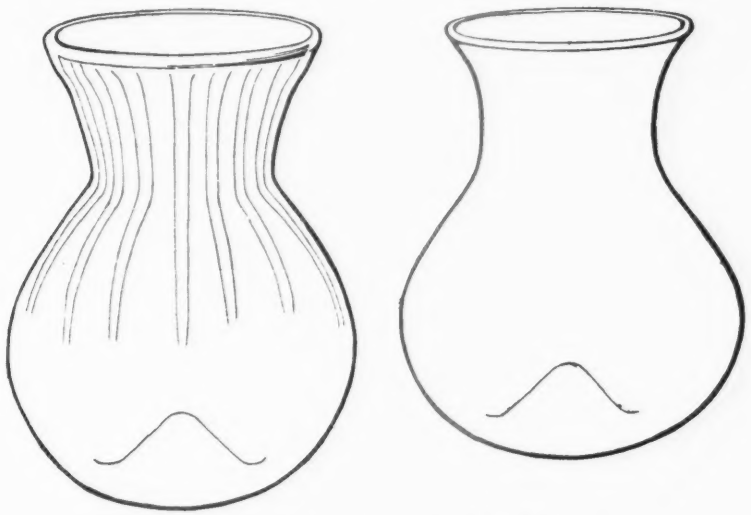


Fig. 11. Amber glass cups, Ipswich. (½.)

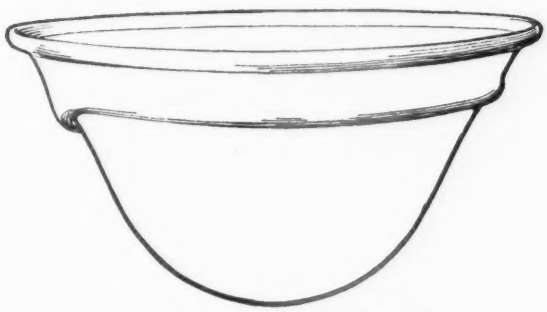


Fig. 12. Green glass cup, Ipswich. (½.)

We have found in all twenty-four urns or fragments of urns. Two lately discovered in different graves were on the left of the neck of the skeleton.

In four only the remains of bones have been found. One of these sepulchral urns has a hole purposely made through the bottom of it.[a]

[a] Since the above paper was read I have found many more urns containing bones.

Eight have been found without skeletons beside them.

The cemetery is not yet worked out, and I hope shortly to continue my researches. (See Appendix.)

The position of the skeletons has been almost uniform, that is to say, extended on the back with the arms close to the side and facing north-east, though in a good many cases the land creep seems to have slightly twisted both head and legs northward, the spinal column still keeping its position. In two instances the legs were doubled back, in a kneeling attitude. One of these faced south-west, and with it was a spear-head. The other faced north-east, and had nothing with it.

In two graves fragments of wood were found, but whether these belonged to a coffin or a box, or possibly a shield, it is difficult to say. In one of these a skeleton was seen to be facing south-west, and here we found an unusual number of relics. Among them were two small knives, one ornamental bronze ring, a pot-hook, a necklace of 108 beads including one of crystal, and a square-headed brooch of an unusual form.

The collection, which is the property of the Ipswich Museum, will be placed in the Museum of Local Archæology, Christ Church Mansion, Ipswich.

I have to thank Sir John Evans, Mr. Charles Hercules Read, and Mr. Reginald Smith for kind help given to me during my researches.

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE GRAVES FOUND AT IPSWICH.

Grave 1.
„ 2.
„ 3.
„ 4.
Skeletons and contents thrown away by unemployed workmen.

1906.

Jan. 4.

Grave 5.—Fragments of skeleton; nothing with it.
Two amber glass drinking cups, found at a depth of 1½ foot.[a]

Jan. 11.

Grave 6.—Part of skull and bones; found at a depth of 3½ feet; nothing with it.

[a] These were found by the unemployed workmen and brought to me. I was told that two other glass vessels had been taken off the field, one of which was broken and one sold.

Jan. 19.

Grave 7.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 2½ feet. Close beside the skull was an iron boss; the skull was much deformed through damp and pressure, the forehead being almost entirely flattened out; the teeth were ground down nearly to the fangs; wisdom tooth large and strong.

Jan. 23.

Grave 8.—Male skeleton, depth of grave 2 feet 8 inches; three yards to the left of Grave No. 7; iron spear-head and knife.

Jan. 23.

Grave 9.—Male skeleton, almost perfect, facing north-east, with legs doubled up; two bosses of shields, one with large button at the top; long bent spear-head, and fragments of brown-black urn.

Jan. 29.

Grave 10.—Female skeleton; depth of grave 2 feet 8 inches; necklace of eight beads.

Feb. 7.

Grave 11.—Parts of human skeleton; depth 3¾ feet; small knife, bronze buckle, portion of shank.

Feb. 8.

Grave 12.—Skeleton with upper part of skull much flattened, facing north-east; silver ring necklace, with one amber bead; also small knife; sex unknown.

Feb. 12.

Grave 13.—Skeleton, facing north-east; nothing with it.

Feb. 12.

Grave 14.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; with spear, knife, and boss of shield, with tinned button.

Feb. 13.

Grave 15.—Male skeleton, with small spear-head and knife; strike a-light, ornamented with cable pattern.

Feb. 14.

Grave 16.—Male skeleton, with large spear-head and knife.

Feb. 15.

Grave 17.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; knife; necklace of twenty-two beads (mostly amber); square-headed fibula; ring fibula, ornamented with dots and circles.

Feb. 18.

Grave 18.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; small knife, four beads, one of amber, one of pottery, and two of blue glass melon-shaped.

Feb. 19.

Grave 19.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; circular fibula (Kentish type), set with garnets and shell or ivory; small double-toothed comb on left side of skull; small iron chatelaine ring with iron pendants much broken; large iron pot-hook. The chin-bone was covered with verdigris from the fibula which was placed below it.

Feb. 21.

Grave 20.—Male skeleton, facing north-east, with knife only.

Feb. 23.

Grave 21.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; spear-head, boss of shield, and knife.

Feb. 23.

Grave 22.—Male skeleton, facing north-east, with small spear-head on left side, boss of shield, and knife; boss near right shoulder, and rough black-brown urn about half a foot higher on right of skull.

Feb. 27.

Grave 23.—Female skeleton; small knife and necklace of twenty-eight beads; chin-bone and neck-bone discoloured with verdigris.

Feb. 27.

Grave 24.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; necklace of eleven beads, one being of crystal; square-headed brooch, top missing; side of chin-bone discoloured with verdigris.

Mar. 7.

Grave 25.—Five skeletons found while I was ill; spear-head and broken boss only found during this time.

Mar. 16.

Grave 26.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; large ornamental buckle in three pieces (Frankish type) lying beside upper leg bone, which was discoloured with verdigris.

Mar. 19.

Grave 27.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; broken spear-head.

April 11.

Grave 28.—Male skeleton; boss of shield, two knives, and small buckle.

April 20.

Grave 29.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; a large square-headed fibula in very perfect condition, with ornamental stud on bow (this is a very rare type); also necklace of five beads.

April 23.

Grave 30.—Female skeleton; ring fibula; necklace of thirty beads.

April 24.

Grave 31.—Remains of skeleton; sex unknown; one bead only found with it.

April 26.

Grave 32.—Male skeleton; spear-head.

May 7.

Grave 33.—Bones of skeleton disturbed; broken knife and one crystal bead.

(Our excavations did not commence again till August 21st, 1906.)



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Aug. 21.

Grave 34.—Urn only, found in fragments.

Aug. 22.

Grave 35.—Male skeleton, very much gone to pieces, facing north-east; large spear-head; broken boss; small knife with sheep's horn beside it. The boss was on the right of the skull, spear-head on the left, knife and horn at waist.

Aug. 23.

Grave 36.—Male skeleton gone to pieces; broken spear-head with point upwards, and broken boss.

Aug. 23.

Grave 37.—Skull only, of female, flattened sideways; depth of grave 3 feet 5 inches; chin-bone stained with verdigris; seven beads.

Aug. 23.

Grave 38.—Urn almost whole, containing fragments of bone, found alone at depth of 3 feet 6 inches.

Aug. 24.

Grave 39.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; two ring brooches (one plain, one decorated with scratched lines) arranged one below the other on the breast; bronze buckle near the upper brooch; chin and neck bones verdigrised; necklace of fourteen beads including two of crystal; iron ring on left side of waist with small knife across the middle of it and adhering to it.

Aug. 24.

Grave 40.—Male skeleton gone to pieces; broken spear and knife.

Aug. 24.

Grove 41.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; necklace of nine beads; one square-headed brooch; one knife; half of an iron ring.

Aug. 25.

Grave 42.—Female skull, bones gone to pieces; depth of grave 3 feet 5 inches; necklace of ten beads, including very large amber bead with hole worn into keyhole shape; two ring brooches placed on breast, one below the other; one has material adhering to the pin, the other without pin.

Aug. 27.

Grave 43.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; one long broken spear-head, point upwards.

Aug. 28.

Grave 44.—Fragment of female skull; depth of grave 3 feet 5 inches; necklace of fourteen beads, including one with ring and dot ornamentation, with serpent portrayed on it; also two barrel-shaped beads in glass paste with serpents in white.

Aug. 30.

Grave 45.—Male skeleton facing north-east, without accessories.

Aug. 30.

Grave 46.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 3 feet; necklace of eleven beads of vitreous paste; broken ring brooch, one foot below head.

Aug. 30.

Grave 47.—Fragment of urn only.

Aug. 30.

Grave 48.—Skull only; two knives, one broken.

Sept. 3.

Grave 49.—Male skeleton, in fragments, with small spear only.

Sept. 3.

Grave 50.—Skeleton in fragments; small knife and iron ring.

Sept. 3.

Grave 51.—Skeleton in fragments; small knife only.

(These three skeletons were about 3 feet apart, that is to say, the feet of one 3 feet from the head of the next. Between two of them an urn was found, nothing in it.)

Sept. 4.

Grave 52.—Female skeleton; depth of grave 4 feet 6 inches; the iron fittings of a bucket (situla) found near the feet; ring and knife at waist; necklace of eighty-eight beads, thirty-six being coloured, fifty-two of amber; one square-headed brooch with the top lost.

Sept. 5.

Grave 53.—Female skeleton facing north-east. Necklace of thirty-four beads, including two flat amber ones; ring brooch; broken knife and broken urn.

Sept. 6.

Grave 54.—Skull only, of male. One bead at neck, of opaque blue-black glass with white serpent; fine spear-head, perfect, reaching ½ foot above the skull.

Sept. 6.

Grave 55.—Fragments of skull, with knife in two halves.

Sept. 6.

Grave 56.—No bones visible; one broken knife.

Sept. 6.

Grave 57.—Female skull, bones disappeared; necklace of thirty-six beads, many of them double; three amber beads found beside arm, so probably a bracelet; small knife near to them.

Sept. 7.

Grave 58.—Male skull; spear-head; boss of shield; knife; iron strike-a-light; also handle of boss with canvas on it.

(The boss is of the rare conical shape. The strike-a-light and knife were together at the waist, the spear-head leaning against the skull.)

Sept. 10.

Grave 59.—Female skull, other bones disappeared; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches; one square-headed brooch with top lost; one bronze buckle; one small iron buckle; knife; and coin of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161. The full inscription of this coin would be CONCORDIA AVGVSTOR. TR. POT. XV. COS. III. S. C.

Sept. 11.

Grave 60.—Male skeleton, facing north-east. Boss over the mouth, with teeth beneath it; pair of tweezers; large spear-head apparently on right of skull, point upwards.

Sept. 11.

Grave 61.—Male; no bones visible; broken spear-head in two halves, point upwards; beside it was half a peck of wood ashes. This seemed to be in a large pit.

Sept. 11.

Grave 62.—Female; no bones visible; one knife; one broken buckle; one broken iron pot-hook.

Sept. 12.

Grave 63.—Female skeleton; necklace of six beads, no amber.

Sept. 13.

Grave 64.—Female; no skull visible; necklace of twenty-two beads, many small and tube-like, red, white, and blue, with large centre bead; small iron buckle and broken knife.

Sept. 13.

Grave 65.—Bones disappeared; knife, hook, and broken tweezers.

Sept. 13.

Grave 66.—Female; bones mostly disappeared; necklace of eleven beads, all amber but two; knife and small iron buckle.

Oct. 8.

Grave 67.—Small portion of skull; three beads (two small pipe-shaped, with large centre bead); two nails and small broken knife.

Oct. 8.

Grave 68.—Fragments of skull; one marble beside it.

Oct. 9.

Grave 69.—Skeleton almost disappeared; small knife near skull.

Oct. 9.

Grave 70.—Began to work further down slope on north-west side. Skeleton in good preservation lying north-east on back, limbs straight out, arms straight down side; forehead pressed down over jaw; upper leg bone 18 inches, lower leg bone 15 inches. Scrap of iron buckle only found.

Oct. 9.
Grave 71.—Another skeleton in fragments, buried above the last; nothing with it.

Oct. 9.
Grave 72.—Skeleton flung out by unemployed; one horn core.

Oct. 10.
Grave 73.—Female skeleton in good preservation; necklace of twenty beads; spindle-whorl of red pottery; broken knife; scrap of ivory and two nails.

Oct. 10.
Grave 74.—Male skeleton, bones scattered; broad short spear-head.

Oct 11.
Grave 75.—Male; depth of grave 4 feet 6 inches; flat broad spear-head; two knives; small bronze buckle, with shank adhering to ear-bone, which was stained with verdigris.

Oct. 11.
Grave 76.—Female skeleton gone to pieces; urn in fragments; near to it twenty-eight beads; knife 2 feet below them; good bronze buckle; depth of grave 3½ feet.

Oct. 12.
Grave 77.—Male and female; urn whole when found, but went to pieces; close to it twenty-eight beads; scrap of bone only; perfect spear-head; knife and bronze buckle with shank.

Oct. 13.
Grave 78.—Leg bones of male skeleton; fragment of spear-head; small knife.

Oct. 13.
Grave 79.—Female skeleton disappeared; two beads; fragments of small iron chatelaine and small knife.

Oct. 14.
Grave 80.—Parts of skeleton; nothing found.

Oct. 14.
Grave 81.—Fragments of skeleton; nothing found.

Oct. 15.
Grave 82.—Male skeleton in good preservation; short broad spear-head; small knife; fragment of iron, use unknown.

Oct. 15.
Grave 83.—Male skeleton, appeared to be facing south and to be doubled up; one spear-head.

Oct. 15.
Grave 84.—Parts of male skeleton; small spear-head, perfect.



ANGLO-SAXON BEAD NECKLACES FOUND AT IPSWICH. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

Oct. 18.

Grave 85.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 3 feet 4 inches; two bowls of blue-green grass, very shallow, found at feet; two small double-toothed combs on either side of feet; small buckle at waist, and pot-hook hanging from waist and lying across the body to the left hand; two finger-rings or ear-rings made of twisted wire.

(I sketched this skeleton before the pot-hook was removed.)

Oct. 19.

Grave 86.—Skeleton facing north-east; depth of grave about 4 feet; legs doubled back; nothing with it.

Oct. 19.

Grave 87.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; fine delicately made spear-head on left side, with point over shoulder; knife.

Oct. 19.

Grave 88.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; boss either quite over mouth or immediately below it; spear-head on left side.

Oct. 22.

Grave 89.—Skeleton gone to pieces, but facing north-east; small knife only.

Oct. 24.

Grave 90.—Fragments of skeleton; nothing with it.

Oct. 24.

Grave 91.—Fragments of male skeleton, facing north-east; spear-head and knife; four beads with it (I never before found more than one bead with a male skeleton); fragments of pot.

Oct. 24.

Grave 92.—Fragments of female skeleton; necklace of ten beads, including large amber in centre with hole worn to key-hole shape; circular jewelled brooch (Kentish type) set with garnet and shell or ivory, perfect except for the setting of the central garnet, which went to powder; cable rim round the brooch; portion of bronze girdle pendant.

The large amber bead showed signs of verdigris on one side.

Oct. 25.

Grave 93.—Male skeleton; two large knives and iron ring.

Oct. 25.

Grave 94.—Male skeleton; boss; fragments of knife and other iron; also pot-hook.

Oct. 26.

Grave 95.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; necklace of fifty-four beads; bronze girdle pendant.

Oct. 27.

Grave 96.—Broken urn full of bones; no skeleton with it.

Oct. 29.

Grave 97.—Broken urn only.

Oct. 30.

Grave 98.—Female skeleton, facing south-west; fragments of wood as if either box or coffin had been here; necklace of one hundred and eight beads, including one crystal and large amber; square-headed brooch of unusual type, with stud missing from the centre; ornamental bronze ring; pot-hook of crook shape; and two small knives.

Oct. 30.

Grave 99.—Small knife only.

Oct. 30.

Grave 100.—Male skeleton disappeared; large spear-head; small knife; bronze buckle with shank.

Nov. 1.

Grave 101.—Female skeleton disappeared; necklace of twenty-eight beads all glass paste; hook and fragment like small iron handle.

Nov. 2.

Grave 102.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; square-headed fibula, perfect, with all the silver plates complete.

(This was lying with the narrow end upwards on the breast. A portion of the chin-bone is stained green from contact with it. Close to the brooch was a necklace of ninety-four beads, including glass of melon shape vitreous paste, and amber. Adhering to the hinge of the brooch was a blue glass bead which I have replaced, as it was dislodged when cleaning the brooch. Among the beads were two small circular silver pendants, small knife, and small iron buckle.)

Nov. 5.

Grave 103.—Male skeleton, facing north-east, but with legs bent round to north; large knife at waist; on left side very elegant spear-head raised at an angle of 45 degrees, the tip of the spear was only 1 foot below the surface; depth of grave 3 feet.

Nov. 5.

Grave 104.—No skeleton; small knife only.

Nov. 5.

Grave 105.—Skeleton, facing north-east, with empty urn standing on left side of the neck; fragment of small knife.

Nov. 10.

Grave 106.—Female; no skeleton, only a scrap of bone; pot-hook or key, and knife.

Nov. 13.
Grave 107.—Skeleton, facing north-east; bones mostly disappeared; small knife and buckle.

Nov. 13.
Grave 108.—Male skeleton; spear-head raised at angle of 20 degrees; and knife.

Nov. 13.
Grave 109.—Male; small urn (no bones); beside it miniature spear-head.

Nov. 13.
Grave 110.—Skeleton, apparently a female, facing north-east, but head and legs twisted northward.

Nov. 14.
Grave 111.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 4 feet 6 inches; necklace of ten beads; large urn in fragments on left of skull; broken iron buckle attached to portions of iron belt studded with bronze.

Nov. 19.
Grave 112.—Female skeleton, almost disappeared; could trace position of bones by the white powder; facing north-east; necklace of sixteen beads and one small knife.

Nov. 19.
Grave 113.—Male skeleton, almost disappeared; a few teeth; small javelin-head.

Nov. 20.
Grave 114.—Skeleton gone to pieces; knife only.

Nov. 20.
Grave 115.—Grave opened by the unemployed; tall conical boss of extremely rare type taken out whole, but broken by them in attempting to clean it; also handle of boss.

APPENDIX.

Since this paper was read 44 more graves have been examined, bringing the total number up to 159. The limits of the cemetery have apparently now been reached. The area has been measured and marked out (see plan, Fig. 1).[a]

[a] These measurements were kindly made for me by Mr. C. W. Macfell, assistant borough surveyor, Ipswich.

Although a considerable number of relics have again been brought to light, the graves have not been so rich in them as formerly. This is owing to the fact that many appear to have been disturbed previously.

The more recent finds made from November 22, 1906, to January 31, 1907, include :

Ten burial urns (Fig. 13), nine of which contained human bones and were

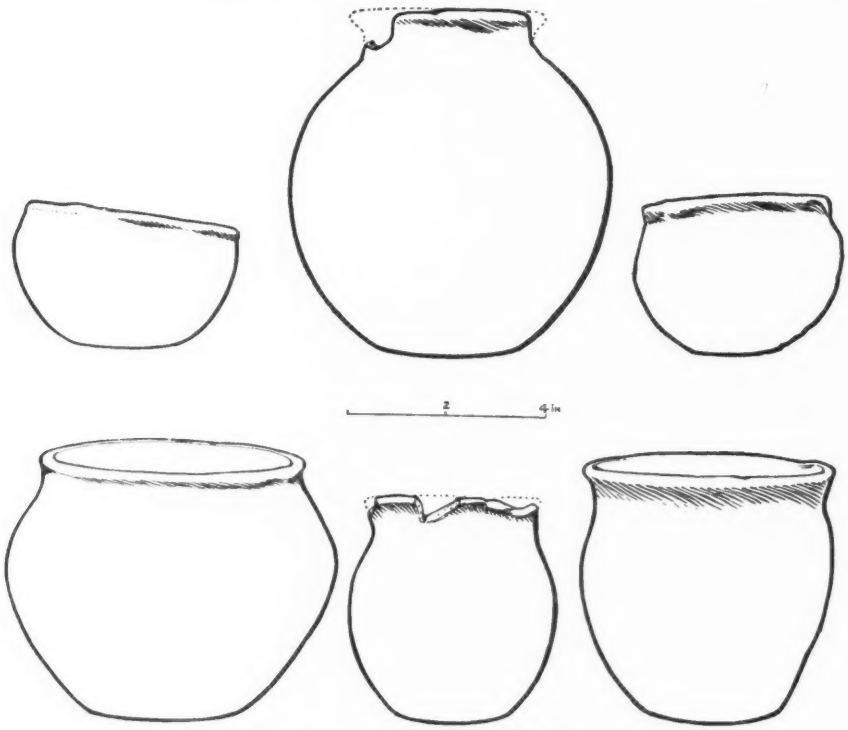


Fig. 13. Anglo-Saxon pottery, Ipswich.

buried alone, while one, which was empty, was on the left side of the skull of a male skeleton.

Seven spear-heads, four of which were seen to be on the right side. The position of the others unknown.

Nineteen small knives, invariably found near the waist.

One finely ornamented bronze buckle, found adhering to the lower arm-bone of a male skeleton. (Fig. 10.) The arm was lying across the waist.

Three necklaces of beads, containing in all ninety-seven beads.

One circular bronze brooch of rare type, with raised wheel-like pattern ornamented with silver plates (Fig. 14). This was in the grave of a woman. Although no urn was visible, the skeleton appeared to have been cremated, for a few burnt bones and cinders only were found. The lower jaw-bone was blackened by burning, and the brooch was adhering to it, also two of the beads which formed part of a necklace of twenty-seven beads. A small broken ring brooch and broken knife were also beside it. The depth of the grave was 4 feet.



Fig. 14. Bronze brooch. (½.)

Two bosses of shields were found with male skeletons. One lay on the right side close to the skull. The position of the other, which was of conical shape, is uncertain.

Among smaller objects found were two strike-a-lights, portions of what appears to be a horse's bit, a staple, nail, fragments of a studded belt, links of a small iron chain, with fragment of pendant, etc. Five small rings of twisted wire were with female remains. Similar rings are usually described as either ear-rings or finger-rings, but these were found below the chin among the beads of the necklace. Iron rings from which the pendants have been lost are often to be found at the waists of both men and women. We were fortunate in finding a key or pot-hook still attached to an iron ring at the girdle. Another of crook-shape was without a ring.

A second Roman coin has been found among the graves. Curiously enough it shows the head of Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose coin is the only other found with these remains. The coin dates before 175 A.D.

The following is a list of the more recently found graves with their contents:

Nov. 22.

Grave 116.—No skeleton; large urn full of bones, which went to pieces when moved; depth of grave 1½ foot. This was about 20 feet from an urn previously found.

Nov. 22.

Grave 117.—Male skeleton facing east; large ribbed spear-head on right side, not reaching higher than the shoulder; depth of grave 2 feet.

Nov. 24.

Grave 118.—Male (?) skeleton, facing nearly north; ornamented bronze buckle on lower arm-bone which was across the waist (the bone was discoloured with verdigris); fragment of broken knife; tiny bronze buckle with shank on the leg.

Nov. 24.

Grave 119.—Skeleton to pieces; broken knife only.

Nov. 26.

Grave 120.—Fragment of skull, facing east; broken knife; fragment of urn.

Nov. 26.

Grave 121.—Flattened skull with bones facing north-east; teeth of ox above.

Nov. 26.

Grave 122.—Skeleton, facing north-east; very large skull; scrap of knife only; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches.

Nov. 26.

Grave 123.—Female skeleton disappeared; necklace of thirty-nine beads and one broken; small iron buckle; depth of grave 2 feet.

Dec. 1.

Grave 124.—Female; no urn visible, but a few burnt bones and cinders. Among them a lower jaw bone blackened by burning. Adhering to it beneath the chin was a circular brooch of rare pattern and two beads. These were part of a necklace of twenty-seven beads; small broken ring brooch; also small broken knife; depth of grave 4 feet.

Dec. 1.

Grave 125.—Male skeleton. Teeth of young person, large and strong; large perfect spear-head on right side, the point reaching 8 inches above the skull. Good-sized urn on left of skull, nothing in it (it is ornamented); broken knife and pieces of iron and broken strike-a-light; two tiny bronze buckles; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches.

Dec. 1.

Grave 126.—Nothing but skull facing north-east, with teeth of young person; broken knife; depth of grave 4 feet.

The complete record of the graves is here interrupted, as our workmen were taken off this part of the cemetery, and 180 unemployed set to work upon it, with the result that numerous graves were destroyed, and no relics found. Meanwhile we worked far to westward of the field, where we found broken urns only.

Dec. 3.

Grave 127.—Broken urn only.

Dec. 3.

Grave 128.—Ditto.

Dec. 3.

Grave 129.—Ditto.

Dec. 3.

Grave 130.—Ditto.

These urns were placed in a row about 1 foot apart at a depth of 2 feet 6 inches. They all contained human bones.

Dec. 4.

Grave 131.—Another broken urn found near the last; the earth about it much blackened. I watched the unemployed at work and saw three skeletons turned out, as follows:

Dec. 4.

Grave 132.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; spear-head on right and very good knife on left; depth of grave 4 feet.

Dec. 4.

Grave 133.—Male skeleton; spear-head; conical boss broken to pieces; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches.

Dec. 4.

Grave 134.—Skeleton to pieces; broken knife.

Dec. 5.

Grave 135.—Male skeleton with strike-a-light and broken knife.

Dec. 10.

Grave 136.—Urn with child's remains.

Dec. 10.

Grave 137.—Skeleton facing north-east; nothing with it but a quantity of ashes.

Dec. 10.

Grave 138.—Male skeleton facing north-east; spear-head on right shoulder with point above the head; boss of shield on right side, close to skull; knife near waist, with iron buckle beside it.

Dec. 12.

Grave 139.—Female skeleton, with crook-shaped pot-hook or key.

Dec. 12.

Grave 140.—Broken knife only; skeleton disappeared.

Dec. 12.

Grave 141.—Skeleton. Nothing with it.

Dec. 12.

Grave 142.—Ditto.

Dec. 12.

Grave 143.—Large broken urn containing human bones; no skeleton.

Dec. 12.

Grave 144.—Skeleton; nothing with it.

Dec. 12.

Grave 145.—Broken knife only; skeleton disappeared.

Dec. 12.

Grave 146.—Large urn alone.

These eight skeletons found on December 12th appeared to have been disturbed.

Dec. 19.

Grave 147.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; teeth of aged person; thirty-one beads found below the chin; small bronze ring near the beads; broken knife and broken iron buckle, with fragment of belt with bronze studs at the waist.

Dec. 19.

Grave 148.—Female skeleton gone to pieces; pot-hook still attached to iron ring at waist; broken knife.

Dec. 19.

Grave 149.—Fine spear-head found by the unemployed.

Jan. 2.

Grave 150.—Skeleton only.

Jan. 4.

Grave 151.—Skeleton; knife only.

Jan. 7.

Grave 152.—Skeleton, facing north-east, gone to pieces; small knife only.

Jan. 7.

Grave 153.—Skeleton, facing north-east, gone to pieces; knife only.

Jan. 16.

Grave 154.—Female skeleton, facing north-east, but with head and legs pushed by soil creep in a northerly direction; below the chin a necklace of thirty beads, and three rings of twisted wire among the beads; small iron buckle at waist; teeth of tolerably young person.

Jan. 17.

Grave 155.—Skeleton gone to pieces, but facing north-east; small bronze buckle with shank, and broken knife; both on hip.

Jan 17.

Grave 156.—Good spear-head and knife brought to me by a man who found them beside a skeleton last year.

Jan. 21.

Grave 157.—Skeleton entirely disappeared; five beads; broken wire ring among them.

Jan 21.

Grave 158.—Skeleton almost disappeared; links of iron chain; staple; iron fragment studded; nail.

Jan. 31.

Grave 159.—Skeleton; nothing found with it.

XIII.—*Clerical Life in the Fifteenth Century, as illustrated by Proceedings of the Court of Chancery.* *By* C. Trice Martin, *Esq., B.A., F.S.A.*

Read 13th December, 1906.

Some of those present may perhaps remember that nearly three years ago I read to the Society some specimens of Chancery Bills in the fifteenth century, in order to show the kind of information which they afford about the methods of business and the social habits of the period.

Since then I have continued my work of arranging and printing a list of these documents, and while doing it have copied out a number which refer to parish priests and parish churches in London and the country, which I have the pleasure of bringing before you to-night.

As these bills are either presented by a priest who considers himself ill-used, or by some other person who complains of a priest's ill-conduct, the side of clerical life which they show is rather the seamy side, but at all events some of them are graphic enough.

The period to which they belong is the latter half of the fifteenth century, from the chancellorship of Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, which began in 1480, to that of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, which ended in 1515.

To each bill are appended the names of two *plegii de prosequendo*.

In later times this became purely formal, and the names were generally fictitious, but as early as the chancellorship of Thomas Rotherham, when bishop

of Lincoln, which lasted from 1474 to 1480, I noticed how often these two names were the names of two colours, and if one name was a colour, the other was almost sure to be a colour also, as, for instance :

Willelmus Rede de London, draper.
Johannes Blake de eadem, tayllour.

Willelmus Grene de London, yoman.
Johannes White de eadem, yoman.

Johannes Broun de London, gentilman.
Willelmus White de eadem, yoman.

Henricus Whyte de London, yoman.
Willelmus Blake de eadem, yoman.

There is no need to multiply specimens. They are frequent enough. One such name would not attract notice, but coming in constant pairs they arouse suspicion. I soon found that the same duality was attached to names of fish, as

Johannes Perche de London, gentilman.
Robertus Roche de London, yoman.

and then that there was an evident predilection for names which rhymed, as

Robertus Gyll.
Willelmus Myll.

Hugo Myll de London, yoman.
Walterus Hyll de eadem, yoman.

Thomas Grave de London, gentilman.
Johannes Drave de eadem, yoman.

Johannes Cotton de London, gentilman.
Willelmus Potton de eadem, gentilman.

Johannes Cukke de London, yoman.
Willelmus Duk de London, yoman.

Willelmus Dun de London, yoman.
Johannes Gun de eadem, yoman.

Johannes Herenden de London, gent.
Edwardus Swerenden de London, gent.

But one of the most certainly fictitious is the second name of the following pair:

Johannes Marten de London, yoman.
Johannes Netram de London, yoman.

where the latter name is merely the former one spelt backwards.

There are also cases of association of meaning besides those already mentioned, as

Ricardus Somer de London, gentilman.
Thomas Mey de London, gentilman.

Johannes Norton de London, yoman.
Thomas Sutton, de eadem, yoman.

Willelmus Herte de London, yoman.
Johannes Parke de London, yoman.

By the time of Cardinal Morton's chancellorship, the familiar names

Johannes Doo de London, yoman.
Willelmus or Ricardus Roo de eadem, yoman.

become frequent enough.

These same names had been already employed in certain proceedings in the Court of Exchequer as early as the reign of Henry VI.

And now I am going to read you a few of these bills in their *ipsissima verba*.

The first three are cases where a parson complains of being accused of some wrongful deed of which he says that he is not guilty, and he ascribes the charge to the malice or the prejudice of layfolk.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 206, No. 51.

Mekely shewith unto your gode grace your pore Oratour Sir John Horn, prest, that wher of late Richard Higham, Serjaunt of the Lawe, William Milborn, Chamberleyn of London, and John Stork, Citizin and grocer of London, executours of the testiment of William Horn, Citizin and Alderman of London whan he levid, haith affermyd an pleynt of trespas in London againez your forsaid Oratour, wheruppon he was arrestid and putt into the Countre in the Pultre of London and ther abidith as prisoner and haith ben by the space of an monyth and more. And incontynent as your said Oratour was arrestid, then the said executours made compleynt unto your gode grace of suche causez wherein thei felt theym self grevid agaynez your seid Oratour, wherof your grace committid the examinacion to Doctour Rowthall, in the whiche causez the said Doctour haith made non determinacion as yit. And that notwithstondyng the said executours haith now procedid in London uppon their said pleynt and haith declarid that your said Oratour the .x.th day of December in the .xij.th yere of King Henry the .vij.th in the parisch of Seynt Thomas thappostyll of London with force and armez, that is to say, with knyffes, a pece of gold with a coveryng of gold, a cheyne of gold and another cheyne called a devyse, and .v.^{c} perlez unto the valour of .cc. *li.* and .vij.^{c} *li.* in money nombryd of the same pleyntyfes then and ther found, toke and bare away agaynez the kynges peas to the hurt and damage of the said pleyntyfes of a .m.^{l} *li.* Whereunto your said Oratour haith aunswered that he is not gylty, wherin the parties ben at issue. And ther uppon .xij. men of the said parisch of Seynt Thomas thappostyll haith ben inpanellid and somonyd, whiche haith indignacion and invy agaynez your said Oratour for so muche as the said William Horn, Alderman, willid and ordeignyd that an prest shuld have exibicion to syng for his soule in the said Chirche of Seynt Thomas thappostyll, whiche now is ordeignyd to be done by on Master Portland, Bacheler of Dyvynyte at the Unyversyte of Oxenford. And for so muche as the said prest is not ordeignyd to be and syng in the said Chirche of Seynt Thomas thappostyll, all the parichyns of the said Chirche gretely blamyth your said Oratour, sayng that it is long of hym and of non other. Wherfore your grace, remembryng that the said accion is so grete, wherunto that your said Oratour is not able to fynd non seurte bot ever lyke to abyde in prison, and also remembryng that the .xij. men ben parcyall and not indifferent, by meanes wherof your said Oratour is likly to be undone, unlesse that he may have som remede or helpe by the meanez of your gode grace. Wherfore pleas it your gode grace to graunt unto your said Oratour a writt of *Corpus cum causa* to remove the body of your said Oratour with the causez, and therin your goode grace to tak a direccion accordyng to conscience. And your said Oratour shall dayly pray for the preservacion of your gode grace.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 472.

Mekely sheweth unto your gracious lordship your humble Oratour Sir Thomas Northfolke, late curate of the parissh of Seint Bride in Fletestrete in London under Maister Lee, parson of the same Chirche, that where the .xij.th day of Octobre last past, your said oratour, entendyng to be occupied about certeyn maters of his seid masters, desired one Sir Robert Wode, one of the morowe masse prestis of the seid parissh, to say High Masse that day for your seid Oratour. Whereto the seid Sir Robert was aggreyd so that your seid suppliaunt wold say the morowe masse that day for the seid Sir Robert. Accordyng to the which aggrement your seid Oratour seide that day there the first masse for the seid Sir Robert. After which masse so seid, your seid suppliaunt put the masse boke, the chaleys and the vestement that he occupied atte the seid masse into a coferre ordeyned therfore and shet the seid coferre, and afterwards delyvered the key therof unto the seid Sir Robert. And the same day the seid chaleys was taken away, and by whate meanes youre seid oratour knoweth not. And notwithstondyng that there be .iij. mo keyes belongyng unto the seid coferre in .iij. other severel mennys kepyng, yet hit is so, gracious lord, that one John Martyn and Rogger Hilton, wardeyns of the Fraternite of Our Ladies Chapell in the seid Chirch, where the morowe masse is dayly seid, by the steryng and abbettyng of certeyn persones of the seid parissh that be displeased with your seid Oratour for divers causes concernyng the right of your seid suppliauntis Maister in the seid Chirch, intendyng for the seid greef to undoo your seid Oratour, have affermed a pleynte of trespas before the Mayre of the Cite of London in the name of the seid Sir Robert, the same Sir Robert therof beyng ignorant, surmyttyng by the same pleynt that the seid Sir Robert shuld delyvere unto your seid Oratour a chaleys price .x. marc saffely to be kept, which to doo your seid Oratour toke upon hym, notwithstondyng the seid Chales passed not by estimacion of them that knewe hit .xl. *s.*, and that by the negligent kepyng of your seid Oratour the seid Chaleys is lost, where as God knoweth, there was never soche matier moved nor spoken bytwene your seid Oratour and the seid Sir Robert, nor no maner of negligence in the behalf of your seid Oratour. And the seid Wardeyns and theire seid Abbettours considerynge that they be of sufficient poure withyn theire warde to have a jure impanelled aftir theire entent to passe agaynst your seid Oratour, wolde therfore by force of the seid pleynt compelle your seid Oratour to paye for the seide Chaleys ayenst all right and good conscience and to the most utter undoyng of your seid Oratour forever without your gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf. Please hit therfore your gracious lordship, the premisses considered, and that your seid Oratour is without remedie by the cours of the Comen Lawe, to graunt a writte of *corpus cum causa* directed to the Meire and Shirrefs of London etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 289.

Mekely besechith your good lordship your dayly Oratour, Sir Robert Beke, preist, viker of the parish Chirche of Eynysford in the Counte of Kent, that where the forseid parish Chirche was late robbyd of certayn juellis by thevys, by colour of the which robbery and by cause of meir malice, the which one John Grawnge had ayenst your seid besecher, the same John Grawnge causid your besecher to be arrestid for suspeccion of the felany aforeseid, and hym conveyd to the jayle of Maydeston. And ther your besecher hath be contynuelly kept in prison and zit is, and may not be sufferd to goo undir baill ne meyinprise, ne othirwyse proceid to his delyvere thoro the senistre meanes of the forseid John Grawnge. Howgh be it, good lord, that the thevys which robbyd the forseid Chirche of theire owne knowlege were takyn seyn the tyme that your besecher was arresteid, and the same felons were put in execucion for the same felony; and the same thevys, when they were leid toward ther execucion, declarid opynly that they deid the seid felony and that your besecher was nevyr therof gilty, which notwithstandyng your besecher is zit kept in prison as is aforeseid, and ful lykly ther to perysh and be distroied withoute the ayde of your gracious lordship be to hym shewed in this behalfe. Therfore that it may please your gracious lordship in tender concideracion of the premysses, to graunt a *corpus cum causa* to be direct to the keper of the forseid jayll of Maydeston etc.

The next affords instances of the perils which beset a celibate priesthood in an unsympathetic country.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 259.

Mekely besechith your good and gracious lordship your pouer and contynuell Oratour Sir William Pierson, prieste, that whereas oon Agnes Coll, wyfe unto John Coll, tyler, was associat with certeyn evyll disposed persones, comme unto the house of your said besecher and spoke unto oon of his servauntis, desiryng to speke with his maister. And theruppon your seid besecher comme oute of his house into the Chirche yarde to undirstond what she wold. Then she desired to speke with hym at his house, and when she comme ther, she departed and seid nothyng to hym at that tyme, but seid she wold comme anon ayen. And than she went unto hir seid evyll disposid felowship, and bad theym comme with hir to your seid besechers house, and stond at his dore till she were yn, and they so did, your besecher not knowyng therof nor thought no harme, as God knowith. And when the seid Agnes was

comme into his yarde, she desired to se his chambre, and your seid Oratour denyed hir and seid nay, but bad hir sey what she wold ther in his yarde, for she shuld not comme in his chambre. And than she toke your Oratour by the arme and seid she was comme to entrete for .v. *s.* that hir husbond owith hym. And theruppon the seid evyll disposid persones that she was associat with, lokid in at his dore seying thus;—"Thowe fals priest, what doist thowe with that woman?" And with that comme yn to hym and seid but if he wold giffe them a gret reward, they wold have hym to prison and utterly shame hym. And he wold in no wyse agre to giffe them non, but send for his neghburs that dwellith aboute hym to undirstond the matter. And than they departed fro your seid besecher and wold in no wise abyde, for they se they coude not have ther intent. And than they went unto John Coll, husbond unto the seid Agnes, and caused hym to afferme an accion of trespas afore the Shirfes of London ayenst your seid Oratour, wherof he was nonsuete. And nowe the seid John hath affermed anothir accion of trespas ayenst your besecher afore the seid Shirfes, and hath declared ayenst hym surmysyng that he shuld take from his seid wife his goodes and catalles to value of .vj. marces and to his damage .c. *li.* which as God knowith is utterly contrarius. And theruppon ther is a contre sommoned for the quest, wher as somme of the seid evyll disposed felowship that were associat with the seid Agnes at that tyme, be sommoned on the same quest, and so purposyn to condempne your seid Oratour in the sommes aforeseid ayenst all right and conscience, and to his uttermost undoyng withoute your gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf. Wherfore please it your seid lordship the premisses tenderly to considre and to graunt a *certiorari* to be directed to the Shirfes of London etc.

The following gives an interesting glimpse of the parish school. We cannot but wish that the aged pedagogue had given us some hint of what "the ferther lernyng" was which he taught his childish class.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 290, No. 78.

Piteously compleynyng sheweth unto your goode lordship your humble Oratoure Sir William Barboure of London, preest, of the age of .lxxvj. yeres, that wheare as one William Garrard of London, draper, upon .iij. yeres passed, instanced and desired your seid oratoure to instructe and teache one Elizabeth Garrard, then of thage of .viij. yeres, kynneswoman unto the seid William Garrard, as he seid, the *Pater noster, Ave* and *Credo* with ferther lernyng as at that tyme he taught other yong chyldren to the nowmber of .xxx^{ti}. And so your seid oratoure did, thynkyng that the seid Garrard had ben an honest man. And

within .iij. wekes after, the seid Garrard of his crafty and malicious mynde, surmised and sayd that your seid oratoure had ravysshed the seid Elizabeth, and theruppon commensed an action tofore the Shyreffes of London ayenst youre seid Oratoure. Wheruppon .xij. men were charged, which .xij. then acquyted youre seid Oratoure of the said action. And, gracious lorde, nowe lately the seid Garrard of his pretensed malice hath commensed an action of trespas tofore the Shyreffes of London ayenst youre seid Oratoure for the premysses, and hathe craftely labored an enquest, whiche entend to passe ayenst youre Oratoure, beyng but a poore man, to his uttermost destruction onles youre moste gracious lordship to hym be shewed in that behalf. That it may therfore pleas youre grace to graunt a *certiorari* to be directed to the Shyreffes of London, commaundyng theym by the same to bryng tofore youre good lordship in the Kynges Chauncery the cause of arrest of youre seid Oratoure, he theare to be ordred by your good lordship accordyng to good conscience. And he shall ever pray to Gode for youre grace long tendure.

There are other accusations of the same nature among these Bills. One more will suffice:

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 233.

Mekely besecheth youre gracious lordship youre humble Oratour Sir Richard Roberd, prest, Bacheler of Lawe. Where of grete malice one John Nele hath surmysed upon youre saide Oratour to have defloured his doughter of the age of .v. yere to abhomynably to speke of. And herupon the saide John, to opteyne a lucre ayenst youre saide Oratour, hath taken an accion of trespasse ayenste hym and surete of the peace before the Maier and Sherves of London, and also an Aldermanis commaundement is leyde upon hym, and so is kepte still in prison, and can nat be delyvered upon no surete, to his utter slaundre and damage ayenst all right, God knowith.

Wherfore please it youre saide lordship, the premisses considered to graunte a writte of *corpus cum causa* to be directe to the Maier and Sherves of London etc.

Here we see a parishioner revenging himself for his parson's plain speaking:

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 261.

Besechith your good lordship your daily Oratour and Chapleyne John Wilfeld, vicarie of Aylesford in the Countie of Kent, that for as muche as he rebuked oon William Wauton, his

parisshon, for his myslevyng anempst God, the same William of malice and evyll wyll toke certayne feyned playntes ayenst your saide Oratour, aswell of dette and trespasse as of accompte, in Rouchestre afore the Mayre there, and on the same pleintes did your said Oratour to be arested and to be kepte in prysone from the .xvj. daie of Apryll unto nowe, and yet is. And howbeit he hath sufficiently aunswerid in lawe to the saide pleyntes, and also William Bruyn, John Rothewell, Thomas Swanton and John Kynvare, men both sufficient of lyvelode and goodys withyn the saide Citie of Rouchestre, have offred to be surete for your saide Besecher that he shall abide the uttermost of the lawe, yet the Mayre there wille in no wyse let hym to baile. And where as on Ascencion Daye last past he desired of the saide Mayre that he myght with a keper goo to churche to here masse, he coude in noo wise be suffred therto, but by cause of his desire the same Maire did commaunde your saide Besecher to be fast fetryd in irons to thentent he shoulde be fayne to geve hym a fyne. And sith that tyme and afore he hath lyen in grete duresse of imprysonament, and longe is like to lie, contrarie to all lawe, reason and concience, to his grete hurte and undoyng, in lesse your good lordship to hym be shewed in this behalve, that it maye please your saide good lordship, the premysses considered, and that the saide pleyntes be but feyned, and also baillable be the lawe, to graunte a writ of *corpus cum causa* directe to the said Maire, etc.

There are indications of the uses to which parsons were accused of turning the power given to them by the practice of confession, of which I give some specimens.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 66, No. 256.

Mekely besecheth your gode and gracious lordship your daily bedman John Marlston, Vyker of Gyldenmordon in the counte of Cantebridge, that where oon Thomas Perne .vij. yere past and more came to your seid Oratour and enfourmed hym that he was robbed of dyvers goodes and catalles to a grete value, by whom it was doon the same Thomas knewe not. And theruppon your said Oratour publysshed it in the Chirche, and seid that he wold accurse theym that hadde robbed hym in lesse they wold restore ayen the same goodes or the value of them. And in Lent next folowyng your seid Oratour gate by waye of confession of oon person a bagge with .iiij. *li.* and hodde silver conteigned theryn, of the goodes which were robbed and taken fro the seid Thomas, and the same bagge with the seid money your seid besecher in presence of dyvers honest men delyvered to the same Thomas, wherwith the same Thomas at that tyme held hym wele pleased, as he seid. And it is soo nowe, gracious lord, that bycause your seid besecher nowe of late desired to have of the seid Thomas .xij. *s.* whiche of right ought to hym, the same Thomas hath taken suspecion of felonye on your seid Oratour, and hath caused hym to be arrested by the Shirref of

Cantebridge, supposyng that your seid besecher delyvered hym in the seid bagge but .xxviij. *s.*, whereof the contrarie is truer, as shalbe sufficiently proved afore your lordship. And howe be it your seid Oratour hath offered to fynde sufficiaunt suerte of worshipfull gentelmen of the countrey ther to abyde the uttermost of the lawe in the premysses, yet the Shirref of the seid shire will in no wyse suffre to be lette to baile in lesse your seid Oratour wold geve hym .x. markes for reward, and by this meane he is kept in prison in grete duresse to his grete hurte and undoyng in lesse your gracious lordship be shewed to hym in this behalfe. Wherfor please it your gode and gracious lordship in consideracion of the premisses to graunt a *corpus cum causa* directe to the Shirref of Cantebridge, etc.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 202, No. 50.

Sheweth unto your grace and good lordship your humble Oratour Nicholas Fonteyn of Wyng in the Countie of Buk', yoman, that where it pleasid Almyghty God in Lenton tyme was a twelve moneth the .xij. yere of the reigne of the kyng our soveraigne lorde that nowe is, to visite your seid Oratour with grete syknesse, and then and there was taken oute of his house a purse wherein was in redy money of golde and sylver the somme of .xx. marcs and more, not knowing to hym when [it] was taken awey nor who hadd it. And, gracious lorde, afterwardes unsought of your seid Oratour, one Sir John Parnell, preste of Hogshawe in the seid Countie, sent hym worde by dyvers men that he coude and wolde certifie hym of the seid purse and parcell of the seid money which was taken from your seid Oratour in the tyme of his grete sykenesse above written for a rewarde. Whereuppon the seid Sir John Parnell afterwardes brought unto the same your Oratour .xl. *s.* parcell of the seid some above written, and covenaunted with hym to bring your seid Oratour .viij. *li.* more, with that he wold rewarde the seid Sir John with .xx. *s.* for his labour, bicause he hadd it by mean of confession. Which .xx. *s.* the same Sir John Parnell hadd for his rewarde. And yet that notwithstondyng the seid Sir John Parnell nowe seith the parties ar decessed and refuseth to delyver unto your seid Oratour the seid .viij. *li.* contrarie to his promyse aforeseid, that it may pleas your good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly considered, forasmoch as your seid Oratour hath no remedy by the cours of the Comen Lawe, to graunte a writt *sub pena* to be directid to the seid Sir John Parnell etc.

In this case I give the priest's answer as well, and also the complainant's replication.

This is thanswere of Syr John Parnell, priste, to the Bill of Compleynt of Nicholas Founteyn.

The said Sir John saith that he is and hath been by the spase of .xx. yer and more

parisshe priste at the parisshe Chirche of Hogschawe, being a commaundrie belongyng and apperteynyng unto the Prior of Seint Johnes of Jherusalem in Yngland, to the wyche Commaundre is graunted and belongeth like Remission, Indulgence and Pardon unto all personez that visite the same place as is graunted and belongeth unto the House of Seint Johns in London. And he sayth further that in a Lente tyme, that is to say, in tyme of the seid pardon, ther was delyveryd hym in Confession .xl. *s.* the wyche the delyverer therof likewise in his confession desired the said Syr John to pay and content unto the said Nicholas, the wyche he accordyng dedde, withoute that the said Syr John covenaunted with the seid Nicholas to bryng unto the said Nicholas .viij. *li.* for the rewarde of .xx. *s.* or that the said Syr John hadde or resceyved in rewarde of the said Nicholas .xx. *s.* or eny other thing in maner and forme as in the bill of the said Nicholas is alleged. All wyche materz and every of theym the seid Sir John is ready to prove as this Courte woll awarde, and prayth to be dismissed oute of the same with hys reisionable costys and damagys in this behalf hadde and susteyned.

The Replicacion of Nicholas Founten to the aunswere of Sir John Parnell, preste, to the bille of the seid Nicholas.

The seid Nicholas seith in alle thynges as he before tyme hath seid in the same bille. And that the seid Sir John Parnell, preste, graunted to brynge unto the seid Nicholas .viij. *li.* for reward of .xx. *s.* which the same Sir John Parnell shold reteign in hys hondes of the same som. Alle whiche maters the seid Nicholas is redy to prove as this courte shall awarde, and prayeth that the seid Sir John Parnell may be compelled by this Courte to perfourme hys seid grauntes and promyses accordyng to goode conscience.

The bill is endorsed with memoranda about days fixed for hearing the case, but nothing to show what was the award of the Court. In the following cases, the origin of the quarrel between priest and parish appears to have been the priest's management of the church.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 61, No. 435.

Petuously shewith unto your lordship your humble and feithfull Oratour Sir Johan Hikson, preest, vicarie of Wiseburgh[a] in the countie of Sussex, that where after he was institut and inducte in the seid benefice, he required and demaunded that suche as bere offices or were ministres withyn the seid Churche, shuld swere unto hym obedience accordyng to the constitucions provinciall, as your lordship wele knowith and undrestandith. And for that divers of his parisshons took displaisir ayeinst hym, that is to say, William Lutman, Johan Napper, Waulter Mylner, Richard Hyfold, Richard Shudde, and Johan Chaper, seing

[a] Wisborough Green.

that your seid suppliaunt wold bringe new custumes and constrocions among theim, and so meoved and excited certain ministres withyn the said Churche not to doo ther seid obedience. For the whiche cause the seid ministres were citid, and att theire apperaunce before thaire ordinarie thay ware charged to owe thaire obedience unto your said suppliaunt as thaire curat and to be reuled by hym in all thynges and observaunces concernyng the ministring of Divine Service within the said Churche. And for this cause the said parsonnes began to malice and to compasse thinges ayeinst your said suppliaunt and excited other of the said parisshe to do the same. And also the said parsonnes and many other of the seid parisshe, claymed to have thaire contynuell entre into the Churche by a dore in the Chauncell, notwithstondyng that thei hadd divers dores into the said Churche in the body of the same, and wold compelle thaire curat to be bounde to lette theim in and oute atte the said dore in the Chauncell as a parissh clerke, seyng that it hath be accustumed afore tyme there so to be don. And by cause your said suppliaunt refused so to doo, they compassed and devised the uttermost that thay cowde to the rebuke and distruccion of your seid suppliaunt, in so much that where the said Church was robbed and dispoiled, the said personnes surmised and affermed that your seid suppliaunt shuld be knowyng, willyng and assenting unto the same, whereof, as God knowith and as he hath made his open and lawfull purgacion, he was never gilty, as by his lettres of purgacion and proclamacion more plainly it apperith. And the saide personnes have labored at sundre saisouns in diverse sessions holden in the said Counte, to have endited your seid suppliaunt of the said felonye. And the personnes that shuld passe theruppon, weing in thaire conscience that noon evident prouf cowde be shewid or made thereof, wold in noo wyse fynde your seid suppliaunt gilty of the seid offense. And the seid personnes, seing that thei cowde not attayne unto theffect of thaire malice by that moyen, laboured unto a Justice of the Peas of the said Counte for a warraunt both for suerte of the peas and for suspecion of felonye, whiche was insufficient. And by vertue of the same the said personnes, whan your seid suppliaunt had ministred unto theim divine service and halibrede on a Soneday, and kneled before the auter in his suffragies and praiers, they leyde upon hym violent handes and arrestid hym and entretid hym so rigorously that in the same place they drew blod upon hym, for the which divers of theim were excomynycat and yet contynue in the same. And so with outeragious violence drewe hym out of the seid Churche and incontenently sette hym openly and shamefully in the stokkes; and after that as a theef with his armes bounde with a corde, ledde hym unto the kynges gaole of Gilford, where by thaire untrewe suggestions he was entretid as a theef and leied in gret duresse of imprisonament, wherby he was put to his importable costes and charges. Wherupon my Lord of Arundell, undirstandyng the ungodly and unlawfull demenying of the said personnes, sent in alle goodly hast unto the said gaole for the deliveraunce of your said suppliaunt, by whois moyens he was delivered. And after that by the commaundement of my seid lord, the matier was committed unto the reule of certain worshipfull gentilmen, that is to say, Edward Berkelay, Philip Lowes, James Byne and Thomas Bartolot. And the said persones, undirstandyng that the said gentilmen were fully disposed to have awarded certain money to be yeven unto youre seid suppliaunt in recompense of the manifest

injurye and wronge that was doon unto hym, they refused to abide the saide awarde, and rather wol abide the termynacion of the Comen Lawe, the whiche youre seid suppliaunt is not of power to justifie with theim, seing that they ben of gret richesse and have also engrosed and laboured the contrey after thaire entent if it shuld passe by the same, that youre said suppliaunt shall never prevaile ayeinst theim. Plaise it therefore unto your gracious lordship, benignely considering the premisses, to directe writtes of *sub pena* unto everiche of the said personnes, commaundyng theim to appere bifore your lordship atte a day to be prefixed, to answere unto thees materes, and at thaire apperaunce to provide by your high wisdam suche sharp punisshement and reformacion hereyn as they may take exsample and fere to doo or attempt any suche thinges hereafter, and as youre seid suppliaunt may lyve in rest and peas accordyng to the lawes of the Churche and of the Royaulme. And this for the love of God and in defense of his Churche, seing that youre seid suppliaunt knoweth not where to have remedye in this behalf, sauf only of youre lordship. And he shall hertly pray to God for the preservacion of youre said lordship duryng his naturall lyf.

The next is in French, which is very unusual, and as medieval Anglo-French is not very easy to read intelligibly, I have translated it into English.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 68, No. 133.

Supplient touz les parochiens de Gryngham juxte Kyrketon in Lyndesey qui sont tenantz a nostre tres redoute Sieur le Roy, que come debate est moeve entre Robert Conyng, person de la moitiee de lesglise de la dite ville de Gryngham, et les ditz parochiens touchant une ymage que le dit Robert ad fait mettre en un lieu deinz lour dite Esglise a graunt nusance des ditz parochiens, issint qils ne purront bien veier la levacion ne divine service fait en la dite Esglise. Et par cause qils lour veullent ent pleindre, il ad fait denuncier pur excomengez touz les ditz parochiens qui luy vorroient contredire ou destourber de sa volente ceste partie ; et par tant qils ont purchacez une inhibicion de la dite denunciacion de lour Archidekne, le dit Robert ad sommonez les ditz parochiens destre devant levesque de Nicole deinz un brief jour ore avenir de lour ent treher en plee et diseaser devant luy en qanque il puisse de sa malice. Et aussint par la ou touz les ditz tenantz ont usez du temps dont memoire ne courte, de soner une campane au certeins temps en lan de faire touz les ditz tenantz assembler pur le rent le Roy coiller et soun service et autres choses touchant la governaile de la dicte ville de Gryngham faire, come soloit estre dancien temps, le dit Robert lour manace que si ascun de eux tiel chose face ou ascun de eux pursue encontre luy en ascun lieu pur les ditz grevances redresser, qils ne serront si hardyz de

demurrer en lour measons illeoques, et pluisours autres tortz et grevances lour ad fait et face de jour en autre sanz cause resonable, nient eiant consideracion qils sont tenantz a nostre dit Sieur le Roy, come dit est, ou ascun charge de par le Roy a luy fait, issint qils ne osent illeoques outre demurrer, et ensi perdra mesme nostre Sieur le Roy ses rentz de sa dicte ville, si remede ne soit mys celle partie.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 68, No. 133.

(*Translation*:)

All the parishioners of Grayingham near Kirton in Lindsey, who are tenants of our lord the King, beseech that as a dispute has arisen between Robert Conyng, parson of one half of the church of the said town of Grayingham, and the said parishioners, touching an image which the said Robert has had set in a place within their said church to the great nuisance of the said parishioners, so that they cannot well see the elevation nor divine service performed in the said church. And because they would complain of it, he has caused to be denounced as excommunicated all the said parishioners who would gainsay him or hinder him in his will in this behalf. And because they have obtained an inhibition of the said denunciation from their Archdeacon, the said Robert has summoned the said parishioners to be before the bishop of Lincoln within a short time to come, to bring them into court and vex them as much as he can of his malice. And also whereas all the said tenants have been used from time whereof memory runs not, to ring a bell at certain times of the year, to cause all the said tenants to assemble to collect the king's rent and service, and to do other things touching the government of the said town of Grayingham, as was used of ancient time, the said Robert threatens that if any of them does such a thing, or any of them proceeds against him in any place to redress the said grievances, that they will not be strong enough to remain in their houses there, and he has done and does from day to day many other wrongs and grievances without reasonable cause, in no wise considering that they are tenants of our lord the king, as has been said, nor considering any charge laid upon him by the king, so that they dare not dwell there longer. And so even our lord the king will lose his rents of his said town, if remedy be not found in this behalf.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 78, No. 126.

Humbly shewith unto youre good lordship William Turke and Nicholas Berham, Wardens of parisshe Chirche of Wadehurst in the Counte of Sussex, that where the seid Nicholas afore this tyme beyng Warden of the seid Chirche, was gretly instaunced and labored by Sir John Broun, preest, vicar of the seid Chirch, to accept and admitte oon William Broun, cousyn to the said Vicar, to the office and service of parisshe clerk of the seid parisshe. And also the same vicar promysed unto the seid Nicholas that he shuld becom suertie for the seid William Broun and be bounde to the Wardens of the seid Chirche for the tyme beyng in a certen somme of money to the value of all the goodes and joelles belongyng to the seid Wardens and to the parisshens of the seid parisshe for the saufe kepyng of the same goodis and joelles by the said William Broun, whensoever the seid Vicar were therto required. Uppon trust wherof the seid Nicholas accepted and admitted the same William Broun into the seid office and service of parisshe clerke of the seid parisshe. And also the seid Nicholas, beyng possessed of .ij. vestmentes, .ij. tunicles, a grete boke called 'A Legend' and another boke called 'A Precessionare,' among other goodes and joelles belonging to the seid Wardens and parisshens to the value of .xx. *li.*, of the gret confidence and trust that he had to the promisse of the seid Vicar, delivered unto the seid William Broun the seid .ij. vestmentis, tunicles and bokis with all the other goodis and joelles aforesed saufly to kepe and to be occupyed in the seid Chirch to the use of the seid Wardens and parisshens. Sith which delyvere of the seid vestmentes, tunicles, bokis, goodis and joelles, the seid William Turke was named and ordined by the seid parisshens to be warden of the seid Chirche with the seid Nicholas Berham. And howebeit that the seid vicar hath often tymes be required as well by the [seid] Nicholas as by the seid William Turke to be bounde in maner and fourme as is above rehersyd, which to do he hath utterly refused and yet refusith. And so it is, gracious lord, that the seid William Broun dissembly and full untrewly hath embeselid the seid .ij. vestmentes, .ij. tunicles, Legend and Precessionary, to the gret hurtte, damage and losse of your seid besechers and of the seid parisshens ayenst all right and conscience, wherof they be withoute remedy withoute your good and gracious lordship to them be shewed in this behalf. It may therfore please your good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly to considre and to graunt a wrytt *sub pena* to be directed to the seid vicar etc.

Thaunswer of John Broun to the bill of compleint of William Turke and Nichol Berham.

The said John Broun saith that the mater conteigned in the said bill is not certen ne

sufficient to put hym to aunswer, wherof he praith allowaunse etc. And for further declaracion of the trought of the mater, hee saith that the said William Broun was admittid parisshe clerk by the hole parisshe of Wadehurst [a] yere and more byfore the said William Torke and Nicholas wer wardens of the said Chirche. And at the tyme of his admission, the Chirche Wardens for the tyme being nether desired the said William Broun ner non other to bee bounde for hym. And soo the said William Broun hath contenuyd Clerk of the said parisshe by reson of the first admission without desire of any maner of suerte by the said parisshe, without that the said John Broun becam suerte to the said Nicholas for the said William Broun in the maner and fourme as by the said bill is allegged, and without that the said William is brother [a] to the said John, and without that the said William hath embeseled the said goodes comprisid in the seid bill of compleint in the maner and fourme as by the said bill is allegged. All whiche maters hee is redy to prove as this Court shall award. Wherfor he praith to bee dismissid with his resonable costes and damages.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 66, No. 304.

Mekely besecheth your gode and gracious lordship Walter Muschamp, clerk, parson of the parissh Churche of Seynt Margarete Patens in London, that where he on Seynt Margarete Day last past, resceyved and toke to his owne propre use in the right of the said Churche the offerynges, obvencions and other profites belongyng to the parson of the said Churche for the tyme beyng, as was and is lawfull to hym to do, and as he and all his predecessours, parsons of the said Churche, from tyme that no mynde is contrary, have don and perceyved, John Mounde and Thomas Alisaunder, Churchewardeyns of the said Churche, for the said offerynges have attamed an accion of accompt upon the receipt of .xx. marc ayenst your said Oratour before the Shireffs of London, and by myght entende to have him condempned in the same to the grete hurte of your said besecher and lykly disheryson of the said Churche. Wherfor please it your goode and gracious lordship the premisses considered and in help and releif of Holy Churche, to graunt unto your said besecher a writte of *certiorare* directe to the said Shireffs etc.

The following touches upon another method of raising money for church purposes:

[a] In the bill he is called cousin to John Broun, but the word "cousin" is written over an erasure.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 146, No. 48.

Humbly shewythe and besechyth your good and gracyous lordshypp your dayly and contynuell Oratours, William Lucasse and Rychard Tailler, Wardennys and Kepars of the godes and ornamentes of the Chyrche of Seynt Jemys at Pulloxhyll withyn the Counte of Bedford, that where as one John Russell of Pulloxhyll aforeseyd with dyvers other persons, toke upon them to make a play and so dyd withyn the same Towne, and the profyttys therof comyng they promysed shuld be to the use and behuf of the seyd Churche of Pulloxhyll. The seyd John reseyvyng of dyvers persons at the same play of ther good devocions whiche they had to the seyd Churche .iiij. *li.* of lawfull money of England. Whiche .iiij. *li.* the seyd Churchewardens oftyn tymes hathe requeryd of the seyd John to the use of the seyd Churche accordyng to hys promyse, and that to do the seyd John at all tymes hathe denyde and yet denythe, to the grete hynderyng of reparacyon of the seyd Churche and of other ornamentes of the same. And for as moche as your seyd Oratours be without remedy for eny recovere of the seyd .iiij. *li.* to be had by the course of the Comyn Lawe, pleasyth yt your grace the premyssez tenderly consyderd to graunte a wrete of *sub pena* to be dyrectyd to the seyd John, commaundyng hym by the same to appere before your lordshypp yn the Kyngys Chauncere ther to answere to the premyssez at a certeyn day and under a certeyn payne etc.

There are numerous references to bequests to parish churches, which sometimes were the ground of parochial discord.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 244, No. 74.

In most humble wyse besechith your good and gracious lordship your poer Oratours John Playford, vicary of the parish churche of Upchurche in the Counte of Kent, Thomas Baldok and Thomas Laurence, wardens of the seid churche, that where one John Osbarne, beyng possessid in an of a mese and certeyn londe with appurtenaunce in Upchirche aforseid and Halstow, and so therof beying seasid of great trust enfeffed on John Wreke with other now dede to the use of your seid Oratour and to thentent to performe his last will; which John Osbarne made his last will and dyed, and by the same willid that the seid mese and londe shuld remayne aftir the deth of Johane his wyfe to Thomas his son upon condicion that the seid Thomas and his heiris shall fynde or cause to be founde in the seid parish of Upchurche for evyr at the Fest of Ester .xiij. tapres afore the Sepulcre there to bren aftir the fourme and

manyr their used, and every taper to be of .iiij. *li.* weyght, also to fynde a tapre of a *li.* weyght afore Seynt John Baptist every yere in the seid churche. Also the seid Thomas shall fynde and heis eyres for evyrmore a taper afore Seynt Sperabill[a] of a *li.* wex, and also every yere the seid Thomas and heis heires shall fynde .ij. *li.* of wex to the Pascall in the same churche. Also the seid John Osbarne willed be the seid will that inmediatly aftir the deth of Johane his wyfe a croft conteynyng .iiij. acres in Halstow shuld remayne to the Sepulcre light of Halstowe, and therof to enfeffe such persons as your seid Oratours wull. It is so that your seid Oratours hath oftyn tymes requyred the seid John Wreke and that to do at all tymes hath refused and yet doth, contrary to right and good consciens. Wherfore the premysses consyderid and that your seid Oratours beyn withoute remedy by the course of the Comen Lawe, it wull please your lordship to graunt a writ *sub pena* to be directid to the seid John Wreke, comaundyng hym by the same to appere byfore the Kyng in his Chauncery etc.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 98, No. 17.

Mekely besechyn your good and gracious lordshipp your poore Oratours Richard Joy and Henry Joy of the Towne of Southwold in the Counte of Suffolk, executours of the testament of John Joy, where the seid John by his last wille bequethed to the honour of Almyghty God and adurnyng of his Churche towardes the making of a Crismatorie for the seid Churche . xij. *li.* which late restid in the keping of your seid Oratours. And for perfourmyng of the seid good dede they had communicacion with oon Sir John Hopton, their vicar, which promysed to purveie to the seid Churche a Crismatorie that noon shuld be like unto yt in Suffolk. And after the same the seid Vicar bargayned with a goldsmyth at Cambrigge and aggreed, as he seid, to gif to the seid goldsmyth for the seid Crismatorie .xviij. *li.* And theruppon wrote with his owne hand to your Besechers of the seid bargeyn, shewyng ferthermore he had .iiij. sufficient men bounde for the seid goldsmyth that he shulde perfourme his bargeyn. And forasmoche as the same Vicar wrote ferthermore by his letre that he had bought .iij. skore unces of broke sylver at .iij. *s.* the unce, and also that the goldsmyth wolde have summe mony in honde, he praied your besechers to send hym by his servaunt, bringer of the seid letre, .viij. *li.* .xiij. *s.* .iiij. *d.* promysyng to aunswere theym therof, as in the same letre redy to be shewid apperith more at large. Uppon trust

[a] I cannot find in the calendar any saint of this name, though it is frequently mentioned in connexion with Upchurch, as I am informed by Mr. Leland L. Duncan. In a paper in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxv. 88, the late Mr. Cumberland Woodruff suggests that St. Spiridion is meant. This saint was bishop of Trimithus in Cyprus in the fourth century, and is commemorated on December 14 by the Latin Church, and on December 12 by the Greek Church. This suggestion does not commend itself to me as probable, but I can make no other.

of which promeis and writyng and for the good zele which they had to the Churche in this behalf, your besechers delyvered to his seid servaunt the seid .viij. *li.* xiij. *s.* .iiij. *d.* which mony came hooly to the hondes of the seid Vicar, as the same servaunt shall testefie afore your good lordship. And howe be yt the day of appoyntment of making and fynysshyng of the seide Crismatorie is past over a hole yere or more, and your besechers have ofte tymes requyred the seid Vicar to delyver theym the seid Crismatorie redy made or ellis to relyver theym the seid .viij. *li.* xiij. *s.* .iiij. *d.*, yet he that to do hath refusid and yet refusith. And forasmoche as your besechers have none Endentures of covenaunt of delyvere of the seid money to the seid Vicar ne other especialte sufficient to demand the seid money at the Comen Lawe, they ar without remedy on lesse your gracious ayde to theym be shewid in this behalf. Pleas yt therfore your gracious lordshipp in augmentyng of honour of Goddes Churche, and that herafter lay people ther may be the gladder and bettir willed to helping of ornamentes of the seid Churche, to graunt a writte *sub pena* direct to the seid Vicar, etc.

Fifteen centuries of Christianity had not yet killed the common belief in witchcraft, especially in the recovery of stolen goods.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 154, No. 50.

Piteously shewithe unto youre goode and gracious lordeship Ser William Paule, parisshe prest of the Churche of Seynt Andrewe in Holborne in the suburbes of London, that where the . xij.th day of February, the furste yere of the reigne of our Soveraigne lorde the Kynge that now is, .iij. persones evill disposid came in to the Churche yarde of the foresaid Churche takyng tuicion of the same for felony. And oone of them than and there caste over a pale annexid un to the personage sette within the seid Churche yarde, a walett otherwise called a bagge, in the whiche was conteigned a stondyng cuppe, parcell thereof gylte, with a cover to the same, a stondyng notte gylte with a cover to the same, a flatte pease of silver and a maser with a narow bande; the whiche walett or bagge and goodes soe caste over the seid pale came by informacioun and notise unto your seid Oratour by oone Thomas Bremyngham, Sherman, dwellyng ayenst the seid parisshe Churche of Seynt Andrewe, by force of whiche the said walett or bagge and goodes came to the possession of your seid Oratour and no thynge ellis. And mediately after that came oone Thomas Fereby of London, goldesmythe, unto your seid Oratour, seying the seid goodes to be his and by the seid .iij. persones from hym felonysly stolen. Whereupon your seid Oratour, gevyng credence unto the seid Thomas, delyverid unto hym the .xiij.^{the} day of February, the yere abovesaid, at the seid Churche of Seynt Andrewe in Holbourne the seid walett or bagge and goodes abovesaid. And than and there he was right wele satisfied and content with the premisses. And sithen that tyme the seid Thomas seyd and yett seithe that he myssithe

many other goodes, the whiche your seid Oratour never hadde nor sawe, as he wille answere before Almyghty God, more than were conteigned in the walett or bagge aforesaid, which be above expressid; for the whiche the seid Thomas Fereby hathe causid diverse nigromansiers to calkell for the same. The whiche have concludid as he seithe that your seid Oratour shulde have the seid goodes by hym soe surmysid, the whiche is in no wise true. And now the seid Thomas hathe brought an accion of trespasse before the Kyngis Jugges of the Commyn Place at Westminster ayenst the seid your Oratour, as well of the goodes by your seid Oratour to hym delyverd, as it is aforesaid, as of the seid goodis by hym surmysyd, the whiche came never to his possession. Surmysyng in the same accion that your seid Oratour withe force and armes shulde take alle the seid goodis oute of the possession of the seid Thomas in the parisshe of Seynt Petyr in Chepe to his hurte and damages of a .c. marke, intendyng by the same accion and by myght and power there to have your seid Oratour condempned in grete summes of mony ayenst all right and goode conscience, unto the utterest ondoyng of your seid Oratour, without your goode lordeship to hym be shewen in this behalf. Wherefor please it your goode and gracious lordeship the premisses tenderly to considre and to graunte a writte of *sub pena* undyr a certen payne in the same to be conteigned to be directid to the seid Thomas Fereby, commaundyng hym by the same to appere before the kynge in his High Courte of Chauncery at a certen day as it shalle please your goode lordeship to lymytte, and than and there to have an injunccion by your goode lordeship that he nor noe persone for hym procede no ferther in this accion in this behalfe ayenst your seid Oratour, untille the tyme hit be duly examyned before youre good lordeship, accordyng to ryght and goode conscience. And this at the reverence of Almyghty God and in the wey of Charite.

The Answer of Thomas Fereby to the byll of William Paule.

The seid Thomas seith that the matter conteyned in the seid bill is matter determynable at the commen lawe and not in this court of the Chauncery. And for answer seyth that treue it is that the .xij.th day of February conteyned in the seid bill, .iij. evyll disposed persons toke and bere away the goodes specyfied in the seid bill and diverse oder goodes and plate of the same Thomas to the value of .xl. *li.* specified in his seid accion, and the same goodes and plate bare frome the dwellyng hous of the seid Thomas Fereby in the Chepe of London into the seid Church zerd, the same Thomas Fereby them fresshely ensuyng, so that the seid evyll disposed persons, seyng that they cowd in no wyse escape frome the same Thomas, weyved and cast all the seid plate and goodes over the seid pale within the Church zerd aforeseid annexed to the dwellyng hous of the seid William Palle, and the same goodes and plate were ther so lokked and closed that the same Thomas Fereby cowd in no wyse atteyn to come to his seid goodes without licence and suffrance of the seid William Palle. Wherupon the same Thomas Fereby, perceyvyng and knowyng his seid goodes and plate to be cast over the seid pale and closed within the same, as is afore rehersed, desyred the seid William Pale to suffre the same Thomas to go within the same pale to fech and have his seid

goodes, which William for no request ne desyre wold suffre the same Thomas so to do, but the same William, more lyk a miscreant then a Crysten preste, untruly affermed and swered unto the same Thomas Fereby and to many oder credible persons both by the Holy Sacrement that he had used and the Wholy Masse and by many oder gret othes, not many gretter hard, that the seid plate and goodes were not cast within the seid pale, and or that the seid William wold suffre the seid Thomas Fereby or any oder for hym to come within the seid pale to fech his seid goodes, and the seid William and Thomas Byrmyngham wrongfully toke the same goodes and plate and devyded it betwen them. And after that the seid Thomas diverse tymes made gret instance and labyr to his gret hurt, cost and charge unto the seid William and Thomas Byrmyngham to delyver unto hym his seid goodes and plate, and thei that to do utterly refused, as well the seid William as the seid Thomas Byrmyngham, swerynge by as gret othes as Crysten men may here that they had no parte therof. And after that aboute the .xviij. th day of February then next ensuying, the seid goodes specyfied in the seid bill were founden in the seid dwellyng place of the forseid William berried in the erth at his beddes fote, as hit shalbe sufficiently proved before your lordship, and the resydue of the goodes and plate specefied in the seid accion the forseid William and Thomas yet wrongfully have and kepe as it shalbe sufficiently proved before your lordeship. All which mattyrs the seid Thomas Fereby is redy to prove as this Court will awarde, and prayeth to be dismissed out of this court with his resonabyll costes and damages for his wrongfull vexacion in this behalf.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 66, No. 296.

Humble besecheth your good lordship John Knyght, chapellayn, tenderly to considre that where it pleased the kyng our soveraigne lord to commaunde your said Oratour amonge other of his liege people and servauntes of the Lorde Straunge to goo and make serche in Suthwerk within the Countie of Surrie for oon Alyce the wyfe of John Huntley, which of long tyme hath used and exercised the feetes of Wychecraft and Sorsery ayenst the lawe of the Chirche and of the kyng. Wherupon your said besecher by auctoritie of the said commaundement went with the said lord Straunge servauntes into an house called 'The Lasour Loke' in Suthwerk in Kent Strete, and there founde dyverses mamettes for wychecraftes and enchauntementez, with other stuffe beryed and depely hydd under the erthe. The which be redy to be shewed before youre good lordship. And it is soo nowe, gracious lord, that your said Oratour withoute eny cause resonable is arrested and hath ben by the space of .vi. dayes kept in dyvers prisones. And howe beit that he hath offered sufficient suerte to aunswere to all maner of accions, kan not be let to bayle but is brought withoute eny maner cause, as if aforsaid, into the Marchalsie, contrary to the fourme of the statute,

where nether party is of the Kynges House, ayenst all reason and conscience. Pleaseth therfore your good lordship, the premisses considered, to graunte a *corpus cum causa* to be directe unto the Steward of the said Marchalsie, etc.

The word "necromancy" is spelt here as it often is at this period, "nigromancy." One cannot exactly say that "it assimilates a vernacular origin," to use a phrase of which my old schoolmaster, Professor Hewitt Key, was very fond, but at least it may be said to assimilate a familiar origin, the Greek word being misspelt to make it look like a Latin word.

The English phrase "black art," which is not known to occur, I believe, before the latter half of the sixteenth century, is no doubt intended for an accurate translation of nigromancy.

I have added a few other bills referring to the same subject, though they do not all concern the clergy.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 267, No. 41.

Humble sheweth unto your good lordshipp your Oratour John Bysshopp of Seynt Davides, that at hys fyrst comyng ynto his dioces he was enformed that a gentleman called Thomas Wyriott, his wedded wyf beyng a lyf, kept a woman called Tanglost Verch Glin', wife unto one David Lloyd, yet beyng a lyf, in opyn advoutre yn his one house. Uppon the which informacion he called the said Thomas and Tanglost before hym, to whom your said Oratour mynestred dyverse articulys concernyng the same mater, which they cowde not denye but confessed the same. And therupon your seid Oratour charged the said Weriott uppon the payne of sensurys of the Churche not to be adherent or company with the said Tanglost yn any suspecte place. That notwithstanding he kept hir styll yn his house the space of two yer or more. Wherfor your seid Oratour denunced them both occursed, and also toke the said Tanglost and put hir in ward within his castyll of Lawhaden. The said Thomas Wyriott heryng therof, he hym self and other riottous persones to the nowmbre of .xxiiij. came by night season and bracke his said castell, and toke the said Tanglost with hym home and put awey his wedded wif, and wold not suffre hir to have anything resonable to fynde her withall; which afterward died, and as the comen voyce and fame rennyth in the countre, was distroyed with wychecraft by the meanse of the seid Tanglost. Your said Oratour, heryng of this riottes delyng, toke the said Tanglost eftsones and send hir to his said Castyll the .ij.^{d} tyme, att which tyme the said Thomas Wyriott came to your said Oratour and desyred hym to be assoled and was sworn upon the holy Evangelyst never

to company nor felyshipp with the said Tanglost in any suspecte place, nor to committe advoutre with her from that day forward; and also bound hym self, John Vogan, knight, and John Eynon, squier, in an obligacion of .c. *li.* to fulfyll the same. Therupon he banesshed the said Tanglost oute of his dioces, at which tyme she went unto Bristowe and ther hyred a woman called Margaret Hackett, which was practized in wychecraft, to distrew your said Oratour by the same wychcraft, because he wold not suffre the said Thomas and hir to lyve yn advoutre to geder. And so the said Tanglost retorned ageyn unto the said Thomas, and the vyche which she hadd hiered, with hir. And with in the same Thomas place in a chambre called Paradise Chamber, the said Tanglost and Margaret made and ordeyned .ij. ymages of wax at the costes and charges of the said Thomas to distrow hym, as it appereth by the confession of the said Margaret made before Thomas priour of Monkton yn Pembroke, Mr. Richard Rayder, doctour of bothe lawes, John Walter, gent. chaunceler of Pembroke, and dyverse odyr. Yet they nothyng content therwithall send for another woman which they thought cowde and hadd more connyng and experiens than they had, and made the .iij.^{d} ymage to distrew your said orator. He havyng knolegge of this inordinat delyng, send to attache the said Tanglost. She heryng therof, fledde to Bristowe, where he caused her to be attached upon suspecions of heresy, and ther was examyned by .iiij. Doctours of Devynyte. The said Doctours remytted hir correccion unto your said Oratour; and bycause he shuld not have her delyvered, the said Thomas Wyriott surmysed a fals accion of dette ayenst her and by hir confession was condempned, wherby she was stopped that your said Oratour cowde not have delyvere of hir. And forasmoche as the said Tanglost is by great mayntenaunce and labores of the said Weriott and his frendys convehed from place to place to thentent that she shuld contynew in hir malicius disposicion and not to be directed aftir the lawes of Holy Churche, nother yet aftir the course of the Comen Lawe; it may therfore please your good lordship, the premyssez consydered and for save garde of the lyf of youre said Oratour, to graunte a *corpus cum causa* to be directed to the Meire and Shireffes of the Towne of Bristowe commaundyng them to bryng the body with the cause of the said Tanglost afore the Kyng yn his Courte of Chauncery under a certeyn payne and at a certen day by your good lordshipp to be lymitted, and also to grauntte a *sub pena* to be directed to the said Thomas Wyriott under a certen payne and at a certen day by your good lordshipp to be lymytted to aunswere to the premysses, and forther to do as the said Courtte shall awarde etc.

This is thaunswere of Tanglost William to the bille of compleynt of John Busshope of Seynt Davyes.

The seid Tanglost seith that the seid bille is insufficient and uncerteyn to be aunswerd unto, and only fayned of malice, and of no trouth, and the mater theryn is determyned in the Spirituall Court, and nat in this Court. Wherof she prayeth allowance and to be remytted therunto. Netherles, the avauntage therof to hir saved, for the declaracion of trouth she sith that she is nat gilty of any witchecraft, as by the seid bille is supposed. And as to the

resydewe comprised in the seid bille, she seith that she is confessid therof and hath don penaunce therfore. All which maters the seid Tanglost is redy to prove as this Court wille award, and prayeth to be dismyssed oute of this Court with hir resonable costes and damages susteyned in that behalf.

Early Chancery Proceedings.

Bundle 229, No. 20.

Humble besechyth your most goode and gracious lordship your humble suppliant William Tyndale, knyght, that where ther was an affyauns of mariage to be hadde accordyng to the lawe of Holy Church betwen your seyde suppliant and Mary Grenakyr, now wyef to your seyde suppliaunt, oon William Carrowe, knyght, of pur males and covetus mynde aftyr the seyde affiauns of mariage, schewed unto the kyng oure soveraign lorde that the seyde Mary usyd wytchecraft and socery ageyn the lawe of the Church, and ther upon opteyned a commaundement of the kyngges grace to take the seyde Mary and brynge hyr to answer for the same. And therupon the seyde William Carrowe sent .xx. persones defencibly arayed with grete myght and force in riotus wyse to the seyde Mary Grenaker, sche beyng in the church heryng dyvyne service, toke her from thens and conveyed hyr to the dwellyng place of the seyde William Carrowe, knyght, and ther he dyde raunsake hyr surmysyng that sche hadde on hyr wrytyng of socery and wytchecraft, and thret hyr with many dyvers maliciouse wordes that sche was in grete fere. Howebeit he cowd fynd in hyr no defawte, and so kept her styll and wold not suffyr hyr to go to bayle ner maynpryse, howebeit ther was offerd for hyr sufficient suyrte to have brought hyr to declar hyr self of the same, the which offyr the seyde Sir William refused with owte your seyde suppliant wold gyf to the seyde Sir William Carrowe .xx. *li.* Wherfor your seyde suppliant made labur to the kyngges grace for hyr by meanes of his frendes, and opteyned the kynges honorable lettres directed to the seyd Sir William Carrowe, commaundyng hym by the same to suffyr hyr to goo at hyr large. And that notwythstondyng he wold not suffyr hyr to depart from hym unto the tyme that your seyde suppliant was bounde to hym in a symple obligacion conteynyng the summe of .x. *li.* to be payed to the seyde Sir William Carrowe at a certen day nowe past. And thanne the seyde Sir William Carrowe sent hyr to the dwellyng place of your seyde Suppliant with .iij. .xx. persones in harnes defencibly arrayed with bowes, arrowes etc. And they wold not delyver hyr at hyr large unto the tyme that your seyde Suppliant confesseyd to them the seyde obligacion to be hys dede. It is so nowe, most graciouse lorde, that the seyde Sir William Carrowe hath an accion hangyng ageyn your seyde Suppliant at the Comen Lawe upon the seyde obligacion ageynst all right and goode conciens. Pleasith it therfor your grace, the premysses tenderly concidered, and in concideracion that your seyde Suppliant hath no remedy of and for the premysses by the cours of the Comen Lawe, to graunt a writ of *sub pena* to be directed to the seyd Sir William Carrowe knyght, etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 61, No. 410.

Humbely besechith your gracious lordship your pore and contynuell Orature, John Holond, husbondman, servaunt in the Abbey of Wodebreche in the counte of Suffolk, for as moche that one Rogger Page by his grete malice hath surmysed upon your pore suppliant to have brokyn his hous and robbid hym, as it was tellid hym by negremaunsers, the contrarie of whiche is trewe, as all the neyghbours of your saide suppliant woll recorde, and that he is of gode name and fame. By force of which untrewe surmyse your saide suppliant is arrested by the constables of Wodbrigge and brought to the baillifs of the franchise of the Busshop of Ely of Melton, and he, all be it he hath offered sufficient surete, there is kept in prison upon the saide wrongfull suggestion ayenste all lawe, reason and conscience to his utterest undoynge without your gracious lordship be shewed to hym in this behalve. Please it therefore the same your gracious lordship in consideracion of the premisses to graunte a writte of *Corpus cum causa* directe to the said baillifs etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 266, No. 18.

Humbly shewith and petously compleynith unto your good lordship your daily oratour William Lee of the Cite of Coventre, that wher .xl. *li.* of money was takyn and withdrawyn from oon John Haddon of the seid cite, draper, as the seid John hath reported and seid; wheruppon the seid John, to gete knowlege of the takers of the seid money, caused certeyn persons usyng the craftes of Sorcery, Wychcraftes and Nygromancy to inquire by ther craftes of the takers of the seid money, and theruppon the seid persons usyng the seid unlawfull craftes advysed and conseilled the seid John Haddon to take and examyn your seid oratour for withdrawyng of the seid money, for as moche as they perceyved that your seid oratour used and ware such garmentes and clothyng as they determyned by ther unlawfull wychcraftes that the takers of the seid money had and used at the tyme of the takyng of the seid money. And theruppon the seid John Haddon, havyng non other cause a yen your seid Oratour nor mater of susspeccyon, arested and put in prison your seid Oratour and kept hym ther by the space of a moneth and more. And aftyr this the seid John, havyng non other cause nor nothyng of untroth coude prove a yen your seid Oratour, suffered hym to depart and go at his large. And aftir this the seid John Haddon, intendyng the forther vexacion and trobill of your seid Oratour, aseinyd a pleynt of trespas afore the Meyre and Shreffys of the seid Cite a yen your seid Oratour sen the takyng of the seid money, supposyng that your seid Oratour the Wedynsday next before the Fest of the

Anuncyacyon of Oure Lady last past toke and bere a wey the seid money. In the whiche pleynt of trespas your seid Oratour is lyke to be condempned, for as moche as your seid Oratour is in poverte and the seid John Haddon is of gret myght and power and gret alyaunce in the seid Cite. Wherfore and for as moch as the seid cause of trespas and the seid wrongfuil arestyng and kepyng of your seid Oratour in prison was by mene and jugement of the seid persons usyng the seid unlawfull craftes of nygromancy and wychcraft, to whom credence ought not to be geven, for that is contrary to the feyth of Holy Chirch. In consyderacyon wherof that it wold plese your good lordship to graunt a *certiorare* to be directed to the seid Meyre and Shereffes etc.

The last which I shall give you describes how a parish priest made provision for his old age.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 299, No. 43.

Humbly shewith unto your good lordship Mr. John Carpenter, clerke, late parson of Compton Basset in the countie of Wiltes, that where as abought a .iij. yeres past the same John by dede gave to one William White of Compton beforesaid all such movable goodes as the said Mr. John Carpenter at that tyme had, apon condicion that the same William White shold honestly fynd hym mete and drynke duryng his life, for that the same Mr. Carpenter was of so grete age and feblenes that he cowde not that tyme nor yet can not helpe hym selfe. And for a more suertye caused to be made a dede of gift of all the same goodes; and that delyvered unto the same William with the condicion before said in the same dede conteyned, which goodes were of the valour of .xx.^{ti} markes.

So it is that now the said William White refuseth to fynd or kepe the said Mr. Carpenter acordyng to the said agreemente and condicion, to the gret trobull and disese of the said Mr. Carpenter, and to the great jopardy of his lif and utter distruction, savynge for the charite that other well disposed persons shew unto hym in consideracion of his very grete age. It may plese therfore your goode lordshipe, in so moche as the said Mr. Carpenter can not take avauntage of the said condicion to have remedy ayenst the said William by wey of action after the course of the common law, by cause it was by dede polled whiche remayneth in the kepyng of the said William, and all so for that he is of such extreme feblenes that he cannot helpe hym by the wey of seysor of his said goodes, and also dyvers of the same goodes be altered and wasted, to graunt a writ *sub pena* to be directid to the said William White commaundynge hym by the same to be and personally apere before the kynge in his Chauncery at a certeyn day to answer to the premisses.

XIV. *Notes on Sculptures in Lincoln Minster: The Judgment Porch and the Angel Choir.* *By* W. R. Lethaby, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 6th December, 1906.

THE JUDGMENT PORCH.

Three chief subjects are dealt with in the sculptures of medieval portals: Christ in Judgment, the Virgin Enthroned with the Infant Christ, and the Coronation of the Virgin. Of these the first is the most important.

As in many other points the thought devoted to the erection of the abbey church of St. Denis seems to have set almost a canon for portal sculptures. The great central tympanum of its west front is occupied by the Majesty. Round about are three angels carrying the instruments of the Passion, the Cross, the Crown of Thorns, and the Nails. At the side the Virgin appeals for mercy, and below are the Apostles, while the general Resurrection is figured on the lintel. In the orders of the arch is Paradise, and there the twenty-four elders appear carrying musical instruments and vases holding the prayers of the just. On the jambs are the Wise and Foolish Virgins. This door was erected about 1142, and later variations of the composition may be counted by scores in France, Germany, Italy (Parma), and Spain (St. James of Compostella).

I can only here mention further the great classical examples of the cathedral churches of Paris and Amiens before turning to our most representative example at Lincoln. The tympanum of the middle west door at Paris has a magnificent Majesty, attended by angels who bear the Cross and spear. Below is the resurrection and the separation of the Blessed from the Lost, who are being bound

together by a chain. The arch orders make up a heavenly host in attendance on the great scene, forming in successive rows a sort of aureole to it, comprising angels, prophets, confessors, martyrs, virgins. Below, on the mid-post of the door,[a] stands Christ, and on the jambs are the Wise and Foolish Virgins. To the right and left, against the sloping sides of the porch, are statues of the Twelve Apostles.

The middle door of Amiens agrees very closely with this of Notre Dame, and both were executed about 1220. In the latter we have the Majesty and the instruments of the Passion above, and the resurrection and separation below; also the Christ of the mid-post, the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the jambs, and the great images of the Apostles. The eight orders of the arch are sculptured again into an assemblage of the Church Triumphant:

1. The inner order is of Angels.
2. The Elect carried by angels.
3. Martyrs on thrones.
4. Confessors on thrones.
5. Virgins and female saints.
6. The Elders bearing musical instruments.
7. A Jesse tree.
8. Patriarchs.[b]

On the doors at Laon, Rheims, and Treves devoted to our subject the Wise and Foolish Virgins find a place in the arch order.

The south door at Lincoln is a member of the group of Judgment porches, and follows I have no doubt the Paris-Amiens tradition, but I think that an intermediate link has been lost, and that the north porch at Westminster was that link. Put in the briefest way, my reasons for this are, that it is clear to me that the transept of the abbey was influenced by Amiens, that we have record that the statues about the porch were of the twelve apostles and a multitude of small figures, that the work at Lincoln is generally acknowledged to owe much to the inspiration of Westminster,[c] and that early drawings of the abbey porch show a quatrefoil in the tympanum, which like that at Lincoln was probably also filled by a Majesty and two attendant angels.

The tympanum at Lincoln is encroached upon by two arches over the pair of doors. Above in the middle is a quatrefoil forming a glory to the Christ

[a] *Cf.* what was said of the sculptured door of St. James of Compostella in the description of the Imagery at Wells (*Archaeologia*, lix. 174, note [a]).

[b] G. Durand.

[c] An additional point, unknown to Sir Gilbert Scott, is the fact that there were at Westminster narrow blank arches on either side of the clerestory windows just like those of the clerestory of Lincoln.



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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

enthroned within, together with two attendant angels.[a] The Christ is of fine scale, full 6 feet high, although seated. The posture is very skilfully managed, the thighs are short and very upright, so that the upper part of the figure is not thrown back but comes forward to the front plane of the legs. This is done with such mastery that there is nothing strange in the result. The drapery is very fine, the tunic being bound around the middle by a girdle freely knotted in front. Around the quatrefoil are seven angels most beautifully disposed; five bear up as it were the quatrefoil and two others worship. Two more on the left turn outwards, calling those who are rising from their tombs below. On the right, Christ's left hand, an angel repels the lost. Waiting devils bind them and thrust them into hell-mouth at the bottom of the composition.[b] The sculptures follow the jointing of the masonry in a remarkable way; both must have been designed by one man.

All three figures within the quatrefoil have been subjected to a most unfortunate restoration. The noble Christ has a new head and arms, and the angels new heads, hands, and censers. Fortunately there is a cast of this group in the Victoria and Albert Museum representing its pre-restoration state. The right arm of the Christ was broken away, but it must have been upraised to expose His side. The left crossed over the breast and drew back the tunic, thus showing the wound. This arm, which had been free from the body, was also broken away, but just the attachment of the fingers on the drawn-back drapery can be traced. The angels at the side are in attitudes of adoration, and have outstretched arms. These have now been restored so as to swing censers, but there is no sign on the cast of there having been attachments of such features, which are entirely modern inventions. The action of Christ in exposing His side and the whole scene call for further allusions to the Passion and the signs of Christ's appearing, and it may not be doubted that the angels originally held cross and spear, or cross and crown of thorns. The accompanying illustration (Plate XXXIV.) from a photograph taken[c] before the "restoration" shows which of the figures were complete about 1870.

In the Golden Legend the events of the Second Advent are given thus:

I. The descent of the Judge; II. The separation of the chosen and reproved, with the former joining the assembly of saints ("They be judges by cause they

[a] All three are set in separately.

[b] The treatment of the subject should be compared with the painted glass of the rose window in the north transept, where Hell (now lost) was evidently at the bottom of the circle. See *Archæological Journal*, xiv. 211-220, and *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xi. 89-94.

[c] By Messrs. Hadley and on of Lincoln.

be present approving the Judgment"); III. The showing of the tokens of the Passion, the cross and the nails and the wounds.

In the Byzantine Painters' Manual we are told that the Second Coming should be represented with Christ clothed in white; before him appears the cross, symbol of his manifestation. The heavenly hosts celebrate His glory. All the saints are seated on the clouds: 1, the Apostles; 2, our First Parents; 3, Patriarchs; 4, Prophets; 5, Bishops; 6, Martyrs; 7, Saints; 8, Righteous Kings; 9, Martyred Women.

The written word thus agrees with the tradition of foreign sculpture on this point, so it does with the few English examples which remain. In a contemporary example of the Last Judgment which occurs in the Angel Choir we have Christ attended by angels bearing instruments of the Passion.

At the crown of the beautiful Norwich door are also the Majesty and angels bearing cross and spear. A similar composition exists above the middle door of Lichfield, and there is no doubt in my mind that this Lichfield door is an impoverished adaptation of the Lincoln portal. Thus at Amiens and Lichfield, the beginning and end of a series, we have angels with symbols of the Passion.[a]

We have seen also that the texts and analogous examples require an assembly of saints to assist in the great action. At Amiens we even have the point of the angels bearing the approved to their places.

At Lincoln we find the tradition maintained. When by the kindness of the Dean I was allowed to examine the arch orders from a scaffolding, I was delighted to find, not only the heavenly hierarchy present, but also the Wise and Foolish Virgins. I will transcribe my notes on these arch-orders:

I. Outer ring of splendid open carved foliage in which are set eight women to the left; on the right, eight men.

II. Middle order is a roll of open-work foliage.

III. The inner order has on the left six figures under canopies, all women, some queens; one carries a bird. To the right are six kings.

The eight women of the outer order are the Wise and Foolish Virgins.[b] The first figure at the bottom has lost its lamp, but the attachment for an inverted lamp remains; the second and third still hold their inverted lamps. The upper ones have all lost their lamps, but it is clear that the Foolish were at the bottom

[a] The west door at Holyrood was also very probably an early member of the group derived from Westminster. The whole style and the frieze of angels suggests so much.

[b] There is nothing uncommon in having a short series. See *Revue de l'art Chrétien*, 1906, 3rd part.

and the Wise above; either three and five or four and four. The lamps are exactly like those at Amiens, Sens, etc.

The men of the opposite outer half-arch are dignified draped figures, having bearded heads and bare feet; all seem to have carried books, some of which remain. They are Prophets or Apostles, almost certainly the latter.

The inner row of queens and other women on the left must be Virgins. The queen at the bottom holds a book; the next has a dove or falcon.

The six kings of the inner row on the right are in energetic attitudes on X-shaped thrones, having the terminations of animals' heads and paws. They are probably the English king-martyrs as representing the whole class. Taken together the arch orders may be described as containing an assembly of witnesses to the Last Judgment, Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, also the Wise and the Foolish Virgins.[a] The appropriateness of the presence of the last need not be pointed out. Speaking of those at Amiens, M. Durand says they very often are present in scenes of the Last Judgment, although it is not obligatory. Conversely, where they do occur, it is usually in connexion with the Second Advent.[b]



Fig. 1. Sketch of one of the Foolish Virgins, showing the inverted lamp.

Leaving now the tympanum and coming to the sculptured images below, we find to the right and left two figures on each jamb. The inner pair, one on each side, face one another, and have a good deal in common; both are female figures, but they are rather impersonations than saints. Both have lost their heads, and the left-hand figure has also lost any attribute it may once have had, but it is sculptured as showing some characteristic action. The right-hand figure holds a building or church. Both these images are of quite extraordinary beauty. I made the suggestion some ten or twelve years ago that they represented the Church and the Synagogue, and this explanation was accepted by Mr. E. S. Prior.

[a] Representations of the Wise Virgins appear as early as the fourth century in Roman cemeteries. In the twelfth century they are found on the arches of many sculptured doors in France. Hermann of Tournay says that the shrine of St. Piat in that city had the Wise and Foolish Virgins represented on it.

[b] So at St. Denis, Chalons-sur-Marne, Sens, Paris, Amiens, Lincoln, Strasburg, Freiburg, Nuremburg, etc.

I wish now to carry this to a proof, and to show that we might expect such images here, that general comparison with other examples bears out the attribution, and that there is enough direct evidence associated with the statues to demonstrate the truth of the proposition.

I had felt one doubt before visiting Lincoln again and re-examining the matter. The statue I shall show to be of the Church is on the left of Christ and the Synagogue on the right, thus inverting the usual custom. There may be a reason, however, for this in that the Church may have led a great number of Christian saints while the Synagogue led personages of the Old Law. The space of frontage on Christ's right is small, while that to His left is great. The greater space may have been required for the New Law, the lesser for the Old. Such a reason would not apply, however, at Crowland, where there is another figure, almost a replica of the Lincoln Synagogue, again on the spectator's left. This possibly arose from following Lincoln, but without the reason. On the Judgment portal of St. James of Compostella the Prophets are on the right of Christ and the Apostles on the left.

The Church and the Synagogue were probably the two favourite impersonations of the early Middle Ages. They fittingly accompany scenes of Christ's Life and Passion, which were enacted, as it were, between the two spectators, one ceasing its work, the other beginning.

They most frequently appear on representations of the Crucifixion. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there are no less than three ivories and an enamel where they are found. At St. Alban's Abbey they occupied a place on the rood beam, and I have no doubt that the figure of the Synagogue at Howden, which is said to have come from the rood loft, belonged to a Crucifixion group.[a] At Chartres these two typical figures were in the Nativity porch. In the glass at Canterbury they accompanied some scenes from the Life of Christ. At Strasburg they were associated with the death and coronation of the Virgin. The pair at Rochester stand on either side of a door, which has above the four Evangelists, then worshipping Angels, and at the middle the ascending spirit, apparently of the Virgin. In the Eton MS. pictures they appear as consummating a series of the Life of Christ, and Dr. James points out that they occurred also in the paintings of Worcester chapter-house.

These same types are just as appropriate at the Second Advent of Christ and the Judgment, which applies to those under the Old as well as to those under the

[a] So also the figure in the feretory at Winchester.



(B) Figure representing the Synagogue.



(A) Figure representing the Church.

From photographs by G. Hadley & Son, Lincoln.

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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

New Law. The most remarkable example of this is the great western portal of Notre Dame before described. Here two large images of the Church and Synagogue stood, on either hand of the Doom in the tympanum, upon the faces of the buttress piers. They occur again at Amiens, but in a much less marked way, on the Doom tympanum itself. In the middle of the lower part of that composition is St. Michael, and on either side of him two small figures which Durand shows to be the same impersonations. It has before been said that the Lincoln door stands related to these doors at Amiens and Paris.

I must now describe the Lincoln figures. (Plate XXXV.)

Statue A.—That of the Church is a most noble statue, dignified in pose and quietly draped to the feet. The head is broken off, also the right arm, which was upraised, and probably grasped a long staff. The left hand holds high against the bosom the model of a church, and at the same time supports the supertunic and draws it sufficiently aside to create diagonal folds. The Church most frequently carries a chalice, but in the English example at Rochester it is also a building which is her symbol, and this was the case before the faulty restoration of the Rochester figures, as is proved by reference to sketches of John Carter's at the British Museum,[a] and the engraving in Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*.[b]

Statue B.—The Synagogue stands in an attitude suggestive of energetic action. She is richly clothed with a fringed supertunic clasped at the throat with a fine brooch, and girded at the waist with a fringed scarf tied into a large loose knot. The head is broken, but a part of the neck remains, and portions of abundant disordered hair. The right arm, which is entirely broken away from the shoulder, was free and raised high. The left arm with the hand is entire, and the gesture of this hand is most curious and significant. It is held below the waist, and yet with the palm downwards, at the same time as it grasps at a large fold of the mantle, which for the most part is broken away. Turning to illustrations of figures of the Synagogue, it appears that this is her typical action as the Tables of the Law fall from her hand. This is the case with all the three examples figured by Viollet le Duc, it is so with the fine painting in York chapter-house, and it is so with the Rochester figure. It is plain from this comparison that the figure grasped at her rich raiment and dropped the tables of Moses, which would have been carved on the loose fold of the mantle, now broken away. (See

[a] Add. 29925. Both heads were lost, all hands were perfect. Church held building and part of staff; Synagogue inverted tables and part of staff. In some foreign examples the Church carries a chalice, in others a building. In the glass at Bourges the Church is figured as at Lincoln.

[b] Plate XII. p. 175.

sketch, Fig. 2.) To complete the action, the upraised right hand would have clasped the staff, the eyes would have been bandaged, and probably a crown was falling from the head, as is the case with the York figure.

The pair of figures I have described are carried by sculptured corbels. The



Fig. 2. Restored sketch showing the left hand of the figure of the Synagogue.

Church is upheld by an angel issuing from a cloud, and the Synagogue rests on a Jewish rabbi, who seems to find it a hard position. On his breast, as a brooch or symbol, are the Tables of the Law.[a]

[a] Viollet le Duc notes that at Bamberg there is a figure of Christ under the Church and of a Jew under the Synagogue. At Crowland the corbel sculptures are: under where the Church was 'an angel searching the Scriptures"; under the Synagogue, the Temptation in Eden.



(C) An Apostle, with the figure of the Synagogue (B) in profile.



(D) An Apostle, with the figure of the Church (A) in profile.

From photographs by G. Hadley & Son, Lincoln.

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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

A beautiful thirteenth-century English Apocalypse in the possession of Mr. Yates Thompson has a pair of figures which may be thus described: On the left, under a trefoiled arch with turrets above it, sits the Church crowned and with a flag and a chalice into which a lamb sheds its blood. On the right is the Synagogue, under a humbler tabernacle, blindfold, with broken staff and dropping the Tables of the Law. In the middle stand four Old Testament worthies, one of whom offers a copy of the Old Testament to the Church, as desiring her to open it.

The subject is said to have arisen in Carlovingian times about the middle of the ninth century. Before this time the altercation between the Church and the Synagogue had been treated in a literary form in a work wrongly attributed to St. Augustine.[a]

The earliest sculptured examples known to me in England are on the Southrop font. In the stained glass at St. Denis, Suger arranged a variation of the subject. Christ stands between the two figures with his arms extended, crowning the one and *removing the veil* from the other. The action being explained by the verses, "Quod Moyses velat, Christi doctrina revelat." A variation of this treatment, the "Unveiling of the Synagogue," is described by Dr. James as appearing in the Eton MS. Here the veil is removed by a hand from above, while the Decalogue sends out sprouts of vegetation.

Of the other external images at Lincoln I must speak very briefly. Two others on the outer faces of the buttresses at the side of the porch (C and D) are finely draped headless male figures. (Plate XXXVI.) They may be Apostles or Prophets, but following the line Amiens, Westminster, Lincoln, Lichfield, we may say that they were Apostles.[b] They have been pushed aside a little by the added chapels. Further to the east by the other end of one of the chapels is a fine female figure with a restored head. The drapery of this figure caught up over the left arm, which is free from the body, is wonderfully skilful and very beautiful. Cockerell well speaks of its refinement "even to the fingers' ends." This statue must be by the same Master as the Church and Synagogue, and the three are, I have no doubt, the most perfectly accomplished external statues in England.

Still further east on the end buttress stand a King and Queen, or at least a pair of royal persons. These fine and dignified statues have both had their heads restored. The King tramples on a prostrate female figure largely

[a] See Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux* (ed. 1898), 248.

[b] Keepe, 1683, says the Twelve Apostles were at the Westminster portal. At Lichfield they filled the spaces "between three large and small doors." (John Jackson, junior, 1805.)

restored.[a] Analogy with the English Royal Martyrs at Wells shows that he must be one of them, and is indeed St. Ethelbert, King of East Anglia, who was a most popular saint in the Middle Ages, and at Lincoln quite a local personage. According to the story he was murdered at the Court of Offa, whither he had gone to be married to the Princess Althryda or Elfreda, and by the order of her mother, who is the lady he tramples on. Althryda the princess is said to have retired to Crowland, "where she led a life of heavenly contemplation," and where the holy memory of the Virgin was afterwards celebrated. I have no doubt that she is the princess by the King's side.

Following this clue, and for the sake of distinction, as Archæology abhors a vacuum, we might perhaps give the name of Etheldreda to the other lady before described.

The noble statues of which I have been speaking have suffered much during the last century. When Carter drew the crowned figures their heads were still on the bodies. Wild (1819) shows the King's head, and he remarks on the Queen's head having been drawn by Carter. It must have been destroyed about 1800. When Cockerell wrote (about 1848) he speaks of "the head of the King having been knocked off within a few years." Wild also shows the head of the other female figure as existing, and Mr. Fairfax Murray has a small sketch of the entire figure by Flaxman. Three of the heads of the most valuable set of sculptures in England have thus disappeared in a century.[b]

As to style, these Lincoln sculptures agree in many particulars with those at Westminster in the interior of the chapter-house and with the angels high up in the transept. There must, I think, have been a direct relation between the sculptures at Westminster and at Lincoln.

THE ANGEL CHOIR.

Amongst the sculptures of the triforium of the Angel Choir is a Majesty with attendant angels, a group which much resembles the sculptures of the tympanum of the Judgment door.

The first two bays on the north side figure the Fall and the Final Judgment.

[a] In the cast stores at the Victoria and Albert Museum I have found a cast of the king's figure taken before it was tampered with; this is a valuable record.

[b] Those at present on the king and queen are probably based on Carter's etching. That on Etheldreda looks like a good copy. What is its origin?

In the second bay, the fourth division is the Majesty regarding the scene of the Fall; before the Christ are two angels, one bearing the spear and sponge and the other the crown of thorns. The Christ has his right hand uplifted while the left exposes His wounded side.[a] In the fifth spandrel next following is the Archangel Michael weighing souls; the righteous fall into his lap and the wicked into the hands of waiting devils. In the same spandrel as the Christ, between him and St. Michael, is a small angel carrying a blessed soul to Christ. The sixth or last spandrel of these first two bays is occupied by an angel censing. The whole considered together is an extremely beautiful composition.

The first bay opposite on the south side is devoted to the Virgin. In the first spandrel is the Virgin seated with the Holy Child, who caresses her. In the next is an angel bearing a small nude figure in a napkin; this probably represents the Assumption of the Virgin. In the third spandrel is an angel with an open book, probably reading the prophecies regarding the Virgin.

All the other spandrels towards the east on both sides are occupied by angels with musical instruments, palms, crowns, books, and scrolls, except one, which bears the sun and moon, and another a falcon.[b]

The whole represents the Fall, the Redemption through the Birth of Christ, and the Last Judgment, together with a choir of attendant angels. On seeing the prominent part that the angels take it might perhaps be better described as the Work of Christ and the Virgin in our Salvation, and the Ministry of Angels. Such concourses of angels forming a chorus are frequently found. At Wells they occurred in a row of quatrefoils across the whole front carrying crowns, scrolls, etc. Inside the north transept at Westminster there is a most complete series. At Lichfield one of the orders of the north door has twenty-four angels; they held crowns, palms, scrolls, suns, and moons.

The larger spandrels, those in the middle of each bay, are made up of three stones in slabs jointed vertically, and these joints govern the design in a striking way. For instance, in the expulsion group the joint on one side runs close to the sword which the angel holds upright, on the other the joint is close to the pretty little slender figures of Adam and Eve.

[a] This figure is the more valuable as being the most perfect Christ in Judgment we have. Cockerell published beautiful lithographs of all the spandrels mostly from drawings by the sculptor, Alfred Stevens. Casts of about half are at the Architectural Museum, and Messrs. Prior and Gardner have published several in photography.

[b] This is curious. Wild says it is an ornamental form of bagpipes! Is it a symbol of sight or swiftness? or of the delights of Heaven!

Some photographs taken lately by Mr. Arthur Gardner revealed traces of coloured decoration, and doubtless the whole was brightly painted and gilt. At the south door a few slight traces of paint were discernible, and that also must have been brightly illuminated with colour. When Britton described it the colours were much more distinct.[a]

[a] "These sculptures shew traces of colours and gilding, the decay of which is not to be regretted; time has spread a warm mellow tone over the whole, and long may it remain untouched by any presumptuous attempt to restore or beautify it." John Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1820), v. 239.

XV.—*The Treasury of God and the Birthright of the Poor; or Facts illustrating the origin of "Parsons" and "Vicars" in England.* By Rev. Oswald J. Reichel, *M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A.*

Read 28th February, 1907.

I. The Treasury of God.

Definition of Terms.

The treasury or portion of God is a convenient term, based on the language of the seventeenth canon of the Council of Chelsea in 787 and other authorities,[a] to express that portion of a Christian man's income and property which is or ought to be devoted to religious and charitable purposes, the maintenance of the bishop and clergy, the support of the sick and the poor, and the upkeep of the fabric and the necessaries of public worship. The birthright (*patrimonium*) of the poor, another convenient phrase which comes to us from the thirteenth century, consists of one portion only of the treasury of God, the part devoted to the support of the sick and the poor.

How much each individual ought to contribute to the treasury of God, how the same ought to be expended, and who ought to be the recipients are matters

[a] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1871), iii. 637: "Let all endeavour to pay tithes of all that they possess because it is the Lord God's own (*quia speciale Domini Dei est*), and let him live on the fine parts." Innocent III. in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 33: "God has reserved tithes to himself by a special title in sign of his universal lordship." Concil. Westminster, A.D. 1127, Can. 9: "We charge tithes as the portion 'of God to be paid in full.'"

on which I do not propose to enter here. They belong to the sphere of moral theology. Let it suffice to remark that the individual's contribution according to circumstances may lie anywhere between the minimum and the maximum. The minimum is a tenth part of his whole property and income, together with such further offerings as may be ordered by authority. The maximum is the whole of what he possesses, leaving him dependent on the Church for a maintenance.

The Minimum and the Maximum.

That the tenth part of a man's property and income should have been fixed as the minimum of his contribution to the treasury of God is not the result of accident or caprice. For the teaching of the Christian Church has always been that those who owe life and all they possess to Christ's undeserved redemption ought to regard that life and all they possess not as their own, but as trust-property to be expended in God's service. If Jews then living in the dim twilight of unfulfilled prophecy were required to devote a tenth part of their substance together with occasional extras to pious and charitable uses, much more must be expected of Christians living in the full light of the risen Sun. To give up a tenth part to God is therefore the least demanded of Christians. Of many much more than a tenth is required; and those who would be perfect,[a] a select few it is true, are called upon to sell all that they have and give to the poor. They who obey this call the Church has always specially honoured as "religious persons,"[b] and in acknowledgment of their obedience has taken upon itself the charge of their maintenance.

Administration of the Treasury in Early Times.

In the first days of the Church, as may be gathered from the account in the Acts,[c] contributions to the treasury were paid over into a central fund, which was administered by the Apostles themselves. Then, owing to the murmuring of the

[a] Mark x. 21; Matt. xix. 21; Luke xviii. 22; conf. Luke xii. 33.

[b] Concil. 21 Peckham, A.D. 1281: "The name of religion is by us appropriated to the monastic life."

[c] Acts v. 4.

Hellenists because their widows were overlooked in the daily distribution,[a] the Apostles (οἱ δώδεκα) declined to continue the burden of administration, and instituted the order of deacons specially to devote themselves to this work. The deacons were therefore the financial officers of the Church, the relieving officers of poor Christians, the paymasters of the clergy, the administrators of a central fund. As such their position was a most important one, so important that the existence of deacons determined whether a district counted as a parish or not. In times of persecution the deacons were responsible for conveying food, clothing, and the sympathy of the brethren to Christians in prison or in the mines. They had to find ways and means to support widows and orphans; they had to entertain strangers coming from other Churches with commendatory letters. Hospitals, poor houses, guest houses, the houses for consecrated virgins and widows, clergy houses, foundling homes, all were under the charge of the deacons. So, too, were all the arrangements for public worship. They assisted the bishop to collect the offerings of bread and wine; they prepared the offerings thus made and placed them on the altar; they called on the faithful to pray for this, that, or the other object, at the end of which the bishop said the collect or summing-up prayer. Everything that had to be *done* was in fact the deacon's work, just as everything in the way of prayer or instruction was the priest's. And no doubt it was on their initiative that when funds ran short a two or three days' practice of self-denial was imposed on all.[b] So long as Christianity was confined to the great cities of the Roman empire the treasury of God was undoubtedly treated as a central fund in each place, into which all Christians paid their dues and the deacons administered it under the bishop. In some places, at Rome for instance, and in the dioceses of Rheims, Paris, and Soissons,[c] it was the custom to divide the fund into four parts, allotted respectively to the bishop, the clergy, the poor, and the fabric.[d] It is true that in this country,[e] in Portugal, and in

[a] Acts, vi. 1.

[b] *Apology of Aristides*, A.D. 120: "If funds fall short we have a fast of two or three days."

[c] Selborne's *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, 30.

[d] Concil. Mogunt, A.D. 841. See Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 340.

[e] See *Baeda*, i. 27. Egbert's Excerpt 5, A.D. 740: "That bishops (*sacerdotes*) themselves receive the tithes from the people . . . . and divide them in the presence of such as fear God according to canonical authority, and choose the first part for the ornament of the church, and distribute the second part to the use of poor and strangers . . . . and let the bishops reserve the third part for themselves." Ælfric, Can. 24, A.D. 957: "That tithes be paid unto God's Church, and that the priest divide them into three parts, one for the repairs of the church, a second to the poor, a third to God's servants who attend the church."

Spain,[a] we hear of a threefold division; but that was due to the circumstance that in these countries there were monastic bishops forbidden by the rules of their order to live apart from their clergy, and it only applied to city churches. The whole circle of rural districts was administered on an entirely different system.

The System of Administration in Rural Parts.

When Christianity was first introduced into this country there were but few town centres in which the Church could be supported by means of a central fund. Nowhere except where a collegiate or monastic church had been founded were there deacons to administer such a fund. Only in a few places any one to make gifts to it. The village lord was himself the patron and protector of all within his manor, and upon him rested the obligation of caring for the poor within the same. He was himself the principal tithe-payer, but he was also himself the tithe-dispenser. Only gradually did the canonical become a legal obligation leading to the substitution of the parson in the village for the deacon of the city. The beginnings of this are first met with across the water.

In the year 585 the second Council of Mâcon decreed[b] "that the ancient custom be renewed (*reparetur*) by the faithful, and that all the people pay tithes to those who wait upon ecclesiastical functions (*cæremoniæ*), which the bishops (*sacerdotes*) expending either for the benefit of the poor or the redemption of captives, may secure by their prayers the peace and welfare of the people." The wording of this canon clearly shows that this was not the introduction of a new law but the conversion of a moral duty into a canonical payment. No longer could the tithe-payer act as his own almoner and bestow his tithes on cases he thought the most deserving. The canon called on him to pay them over to officials "of the Church who waited upon ecclesiastical functions," leaving it to these officers to disburse them to others.

[a] Concil. Brac. A.D. 563, Can. 7: "That the effects of the Church be divided into three equal parts, one for the bishop, one for the clergy, one for repairs and lights" (the bishop's portion was for the poor). Concil. Emeritan, A.D. 666, Can. 14: "Whatever money is offered to the Church by the faithful should be carefully set aside and presented to the bishop, that it may be divided into three equal parts, one for the bishop, one for the presbyters and deacons to be divided among them, a third to the subdeacons and the rest of the clergy as the precentor thinks fit.

[b] Can. 5, quoted in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 637.

In this country, however, the payment of tithes and other dues to officers of the Church does not seem to have been practised at so early a date; but there can be little doubt that here as elsewhere they were looked on as morally belonging to the poor and other pious purposes. One of Edward's ecclesiastical laws in 1064 (Law 9) declares that "the blessed Augustine preached and taught [the payment of the tithes], and it was granted by the king and barons and people; but afterwards many detained them by instinct of the devil, and priests being rich and negligent did not care to be at the pains to get them because they had sufficient maintenance." But there is also evidence to show that in this country they were not paid to officials of the Church before the ninth and tenth centuries, and even then only in some cases. In Theodore's *Penitential*, about 668 A.D., one of the statements made is,[a] "There is no compulsion to pay tithes to a presbyter (*Presbytero decimas dare non cogitur*)." The obligation to pay them must therefore have been a moral rather than a legal one, and at any rate the presbyter, mass-priest, or chaplain was not then the person to receive them.

Church Shot.

The first note of compulsion which we meet with in this country is in one of Ine's laws of the year 693:[b] "Let church shots," it runs, "be paid by St. Martin's mass [11 November]. If any one make default let him forfeit 60 shillings and render the church shot 12 fold."

The payments here alluded to as "church shots" appear to be identical with those called by Theodore in his *Penitential* "Church dues." "The Church due (*tributum ecclesiæ*)," he says, "is according to the custom of the province, care being had that the poor do not suffer in the way of tithes or in any other way."[c] By another of Ine's laws these church shots are required to be made "according to the roof and the hearth where a man is dwelling at midwinter."[d] Accordingly authorities tell us that church shot was not paid according to a person's quality or wealth, but strictly according to the size of his house. And from the way in which church shot is mentioned in charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries

[a] II. ii. 8 in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 191.

[b] Law 4 in Haddan and Stubbs, *l.c.* iii. 215.

[c] II. xiv. 9 in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 203.

[d] Law 61, *Ibid.* iii. 217.

it appears to be identical with the see-due or *cathedraticum*, a payment made to the bishop by way of composition for his interest in first-fruits and offerings.

In support of this view as to its origin Canon 16 of the first Council of Orleans in 511 may be appealed to:[a] Of the offerings of the faithful "at the altar let the bishop take half himself and let the clergy take half to distribute according to their ranks." Canon 18 of the same Council then goes on to direct:[b] Let the bishop bestow food and raiment as far as he is "able on the poor and infirm who by reason of their infirmity are no longer able to work themselves." When ampler provision had been made for the poor by allocating to them the tithes, the see-due appears to have been collected in rural parts by the same person who collected the tithes, usually the lord of the manor.[c] Hence when the bishop's right to church shot was restricted to two shillings from any one church[d] the lord of the manor pocketed the difference, occasionally making it over as the endowment of his own chaplain[e] or else retaining it as a manorial asset.

There is, however, more direct evidence for identifying the church shot with the see-due. In the thirteenth century Pope Honorius III. writing to the Bishop of Assissi enumerates the dues payable to the bishop as four:[f] viz. (1) the see-due

[a] Gratian, Caus. X. Qu. l. c. 8.

[b] Gratian I. Dist. cxxxii. c. l.

[c] Edgar's Laws in 958 (Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 560) speak of the tithes as being in the control of the lord of the manor (boeland lord). The customs of Tidenham in Gloucestershire required the villager (*gebur*) to bring his contribution to the church shot to the lord's barn (Kemble, *l.c.*). Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 204, quotes from the manor rolls of Barkham, in 4 Edward I.: "The reeve answers for 2 shillings and 1 penny yield of 10 cocks and 10 hens from church shot (*chirset*) sold." *Idem*, 227, quotes from the Abbot of Glastonbury's manor rolls of Burton about 1250: "Robert Tac holds 1 virgate of land and pays for tenement rent (*gablum*) yearly 4 shillings . . . . and a cock and a hen for church shot (*cherset*) on St. Martin's Day."

[d] Concil. Brac. ii. A.D. 572, Can. 2: "Let no bishop making a tour of his minsters (*diœceses*) take anything else from a church but 2 shillings." Pelagius ii. A.D. 577-590 ap. Gratian Caus. X. Qu. iii. c. 4. Concil. Tolet. vii. A.D. 646, Can. 4: "That each bishop of the aforesaid province in accordance with the synod of Braga do not call for an annual contribution of more than 2 shillings from each chapel of his minster (*per singulas diœcesis suæ basilicas*), churches of monasteries being exempt.

[e] So we find in the Hampshire Domesday (*Victoria History*, p. 452), under Wallop: "There is a church to which belong 1 hide and a moiety of the tithes of the manor and the whole church shot (*cirset*)." Again (*Ibid.* p. 456), under Hurstbourn (*Esseborne*): "Vidal the priest holds the church belonging to this manor with ½ hide; there he has 1 plough with 2 hinds and 1 acre of meadow and the whole church shot (*circeset*) which is worth 14 shillings."

[f] *Decret.* Greg. IX. Lib. I. tit. xxxi. c. 16.

or *cathedraticum*; (2) synodal dues (*synodaticum*, or *synodalia*, or *synodus*); (3) the bishop's aid, now called procurations; and (4) a fourth share of tithes and mortuaries. Now in 1174 Henry, Bishop of Bayeux, at the request of King Henry II., wishing to discharge the priory of St. Stephen at Plessis-Grimould from all these dues granted to it immunity from "(1) synodals, (2) aids, (3) church shot (*circata*), and (4) all episcopal dues."[a] About the same time the bishop granted to the brethren of Briweton church "that (1) the bishop's aid exacted every third year shall not exceed 10 shillings in money of Le Mans, nor shall more be demanded of them for (2) church shot (*circata*), and (3) synodal dues (*synodalia*) than they paid in his predecessor's time.[b] Here church shot holds the place of the see-due in the list of Honorius III.

Again in 1173 Richard, Bishop of Coutances, when founding a new prebend in his cathedral church, gave to it the church revenues of Huberville "free and quit from (1) synodal dues (*sinode*), (2) church shot (*circata*), and (3) every due to bishop or archdeacon."[c] Here again it will be seen that church shot holds the place of the due elsewhere described as the see-due.

In this country the church shot appears to have consisted of a measure of corn paid by each householder. For in 1105 we read that Robert de Hay "gave to the abbey of Lessay from all his manors that measure of corn which is called church shot (*chorchet*)."[d] A document quoted by Kemble runs: "As to church shot (*ciric sceat*) the county states that from every hide of land whether free or villager's (*gebur*) land belonging to Worcester (*Wirecestre*) church the bishop ought to have on St. Martin's feast [11 November] one horse-load of corn (*summa annonæ, i.e.* 240lbs.) of the best there growing.[e] As to the church shot of Pershore (*Perscora*) the county states that the church of Pershore ought to have the church shot (*ciric sceatt*) from all the 300 hides, viz. from each hide where a freeman dwells one horse load of corn; if he have several hides they are free."[f]

[a] *Calendar of Documents in France*, 193.

[b] *Ibid.* 176.

[c] *Ibid.* 343.

[d] *Ibid.* 329.

[e] Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 560; and Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 290, 305, 320.

[f] *Ibid.* 560.

Extension of Legal Obligation to Tithes and other Dues in Late Saxon Times.

The extension of legal obligation to tithes and other dues and the requiring them to be paid to church officers appears to date from a time later than the end of the eighth century. In 787 it is true the legatine Council of Chelsea laid down the payment of tithes as a duty, and seemingly contemplated the payment being made to officials of the Church;[a] but the authority of this Council seems not altogether established. Then followed the legislation of Ethelwulf in 855, which is appealed to by Selden and others as the basis of the legal obligation to pay tithes in this country, but apparently without reason; for both Kemble[b] and Haddan and Stubbs[c] have shown that this legislation bears a quite different meaning. For the real legal obligation to pay tithes we must wait till the tenth century. Then in 944 we meet with a law of King Edmund:[d]

> We enjoin upon all Christian men the payment of tithes as also their church shot and almsfee. Let them who will not do it be excommunicated.

Again in 958 Edgar's laws lay it down specifically:

> (1) This is the principal point, that God's churches possess their right and that every one pay his tithe to the ancient minster [*i.e.* collegiate church] to which the district belongs whether of the thane's home farm (*inland*) or of the villagers' land wherever the plough goes.
>
> (2) If a thane hath on his manor (*bocland*) a church with a burying-place belonging to it, let him pay the third part of his tithes unto his own church. If he have a church with no burying-place belonging to it, let him give his priest what he will out of the nine parts; but let every church shot go to the ancient minster from all the freemen's ground.
>
> (3) And let all the tithe of young animals be paid by Pentecost and of the fruits of the earth by the equinox, and let every church shot be paid by Martinmass [11 November] under pain of the full mulct which the doom book orders; and if any will not pay the tithe as we have commanded let the king's reeve and the bishop's reeve and the mass-priest of the minster go to him and take by force the tenth part for the minster to which it belongs and deliver to

[a] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 456, Can. 17.

[b] *Saxons in England*, ii. 481.

[c] *Op. cit.* iii. 637.

[d] Law 2.

him the ninth part, and let the eight parts be divided into two; and let the lord take one half, the bishop the other, whether it be a king's man or a thane's man.

(4) And let every hearth-penny be paid by Petermass [1 August] and let him who hath not paid it by that time carry it to Rome and 30 pence over.

Another law of the same king in 960 (Law 54) ordains:

Let priests remind the people of their duty to God, to be just in tithing and other matters, first the plough-alms 15 nights after Easter, and the tithe of young animals by Pentecost, and the fruits of the earth by All Hallows [1 November], the Rome fee at Petermass [1 August] and church shot at Martinmass [11 November].

The canons passed at Ensham in 1009 repeat the same (Can. 10, 11, 12):

(10) Let God's rights be paid every year duly and carefully, *i.e.* plough-alms 15 nights after Easter at latest; tithe of young by Pentecost and of all fruits of the earth by All Hallows' mass [1 November].

(11) And the Rome fee by Peter's mass [1 August] and the church shot at Martinmass [11 November].

(12) And the light shot thrice a year. And it is most just that men pay the soul shot at the open grave.

Again in 1014 King Ethelred's law (Law 4) lays it down:

We charge that every man for the love of God and the saints pay the church shot and his lawful tithe as he did in the days of our ancestors when he did it best, *i.e.* the 10th acre wherever the plough goes; and let every custom be paid for the love of God to the mother-church to which it belongs; and let no man take from God what belongs to Him and what our ancestors have granted.

These laws I think clearly indicate that in the later Anglo-Saxon period all owners or holders of land were required to contribute to the treasury of God through the officers of the Church the following six payments:

(1) Plough-alms or almsfee, which had to be paid at latest within fifteen nights after Easter, and appears to be now represented by Easter-dues, a sum of twopence due from every member of a family above sixteen years of age.

(2) First-fruits or tithes of increase required to be paid by Pentecost.

(3) Tithes of corn and grain payable at All Hallows' mass (1 November).

(4) Church shot or the see-due payable at Martinmass (11 November).

(5) The Rome fee or Rome shot, also called hearthpenny,[a] and Peter's penny,[b] a silver penny payable by every householder possessed of land or cattle of the yearly value of thirty pence on Lammas day (1 August).

(6) The light shot, a levy made three times a year according to Cnut's law,[c] first a halfpenny worth of wax from every ploughland on Easter eve, and the same amount on All Hallows' mass (1 November) and again at Candlemas (2 February).

From a constitution of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York in 1250 (Const. 2), it may be inferred that light shot was taken to be a composition in lieu of personal tithes. "We ordain," it runs, "that personal tithes be paid of handicrafts and merchants and of trading gains, as also of carpenters, smiths and weavers, masons and victuallers, *i.e.* let tithes be paid of their wages unless they are willing, with the rector's consent, to make some certain payment for the benefit of the lights of the church."

Of these six dues it should be noticed that only the two first, Easter dues and first-fruits, were payable to the mass-priest or parochial chaplain. Two others, the church shot and the Rome shot, were payable to the bishop, one of them for himself, the other for transmission to Rome, and were probably collected by the lord of the manor; whilst tithes and light shot were also collected by the lord of the manor for their respective purposes, the ancient minster or collegiate church of the district. Whether they were paid over to the ancient minsters on their own behalf as being communities of the religious poor,[d] or whether they were paid over to them as officers charged with the distribution of them to others, need not

[a] Edgar's Law 4, A.D. 938.

[b] Edward's Law 11, A.D. 1064.

[c] Cnut's Law 12, A.D. 1017.

[d] An early authority in Gratian, Caus. I. Qu. i. c. 68, writes: "Since all that clerks have belongs to the poor and their houses ought to be open to all, they should be watchful to welcome strangers and guests. Above all they should be careful to provide for monastic houses and guest houses out of tithes and offerings. For it is lawful to give tithes and offerings and penance dues to monks and spiritual men who serve and worship God, and to transfer property to their lordship and use, paying less heed to the poor because of their poverty than because of their religion."

concern us here. At least there is evidence from Edward's ecclesiastical law already referred to[a] that the collection of tithes by the ancient minsters was not in use at the time of the Conquest. It may have been, as the law says that "many [lords of manors] detained them by instinct of the devil, and priests being rich and negligent did not care to be at the pains to get them because they had sufficient maintenance." Or it may have been that a tenth part of the land had been originally given to God in lieu of tithes, as was the case in Devon.[b] But it is clear that when the Normans conquered the land, the tithes with few exceptions, and church shot with exceptions, were not in the hands of the ancient minsters and still less in those of the parochial chaplains, but were the property of the manorial lords and passed with the manors themselves to the Norman conquerors.

II. Tithes and the Birthright of the Poor.

Passing on to the subject of tithes in Norman times, it is well to remember that the term "tithes" is used in a wide sense to describe three distinct things which the custom of the West has allotted to three district purposes, viz. (1) tithes of corn and grain strictly and technically called the tithes (*decimæ*), (2) first-fruits or tithes of increase (*primitiæ*),[c] and (3) personal tithes or tenths. The two former are also called "predial" tithes,[d] because they arise from land and estates (*prædia*), tithes of corn and grain being known as "great predial tithes," and first-fruits as "small predial tithes." On the other hand personal tithes or tenths consist of the tenth part of business or trading profits. Under the English manorial system the difference between great and small predial tithes appears to have been this, that great predial tithes consisted of the tenth part of the

[a] See above, p. 5.

[b] Letter of Archbishop Dunstan in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vii. 106, and *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, xxx. 296: "Years ago the West Welsh rose against King Egbert. The king then fared thither and subdued them, and gave a tenth of his land to God in the way that seemed fit to him."

[c] Hieronymus ap. Gratian, Caus. XVI. Qu. i. c. 65.

[d] Hadrian IV. to Archbishop Thomas in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 4.

gross[a] produce of all that was grown in the open field, whereas small predial tithes consisted of the tithe of all that was raised in the homestall, garden and curtilage.[b] Small predial tithes therefore included tithe of pigs, colts, cattle, garden herbs, bees, wool, milk, cheese, and all things yearly renewing.[c] As in any given area the value of small tithes was about half that of the tithe of corn or grain, or about one-third of the whole, this proportion seems to have been constantly kept in view in the settlements (*ordinationes*) of vicarages effected in the thirteenth century.

The Purposes for which different Kinds of Tithe were alloted.

It is important to remember that although both great and small predial tithes, and in addition personal tithes and offerings, all belonged to the treasury of God, yet the purposes to which they were assigned by Western rule were widely different. For except in the very few ancient collegiate churches there was no one central fund, but instead different revenues were severally assigned to separate purposes. A passage in the Apostolic Constitutions towards the end of the fourth century[d] directs that "All the first-fruits of the wine-press, the

[a] Innocent III. in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 26: "Divers laymen are endeavouring to deprive churches and clergy of their rights. Some assert that the seed and expenses incurred in tillage should be first deducted and tithe paid on the residue. Others setting aside the tithe from the portion of the fruits paid by their tenants, give it to their chapels or their clergy or even to the poor, or at will apply it to their own uses. Some even objecting to the clergy's manner of life do not hesitate to withhold it altogether."

[b] Thus we find the tithe of peas grown in the open field assigned to the parson, whilst the tithe of peas grown in the garden went to the chaplain or vicar. On 3rd December, 1269, Bishop Bronescombe of Exeter assigned to the vicar of Littleham Abbot all the altalage except the tithe of fish and of peas and beans growing in the fields (*in campis crescentium*) (*Exeter Registers*, 151). But in the same year, 13th August, 1269, he assigned for the support of the vicar of Padstow (*Ibid.* 161) all the altalage excepting the tithe of fish and mills and the tithe of all farm produce raised in the open field (*agriculturæ in campis exculte*). On the other, on 5th June, 1270, he assigned to the vicar of St. Garan (*Ibid.* 172) all manner of small tithes and of peas and beans growing in gardens. So likewise the vicar of St. Siltsney was endowed with the tithes of peas growing in gardens (*Ibid.* p. 178).

[c] Edward's Laws 8, 9, A.D. 1064.

[d] *Apost. Const.* vii. 29.

threshing floor, the oxen and sheep shalt thou give to the priest, that thy storehouses and garners and produce of thy land may be blessed . . . . . [but] the tenth of thy increase thou shalt give to the orphan and the widow and to the poor and stranger. All the first-fruits of thy hot bread, of thy barrels of wine or oil, or honey or nuts or grapes, or the first-fruits of other things shalt thou give to the priests, but those of silver, and of garments and of all sorts of possessions to the orphan and widow." Western use adopted the same distinction of objects, only substituting the tithe of increase for the tithe of the threshing floor as the priest's portion. Owing to the different circumstances of land cultivation between East and West there were no doubt good grounds for varying the apportionment. But throughout the Saxon and the Norman period of our history I cannot find any trace of the tithe of corn and grain being considered to be other than the patrimony of the poor. A very early authority[a] followed by Hubert Walter at the legatine Council of York in 1195 (Canon 13), and by Innocent III. a few years later[b] calls tithes "the tributes of needy souls." Alexander III. a few years previously[c] had called them "God's consecrated portion" (*sanctuarium Dei*), and again Archbishop Peckham in 1281 (Const. 22) calls them "the inheritance of the Crucified." Indeed until the thirteenth century, when the great "consolidation of benefices" was effected, tithes, whether in the hands of a collegiate church or of an "ecclesiastical person," were accounted to be primarily held in trust for the poor; the parochial chaplain or vicar had nothing to do with them; the small predial tithe or first-fruits constituted his maintenance.

Distinction between the Chaplain's Interest, called the Church, and the Tithes or Birthright of the Poor.

It will perhaps not be out of place to give further proof of the distinction drawn in the eleventh and twelfth centuries between the mass-priest's or chaplain's interest, which in those two centuries was commonly spoken of as "the church," and the tithe of corn and grain which was held to be the birthright of the poor.

[a] Gratian, Caus. XVI. Qu. i. c. 66.

[b] *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 26.

[c] *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 15.

The Calendar of Documents in France, a most valuable book for the light which it throws on English history before the year 1200, records many gifts to religious houses, but it invariably distinguishes and names separately gifts of (1) churches, (2) tithes, and (3) lands. In those two centuries the term church is used to express the chaplain's emoluments from offerings and first-fruits, which at a later date were designated altalage, but it never includes the tithe of corn and grain. On the other hand, a century later, after the "consolidation" of benefices, the term church always connotes the tithes, and the incumbent's interest is known as altalage.

In the year 1105, for instance, Henry I. grants to the Abbey of Bec[a] "all the (1) lands, (2) churches, and (3) tithes confirmed to them by his father." By two charters, dated respectively 1093 and 1096 William de Poillei gives to God and to St. Martin of Séez the third part of the corn tithes of all his manors in Devon.[b] King Stephen, about 1145, "for his weal and that of his predecessors confirms whatever his barons and other subjects, French and English, have given to the monastery of St. Pancras," specifying amongst others "the church of Berry Narbor (*Biria*) . . . . and also the lands and tithes belonging to the same, and the land of Brunescota . . . . at Highbray, a virgate of land and the church which Mauger de Brai gave," with a long list of other churches, tithes, and land.[c] Similarly in 1073 "William de Braose gave to St. Nicolas [of Bramber] 6 hides of land, and the whole tithe of his monies (*denariorum*) and of his home farm in hand when he crossed the sea and went to Maine in the army with William King of the English, and the tithe and church of Bedinges."[d] And if further evidence is needed, turn to Joslin de Pomeray's grant to St. Mary du Val in 1125,[e] when he conveyed to that monastery "and to the canons there serving God according to the rule of St. Augustine 60 acres in the parish of St. Omer . . . . and half his bacon pigs and those of his heirs in Normandy, and the tithe of his mares in Normandy and England, and 40 shillings sterling from the tenement rents (*de gablo*) of Berry Pomeroy . . . . and in England the tithe of his bacon pigs and of his mills at Berry . . . . and in

[a] *Calendar of Documents in France*, 124.
[b] *Ibid.* 235; *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, xxxvi. 363.
[c] *Ibid.* 510.
[d] *Ibid.* 405.
[e] *Ibid.* 536.

England a manor called Teign Canon (*Tignea*) and his chaplain emoluments (*capellana* or *capellaria*) [*i.e.* vicarage emoluments] in England, viz. the tithe of wool, cheese, porkers, and lambs at [Up]ottery (*Otrevum*) and all belonging to his chaplain emoluments in England."

The above instances, and many more to a like effect may be quoted, show that the king and his barons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were in the habit of making donations of three distinct kinds to monastic bodies and collegiate churches. Sometimes they bestowed on them lands; at other times they made over to them churches or the gift of the emoluments accruing from a spiritual charge;[a] at other times again they made over to them tithes, *i.e.* the great tithes or tithes of corn and grain. But they could not have given the tithes had they not been themselves possessed of them at the time. Evidently therefore the mass-priest or chaplain was not the receiver or dispenser of tithes then, but the lord of the manor was. And apparently the administration of them, like the administration of the rest of the estate, was usually exercised by the lord's steward or some other lay persons.

Ecclesiastical Persons or Parsons.

The transition from an ordinary lay person to an ecclesiastical person or "parson" as the administrator of the tithes was the result of the legislation of the three Lateran Councils, and to a desire to keep within the letter of this legislation whilst in effect ignoring it in substance. To the same legislation must, I think, also be referred the creation of the new official neither in orders nor out of orders known as the ecclesiastical person. For the ecclesiastical person was substantially a layman, because he had not yet been admitted to the lowest of the minor orders, and yet by being tonsured he had brought himself within the bishop's special jurisdiction,[b] and was consequently usually described as a clerk.

[a] Innocent III. in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 31: "If a layman in making a gift of a church uses words such as, I give you such a church, nothing more is understood to be granted save a right of patronage."

[b] Concil. 15 Peckham, A.D. 1281: "That churches be not farmed but to holy and reputable ecclesiastical persons whom the bishop may freely coerce." Reichel s *Complete Manual of Canon Law*, i. 324.

In 1123 the fifth canon of the first Lateran Council laid it down:[a] "We decree that no laymen, however religious they may be, shall have any power of disposing of tithes, but according to the canons of the apostles let the bishop have charge of all the business matters (*negotia*) of the Church and dispense them as in the presence of God." In 1139 the tenth canon of the second Lateran Council ordained:[b] "Tithes which canonical authority shows to have been granted for works of piety we forbid by apostolic authority to be in the possession of laymen." Again in 1179 the fourteenth canon of the third Lateran Council ruled:[c] "We forbid laymen who detain tithes at peril of their souls to transfer them to other laymen in any way whatsoever." The effect of these canons soon made itself felt in the great number of gifts of tithes which were made to religious houses, some of these gifts being of quite a wholesale character. But many of the smaller lords were reluctant to grant their tithes to distant bodies, and preferred to retain them for local expenditure. This object was effected by tonsuring the lord's steward or other lay person who administered them, whereby he became converted into an "ecclesiastical person," and could hold them as a clerk without violating the Lateran canons. The lord's grantee thereby became responsible to the bishop for his administration of them, and was called in consequence the responsible person (*certa persona*),[d] but usually this ecclesiastical or responsible person simply was spoken of as the person or parson.[e]

In the ordinary course the tonsure was only the stepping stone to minor orders, but many of those who took the tonsure to qualify to hold the tithes as clerks were unwilling to enter the ranks of order. Accordingly only three years

[a] *Mansi*, xxi. 282.

[b] *Mansi*, xxi. 528.

[c] *Mansi*, xxii. 226; *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 19.

[d] Concl. 49 Langton, A.D. 1222, in *Lyndwood*, p. 151: "We ordain that no churches belonging to responsible persons (*certæ personæ*) be let to farm but for a just cause and to one in orders of whom it may be presumed that he will apply the fruits to good uses." Const. 15 Peckham, A.D. 1281. quoted 15 n. b.

[e] Thus in October, 1283, Bishop Quivil of Exeter granted a licence to Nicolas de Gatecumbe, parson of Ashwater, to study at Oxford for one year. He was to pay 1 mark to the Preaching Friars, 1 mark to the Franciscans, and 1 mark to the poor (*Bronescombe Exeter Registers*, 313). The value of the benefice was then returned as £12 (*Ibid.* 459). Again on 15th November, 1286, a licence was granted to the same to study theology or canon law (*decreta*) at Oxford and to put out his benefice to farm to the chaplain of the place (*Ibid.* 313).

after the decree of the first Lateral Council we find one of Carboyl's canons at the Council of London in 1126 decreeing that "clerks who have churches or benefices be deprived of them if they refuse to be ordained." This canon, it will be seen, refers not only to holders of churches or vicars, but also to holders of benefices or parsons. Another canon of Carboyl's at Westminster in the following year[a] forbids "churches or tithes or ecclesiastical benefices to be given or taken by any person without the consent of the bishop," where ecclesiastical benefices, being distinguished from churches and tithes, probably refers to benefices consisting of ecclesiastical lands. It may then be safely asserted that between the dates of the first and third Lateran Councils, in all parishes in which the tithes had not been made over to some collegiate or monastic church, there existed at least one other benefice-holder besides the chaplain or mass-priest, the ecclesiastical person whose office it was to administer the tithes; that he was appointed by the lord of the manor in the same way that the incumbent was; that he was strictly speaking a layman, but tonsured to bring him within the bishop's special jurisdiction; that by virtue of his tonsure he was called a clerk and brought within the terms of the canon; and that this responsible or ecclesiastical person held the administration of the tithes of corn and grain quite independently of the mass-priest or chaplain. He in fact discharged the same duties which were ordinarily discharged by the deacons in cities.

The earliest instances that I have come across of the term parson being applied to such an officer date from the close of the twelfth century. In the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 it is true parsons are twice mentioned. "Archbishops and bishops," says Constitution 11, "and all the parsons of the kingdom who hold of the king in chief, are to look on their estates as baronies." Here the parsons are obviously not those who have a cure of souls but who administer an ecclesiastical estate held of the king in chief. Again, Constitution 12 provides than "when an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory is vacant, the king shall send his mandate to the chief parsons of that church," where the chapter members who have prebends are clearly designated by chief parsons. But in 1195 the Council of York under Hubert Walter as papal legate uses parson to express the holder of tithes in a parish. "We charge," so runs Canon 6, "that parsons and vicars take diligent care according to the pensions which belong to them, that churches which want reparation be

[a] Can. 9, A.D. 1127.

repaired." The Exeter diocesan registers also show parsons and vicars existing side by side in a large number of parishes in Devon and Cornwall prior to the "consolidations" effected in the thirteenth century.

One point more. There is evidence that the number of benefice-holders in any parish was not confined to two, the parson and the vicar. In divers cases there were more than two. In some places there were several parsons, in others several vicars. If there were several manors in a parish the lord of each of them would appoint his own parson to administer the tithes of his manor and likewise his own chaplain or vicar. To stop this practice Constitution 13 of Langton in 1222 ordained: "In churches where there are several parsons let the portions of those that die accrue to the survivors till the whole come to one man." A constitution of the legate Otho (Const. 11) in 1237 also sets forth how that: "Sometimes under pretence of several patrons a church is given not to one but to divers [vicars] . . . . and sometimes the parson consents that some portion be granted to another by name of parsonship (*personatus*) . . . . sometimes a man makes a cession of his parsonship and accepts a vicarage in the same church. . . . . For the future we ordain that no one church be divided into several parsonships or vicarages, and that such as have hitherto been divided be made whole again as soon as opportunity offers, unless they were thus ordered of old."

Consolidation of Benefices.

The consolidation of benefices which was completed throughout this country in the thirteenth century, wherever benefices had not passed to religious houses, puts the coping-stone on the structure known as the parochial system. The earlier canonical legislation of that century had been directed against a plurality of parsons or a plurality of vicars in the same church. The union of the parsonship with the vicarage followed. And just as the Lateran legislation brought into existence the new officer known as the ecclesiastical person or parson, so the union of the parsonship with the vicarage brought into existence a new local officer known as the ruler or rector.[a] Previously the term rector had been confined to

[a] The term is, however, met with in Canon 2 of the 9th Council of Toledo, 655, which directs that builders of churches may present (*offerre*) to their bishops suitable rectors to be ordained in the same churches.

the bishop or to the head of a collegiate church, because he had charge alike of the temporalities and spiritualities, but the latter was more often called the provost.

The episcopal registers of Exeter are full of instances of this consolidation of benefices, and they bring before us clearly the existence side by side of parsons and vicars. It may not then be out of place to conclude with a few examples. "On Monday next after St. Giles, 1263, Richard de Hidone, clerk, was admitted to the entirety of the church of Meshaw by consolidating the share aforetime held therein by the presbyter Juvenal with his own parsonship or share of 2 shillings."[a] This entry shows that before 1263 Richard de Hidone was parson of Meshaw and Juvenal was vicar, that the value of the parsonship to the administrator was 2 shillings a year, and that on Juvenal's death the two offices were united in Richard, and he became rector of Meshaw. In the same year, 1263, "Chaplain Robert was admitted to the parsonship of Rame, with right of succession to the entirety on the death of Robert, vicar of Rame."[b] On 26th January, 1263-4, the bishop assigned to Richard de Bamfilde ½ mark of silver on account of the parsonship of the church of Thorverton, with right of succession to the entirety on the death of Richard de Chippestable, then vicar,"[c] and on Chippestable's death on 26th March, 1265, the bishop instituted the same Richard de Bamfilde to the rectory of Thorverton.[d] "On 2nd July, 1259, John de Withiel resigned the rectory of St. Merryn, and on the following day was collated to the vicarage of the same place, enjoying all the income as before saving 20 marks to be paid annually to Peter de Tarentesia as parson's share for life."[e] "On 19th October, 1258, the vicarage of Churchstaunton being vacant was consolidated with the parsonship."[f] "On 26th December, 1258, the vicarage of St. Ive being vacant was consolidated with the parsonship at the instance of the rector, John de Manneton."[g] "On 26th December, 1262, William de Membiri, subdeacon, was admitted to the entirety of the church of Meeth, in which he previously had 5 marks a year on account of parsonship."[h]

Surely these extracts show that the coexistence of "parson" and "vicar or chaplain" in a parish was long anterior to the union of the two offices in the

[a] *Bronescombe Registers*, 155.
[b] *Ibid.* 164.
[c] *Ibid.* 185.
[d] *Ibid.* 185.
[e] *Ibid.* 174.
[f] *Ibid.* 124.
[g] *Ibid.* 173.
[h] *Ibid.* 155.

"rector," and prove that Lord Selborne was mistaken in following Johnson and others in the belief that tithes had always belonged of right to the incumbent and had been wrongfully alienated from him. The authorities which I have been able to refer to prove the exact opposite. In this country tithes appear never to have belonged to parochial incumbents, except by some express grant, and the bestowal of them on incumbents has led to their being alienated in great measure from the purposes for which they were originally intended.

XVI.—*On the great Almery for relics of late in the Abbey Church of Selby, with notes on some other receptacles for relics.* *By* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq.*, *M.A.*

Read 21st March, 1907.

One of the greatest disasters that has befallen an important historical monument in this country for over half a century was the burning of the Abbey Church of Selby in the early hours of the 20th of October last.

The building itself is no doubt familiar to many from the view of it which can be had from the railway in passing Selby, but those who have cared to stop and see it will be mindful of its noble fourteenth-century presbytery, and of its curious Norman nave in which successive builders seem to have erected experimental bays. The nave was covered by a nearly flat wooden ceiling of the fifteenth century, with a modern high-pitched roof set up by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1872. The eastern arm of the church was originally built to receive a stone vault, as may be seen from the vaulting shafts and springers along the side walls, and the "tusshes" prepared for the corresponding flying buttresses outside. But from lack of funds, only the aisles were vaulted in stone, and the main span was covered by a quadripartite wooden vault with carved bosses.

The recent fire, which so completely wrecked the church, spread quickly from the organ east of the north transept in which it began to the transept roof itself, and thence through the belfry to the high outer roofs of the presbytery and nave. The burning roofs in turn set fire to the ceilings beneath them, and as

these burnt through they fell in and set fire to whatever was inflammable beneath. In the case of the nave the ceiling was partly saved, and the portions that fell destroyed only a few cheap chairs. But the collapse of the blazing vault of the presbytery completed the destruction of the quire fittings, which were already alight from the wave of fire that had swept across the north aisle from the burning organ, and involved in the general ruin the altar and its reredos, and the wooden almery that stood north of the altar.

The burnt stallwork was for the most part modern, but included some remains of the fourteenth-century fittings.

The great almery was a most interesting piece of furniture of late fifteenth-century work, and as it was almost the only one of many such which had survived to our time a few notes about it may be worth putting on record before it is clean forgotten.

Before describing the Selby almery it may be useful to set down what is known about other examples in this country.

The custom of keeping relics at or near altars was universal all over Christendom in quite early times, and sooner or later provision had to be made for their safe custody.

I do not, however, propose in the present paper to go deeply into the question, and it will serve my purpose quite well to discuss such instances as can easily be illustrated in this country.

What may be called the greater relics, consisting of entire bodies of saints, like those of St. Cuthbert, St. Thomas, or St. Edward the Confessor, which were placed in standing shrines or tombs, needed little protection beyond the iron or bronze grates by which they were surrounded, or the screens that enclosed the chapels in which they stood.

The lesser relics, in the form of boxes of bones contained in moveable or portable shrines kept under, beside, or behind altars, or on beams or perches over them, were likewise protected by the screens that enclosed and guarded the altars themselves.

Relics of another class, those buried near or built up within altars, were beyond the reach of the ordinary thief; but a fourth group of relics, those contained in metal reliquaries, often richly jewelled, which were used for purposes of display or popular veneration, had to be taken special care of.

In the case of a parish church that possessed relics, such a receptacle would suffice as the small wall-lockers so often found to the north of an altar for the

custody of its ornaments; or such a cupboard, with its appendent money box, as is preserved in Wensley church, Yorkshire. (Fig. 1.)

But when relics began to increase, as they soon did in the larger monastic, cathedral, and collegiate churches, it became necessary to provide a special place for them.

Owing to reliquaries being always deemed fitting ornaments wherewith to



Fig. 1. Almery and money box (side and front views) in Wensley Church, Yorks.
(From photographs by Lord Bolton, F.S.A.)

deck an altar on festivals, a custom still kept up in some places, like St. George's Chapel at Windsor, by the piling up of alms dishes and spare pieces of plate, nearness to an altar was regarded as the most proper place, and probably such an arrangement as may yet be seen at Durham served at first in many churches. This is thus described in *Rites:*

In the north side of the quire there is an almerye neere to the high altar fastened in the wall for to lay any thinge in pertaininge to the high altar. Likewise there is another almerye in the south side of the quire nigh the high altar enclosed in the wall to sett the challices the basons and the crewetts in that they did minister withall at the high masse with locks and keys for the said almeryes.[a]

But there was an obvious limit to the capacity of these wall cupboards, and the necessity soon arose of setting up a separate almery or cupboard of some size in which the reliquaries could be locked up.

At Christchurch, Canterbury, Archbishop Bourchier was allowed in 1480 to build his tomb *in spatio quod est in boriali parte chori . . . . inter duas columpnas proximas Altari sancti Elphegi ubi nunc Armaria sunt ad res Altaris responendas*;[b] that is, directly north of the high altar, which was flanked in the same line by the altars of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan. In the bay next to this tomb on the west was the great almery of the relics, *magnum armariolum reliquiarum*, a large wooden cupboard filled with a multitude of curious and precious things. The site of it is fixed by the agreement in 1443 for Archbishop Chichele's burial *ad partem borialem chori nostri inter locum Reliquiarum et introitum chori de vestibulo ad summum altare*,[c] where his tomb still remains. The site of the great almery is now occupied by Archbishop Howley's cenotaph. A long list of the relics that were in it in 1315 has been preserved,[d] and we have also the description of its contents when viewed by Erasmus.

At Rochester it is recorded that Richard of Walden, who was sacrist at the end of the thirteenth century, *propriis manibus fecit trabem supra majus altare cum apostolis in eadem inscisis . et Andrea super stante . et Almarium cum Reliquiis et libros plures*.[e] This almery probably stood on the north side of the presbytery in the recess westward of that containing Bishop Gilbert of Glanville's tomb.

At Winchester and Gloucester the relics were disposed somewhat differently.

In the former church the area behind the high altar once occupied by the Norman apse and the bishop's throne was walled off in the first half of the fourteenth century by stone screens and subdivided longitudinally from north to south in a somewhat interesting way.

[a] *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 107), 13.

[b] Register S. (penes Dec. et Cap. Cant), f. 302 *b*.

[c] *Ibid.* f. 111.

[d] Cott. MS. Galba E iv. ff. 122-127. Printed in Dart, Appendix No. xiii. pp. xlii.-l., and in Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury* (London, 1902), 78-94.

[e] Cott. MS. Vespasian, A 22, f. 92.

The western part formed a broad passage behind the altar itself, entered by the two doorways in the reredos wall, but had along its east side a tall cupboard of uncertain height, nearly 17 feet long, but only 20 inches deep, built entirely of masonry. The front had a small door of entry, 18 inches wide, at each end, and the intermediate space was probably filled with a strong iron grate through which the contents could be seen. The ends and back of this almery, which must have been made to hold the jewels and reliquaries, still remain to a height of 3 feet, but the part between the doors has been reduced to the level of the floor, probably for the sake of the ironwork and leading fixed in it. The almery floor is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the pavement in front. Beyond the almery at each end is an ascent of four steps to a broad platform behind it, on which no doubt stood the usual altar, and presses for the vestments and other ornaments. From an inventory, taken apparently at the suppression of the Benedictine priory, of the jewels, relics, vestments, etc. it seems that the part of the church wherein they were kept was then called the Sextre.[a] The wall forming the eastern side of the enclosure is decorated on the outer front, which faced the shrine and chapel of St. Swithun, with a series of nine beautiful niches, each of which once held a pair of images. Beneath the niches are inscribed the names of the lost images, viz. :

KINꝺGILSVS · SC̄S BIRINVS C̄PC
KINCWALDꝰ RCX CGBCRTVS RCX
ADVLFVS RCX CLVRCDꝰ RCX FILIꝰ EIꝰ
CDWARDꝰ RCX SCNIOR ATHCLSTANꝰ RCX FILIꝰ EIꝰ
SC̄A MARIA DOMINVS JCSVS
CDRCDVS REX CDGARVS RCX
CMMA RCGINA ALWINVS : C̄PC
CTHCLDRCDꝰ RCX SC̄S CDWARDꝰ RCX FILIꝰ EIꝰ
CNVTVS RCX HARDCCANVTꝰ RCX FILIꝰ EIꝰ

And on the upper margin of the plain walling below is incised in fine bold lettering, in two lines :

CORPORA ⁝ SANCTORVM ⁝ SVNT ⁝ HIC ⁝ IN ⁝ PACC SCPVLTA ⁝
CX ⁝ MARITIS ⁝ QVORVM ⁝ FVLGANT ⁝ MIRACVLA ⁝ MVLTA ⁝

At Gloucester a similar place to that at Winchester was formed behind the high altar, but owing to the ambulatory beyond, it was so narrow that there was little room beyond the usual passage way for the censing of the altar except for a

[a] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MS. cxi. pp. 355-358.

very shallow cupboard; and the more precious jewels and relics were stowed away in two large recesses constructed within the masonry of the altar itself. Some remains of these may still be seen.

The rest of the treasures of the church were housed in a great almery which was placed, not in the presbytery, but in the north transept, where it yet remains.

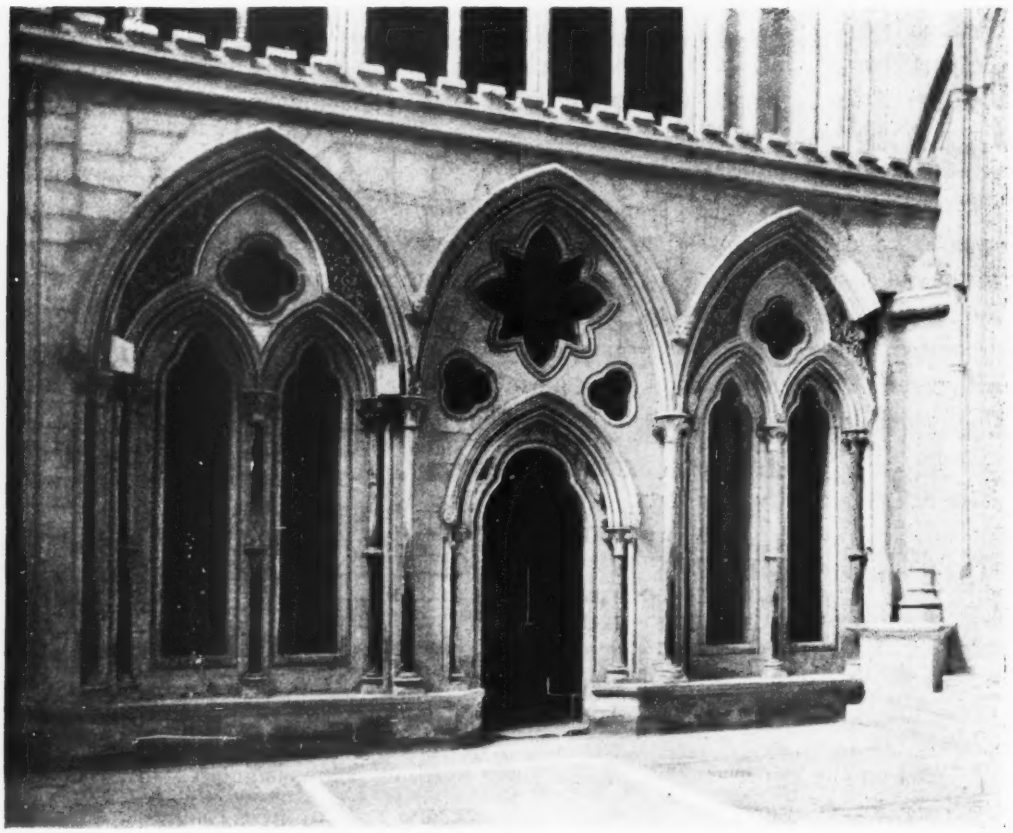


Fig. 2. The great almery of relics in the cathedral church of Gloucester.
(From a photograph by Mr. Samuel Gardner.)

It is a long and narrow structure of stone, of the second half of the thirteenth century, and of quite elaborate workmanship. (Fig. 2.) Externally it is about 27 feet long, 18 feet high, and 5 feet deep, and has in front an arcade of three pointed arches standing on a stone bench. The middle arch contains the doorway, which has over it a large octofoil opening, still grated with iron, and two smaller

trefoil openings. The side arches each contain a window, formed of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil above. In the engraving given by John Britton in his *Cathedral Antiquities* these window lights are shown as heavily grated with iron, but of this protection only the stumps are now left. The interior is only about 3 feet deep, and has a vaulted roof. At the back are three broad and shallow recesses, which, if Britton's drawing may be trusted, were in 1828 still fitted with wooden cupboards with panelled and painted doors.

In those churches which contained standing shrines like those of St. Thomas at Canterbury or St. Edward at Westminster, it followed quite naturally that some of the relics should be kept in the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine for the edification of the pilgrims who came to visit it.

At Durham the marks of the relic almeries are still visible on the north and south sides of the platform of St. Cuthbert's shrine, and the following interesting description of the almeries themselves may be found in *Rites:*

> Also within the s[d] feretorye, both of the north side and the south, there was almeryes of fine wenscote, beinge varnished and finelye painted and gilted finely over with little images verye seemly and beautifull to behould, for the reliques belonginge to St. Cuthb[ert] ito lye in, and within the s[d] almeryes, did lye all the holy reliques that was ofered to that holy man S[t] Cuthb[ert]: and when his shrine was drawne [upp] then the s[d] almeryes were opened that every man y[t] came thither at that time might see the holy reliques therein, so that for the costly reliques and Jewells that was in the same almeryes and other reliques that hung a bout within the s[d] feretorye uppon the irons was accounted to bee the most sumptuous and richest Jewells in all this land.[a]

The contents of these Durham almeries were so numerous that the feretrar who made a list of them in 1383 thought it necessary to index it for facility of reference.[b]

At Canterbury there are like marks to those at Durham, which show that the aisle encircling the site of St. Thomas's shrine had a series of relic cupboards underneath the windows. One of those on the north side, from the grooves cut in the pavement by the door bolts, must have been a large one with double doors, which could be opened widely to exhibit what was contained within. Of a smaller almery on the south side the wooden sill is left. Owing apparently to the relics being in the special custody of the feretrar or shrine keeper, the lists of them are

[a] *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 107), 5.

[b] *Durham Account Rolls* (Surtees Society, 100), ii. 425-440.

not included in the long list of the other relics kept in the church, which was drawn up in 1315.

At Westminster the altar of the relics stood apparently in the arch immediately to the east of St. Edward's shrine, but was removed to make room for the grave and monument of King Henry V. After the completion of that king's chantry chapel some of the more precious relics were translated thither, and there may still be seen in its side walls the recesses made to receive them. Unfortunately they have been despoiled of their doors and fittings.

Such of the relics as could not find room room in King Henry V.'s chapel were kept in the almery of relics, which stood alongside the tomb of King Henry III. This we learn from the interesting depositions of the witnesses who came forward in 1498 to testify where King Henry VI. forty years before had desired to be buried.

It will suffice to quote what John Bothe the scrivener remembered, how that King Henry came into St. Edward's chapel with several of his lords and others, and having borrowed from Ralph Lord Cromwell his staff,

> he poynted with the said staff the place the lengithe and the brede of his sepulture to be made there where than the Reliques stode, whiche was on the northe syde of the saide Shryne seying these wordys as this deponent remembyrthe, 'Here me thynketh is a convenient place.' And then the seide Kyng 'Henry commawnded the said Reliques to be removed frome the place wher they than stoode to some other convenient place, to thentent his sepulture myght be made there. Wherupon the saide Reliques within ij dayes aftyr that were removyd from thens to the place where they now stond on the baksyde of the hyghe aulter."[a]

Another witness heard say "that Kyng Henry the vjth hadde chosyn his sepulture on the northsyde of Seint Edwardes Shryne where at that tyme the almery with the Reliques stode."[b]

Several long and interesting inventories of the relics, etc. made by successive shrine keepers exist among the Abbey muniments.

At St. Albans the shrine of the saint stood behind the high altar, and under the arch immediately to the north of it is the wooden structure known as "the watching loft," but when and by what authority it was first so called I am unable to say.

[a] Stanley, *Memorials* (ed. 1869), 604.

[b] *Ibid.* 608.



Fig. 3. The feretrar's chamber and relic almeries in St. Alban's Abbey Church.
(From a photograph by Mr. W. H. Cox.)

In the Book of Benefactors, between two entries dated 1413 and 1429 respectively, is the entry:

Robertus de Malton[a] clericus de Pipa contulit ad opus presentis ecclesie pro anima Radulphi Kestevene quondam Rectoris sancti Botulphi extra Aldrichegate London .xx.s. Et idem Robertus contulit nove camere feretrarii juxta maius altare .xx.s.[b]

The "feretrar's new chamber" here referred to must be the existing structure, and before the building of abbot Wallingford's great reredos wall in later times it could fairly be described as "beside" or "near" the high altar.

It consists of two parts: a lower and an upper. (Fig. 3.) The lower part contains (i) a narrow cupboard on the west with a single door; (ii and iii) two large cupboards with double doors; and (iv) a fourth but somewhat narrower cupboard, also with double doors. East of these, but projecting about two feet in front of them, is a staircase to the upper story. This upper part considerably oversails the lower on both sides, the projection being masked by wooden groins. It forms a chamber about 17 feet long and half as wide, with a series of traceried windows along each side, and a panelled roof. The windows were originally furnished with either shutters or glazed casements. The height of the structure from the pavement of St. Alban's chapel is 17 feet.

It is now time to return to the almery which forms the main subject of this paper, the one that till lately stood in the presbytery of the abbey church of Selby. It occupied the whole of the space between two of the clustered pillars of the main arcade, and was a wooden structure about 14 feet long and about 8 feet high. In front it showed five broad traceried compartments, divided by buttresses, with a narrow cupboard or locker towards the west, surmounted by a moulded cornice with a deep hollow set with square flowers and other devices. The material throughout was oak.

The tall end cupboard was closed by a single door, with plain iron hinges, and a ring-handle, but the lock had been removed.

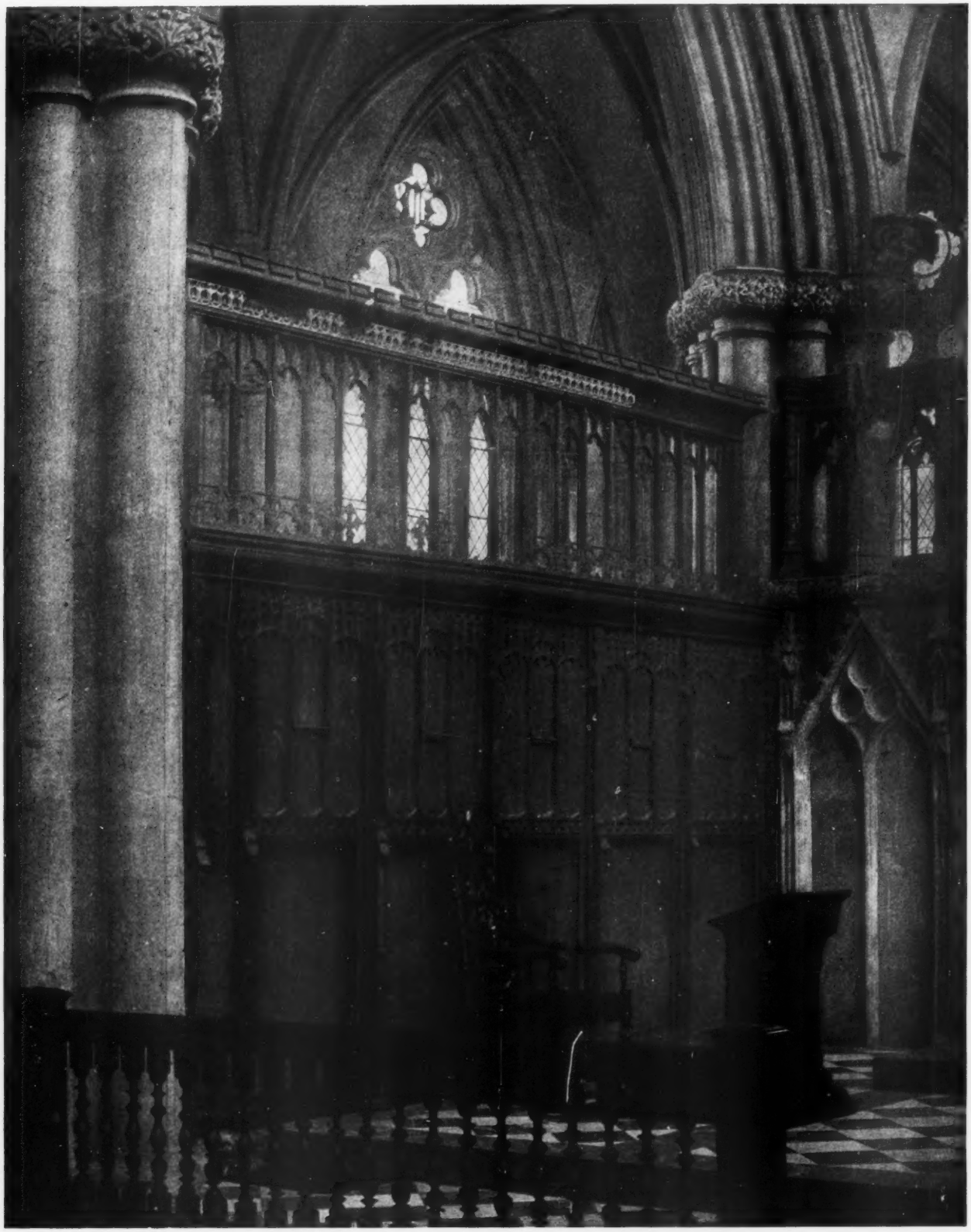
[a] Robert of Malton was clerk of the Pipe of the Exchequer, and by letters patent of 26th February, 1402-3, was appointed parson of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, in succession to Ralph Kesteven, but he apparently resigned within a few months. He may be the same Robert who was made a Baron of the Exchequer on 14th November, 1413, and confirmed 30th September, 1422.

[b] Cott. MS. Nero D. 7, f. 114.



THE SELBY ALMERY, SHOWING INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



THE SELBY ALMERY, AT THE TIME OF THE FIRE OF 1906.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

The five principal compartments were each 28½ inches wide, and divided midway into two subdivisions. The lower consisted of plain boarding, but the upper one was an elaborately traceried door, with a simple iron handle just below the middle. These doors were not hinged to open in the usual way, but made to slide up and down in grooves, and held in place when shut by square oak rods or slips which fitted into the lower halves of the grooves on each side. (Plate XXXVII.)

When the doors were lowered a somewhat curious arrangement was disclosed. In the first place the compartments did not extend down to the pavement, but had boarded floors half way up. Above these floors, at 11 inches distance from the front, appeared a narrow belt of the stone wall crossing the arch behind, against which the almery was built, but the upper part of the wall was hidden by a wooden coving. The front edge of this coving was surmounted by an embattled cresting and formed an upper shelf, and its several mouldings had the hollows set with small square flowers. The Rev. A. G. Tweedie, now rector of Lavenham, but until lately vicar of Selby, to whom I am indebted for several interesting bits of information, tells me that the whole of this interior work bore ample traces of colour decoration, and that the outside still retained evidence of like ornamentation in gold and red. Mr. Tweedie is of opinion that the almery was not in its original position, but had been removed thither from the fourteenth-century vestry or sacristy on the opposite side of the presbytery. If that were so, it is curious that the almery should so well have fitted its last resting place, and it seems to me to have been made for it.

As to the use of the almery, it will be seen that its several compartments are well suited for the storage of reliquaries and other *jocalia*, but it is singular that no provision existed for locking the doors. Perhaps, however, the unusual way of keeping them shut was thought enough to render them thief-proof. The narrow western cupboard was only some 8 inches wide, and was probably for holding long objects like crosses or crosiers.

The pretty cresting and length of screenwork which appears surmounting the almery in Plate XXXVIII. was found by Mr. Tweedie amongst some lumber in the abbey and set up in 1900. It unfortunately perished in the fire with the almery itself, and both were so completely destroyed that beyond some of the door handles and the wall of masonry against which it stood, the only record of the Selby almery henceforth will be the photographs which I have been able to exhibit, and a few rough measurements.

For the photograph of the Selby almery reproduced in Plate XXXVII. I have to thank Mr. C. C. Hodges and Mr. J. P. Gibson, both of Hexham; for the other (Plate XXXVIII.) I am indebted to Mr. T. R. Cooper.

I must also thank Mr. Samuel Gardner for the photograph of the Gloucester almery (Fig. 2), and Mr. Cheesman of Selby and Mr. Gibson of Hexham for loans of lantern slides of views of the abbey church before and after the late fire.

XVII.—*On a Set of Table-knives in the British Museum made for John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy.* *By* O. M. Dalton, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 14th March, 1907.

In the year 1855 the British Museum acquired a set of four knives with enamelled handles in a leather case decorated with incised designs. The handles are richly ornamented with shields of arms, mottoes, and floral motives in translucent enamel upon silver, the grip having in addition strips of the speckled maple-wood used in the manufacture of mazers. These knives deserve description and careful illustration both for their artistic merit and also for their historical interest, it being possible to identify the two different persons for whom the instruments and the sheath were severally made. These persons were John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, father of Philip the Good, and his daughter Isabel, Countess of Penthièvre.

The knives, which are four in number, two large and two small,[a] formed a set as carried by the *écuyer tranchant* or esquire carver of a prince or great noble, and brought by him to the table when his lord had seated himself for the repast. The two larger, as we shall see below, were used by the esquire in carving; the two smaller probably by the lord himself for cutting up his meat and bread.

A few other knives, similar to those here described, are preserved in various collections, and of these the greater number belonged to the Dukes of Burgundy or their great retainers. They all bear the owner's arms in translucent enamel upon the pommels, and some are profusely decorated like those of John the Intrepid. But in others the ornament is less elaborate. In these examples the handle is all of gilt metal, with the mottoes, floral ornaments, and badges in low relief; only the shields are enamelled, and these are somewhat deeply sunk at the pommel end, not recurring upon the end nearest the blade. The following is a list of the

[a] The total length of the two larger is 15 inches, that of the two smaller 9·4 and 8·3 inches; the blades of all four are now extremely thin. The knives were acquired with the Bernal Collection. They are reproduced on a small scale in the *Guide to the Mediæval Room* (British Museum, 1907), fig. 139, p. 180.

principal Burgundian knives or sets of knives existing in museums and collections as far as I have been able to ascertain them.[a]

Knives with richly-enamelled handles:

1. The British Museum set of three knives here described, in decorated leather sheath, made for John the Intrepid, and apparently the oldest of the series.

2. Pair of knives in the Imperial Museum at Vienna with arms and motto (*aultre n'a(u)ray*) of Philip the Good, with the additions of a badge beneath the shields near the butts, and repeated immediately before the mottoes. This badge is the strike-a-light or *briquet de Bourgogne*. These knives (No. 38 in the *Toison d'Or* Catalogue) are very similar in style to No. 1, and have the same elaborate enamelled ornament.

3. Knife in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House (No. 765 in the Catalogue); very similar in every respect to No. 2, and bearing the same arms and motto. It was formerly in the collections of Signor Castellani and the Count de Nieuwerkerke. (Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, ii. 77.)

4. Knife in the Carrand Collection in the Bargello at Florence,[b] enamelled, with the same arms repeated four times. It also bears the briquet and the motto *aultre n'aray*.

5. Wallace Collection (*Catalogue of Armour and Arms*, No. 749). Knife with the arms of Rollin, Chancellor of Philip the Good, and enamelled floral ornament, but no motto.

6. In the same Collection (Catalogue, No. 750). Knife with the arms of the Sire de Dancourt, grand master of artillery to Philip the Good. Here again there is no motto. The arms are only at the butt of the handle, but the remaining surface is richly decorated with enamelled floral ornaments.

[a] Since this paper was read, several of the knives in the above list have been shown at the Exhibition of the Golden Fleece at Bruges (spring to autumn, 1907). They were mentioned in the *Catalogue de l'Exposition de la Toison d'Or*, to which references are given. It is possible that some of them may be reproduced in the large official work on the Exhibition, which is now in preparation.

[b] *Catalogo del Reale Museo Nazionale di Firenze* (1898), p. 156, No. 855.

Knives of the less elaborate type:

1. The knife in the Museum of Le Mans, which is of exceptionally large size. It has the sunk enamelled shields on both sides near the butt, with arms of Philip the Good, his motto *aultre n'auray* in relief upon the handle, and the briquet executed in the same manner next the blade. With it is a cuir-boulli case, without cover, ornamented with scroll designs, and made to contain two large knives with one of smaller size. (*Toison d'Or* Catalogue, No. 37; Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, ii. 79; Hucher, *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Agriculture Sciences et Arts du Mans*, 1859.)
2. Similar knife in the Museum of the Louvre (Département du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance). Arms and motto the same as in No. 1, but instead of the briquet, a device composed of two Gothic letters ℓ confronted, and united by a cord with tasselled ends.
3. Two knives in similar style with the same arms and motto in the Museum at Dijon. They are accompanied by a fine incised leather sheath, painted and gilded, on which the arms are repeated. L. Gonse, *Chefs d'œuvres des Musées de France: Sculptures, dessins, objets d'art*, pp. 151 (fig.), 152 (Paris, 1904). Viollet le Duc appears to have described these knives incorrectly.[a]

With regard to the locality in which such knives were made, more than one indication is afforded by entries in the Burgundian inventories. In these registers, whenever a maker is named, he is usually described as resident either at Dijon or in Paris. An entry of the year 1374 is of especial interest, as it evidently relates to knives ornamented in much the same manner as our own.[b] In this case the maker lived at Dijon, but the entry is not sufficient to decide the question; and as the connexion of John the Intrepid with Paris[c] was very close, our knives are perhaps as likely to have been made there as in the Burgundian capital. As will

[a] Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire*, ii. 77.

[b] On the 13th of February to "*Jaquot Le Topetet, coustelier, demorant à Dijon: 15 fr. pour 5 paires de cousteaux, enguaignez et garnis d'argent et d'esmail.*" This Le Topetet had been fournisseur to the Duke from 1372, and died in 1398. For other references see Bernard Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers, &c.* Index, *s.v. Couteliers.* The knives made for various dukes by the well-known cutlers of Langres seem to have been for the most part hunting knives or weapons.

[c] He had a residence there, the Hôtel de Bourgogne, part of which still exists. See C. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie française*, ii. 108.

be seen from the illustration (Plate XXXIX.), the enamelled ornament of the handles, which are all decorated in the same manner, consists of the shield of arms four times repeated, and of floral designs, either forming a continuous scroll, or composed of separate flowers. Detached flowers of the same kind alternate with the words of the motto, which is in every case repeated upon both sides, and reads: **s'il plaist a dieu.** At the back of the handles there are narrow bands of small quatrefoils reserved in the metal upon a blue enamelled ground. (Fig. 1.)

The colours used for the enamels are dark blue, red, purple, black, and translucent green. The silver base upon which the enamels are executed has been gilded throughout.

The arms upon the shields are Burgundy modern dimidiated with Hennegau (Hainault)-Holland. These must be the arms assumed by John the Intrepid in 1385, when as Count of Nevers he married Margaret of Bavaria, Countess of Hennegau and Holland.[a] Presumably they would be borne by him until 1404, when he succeeded to the dukedom and assumed the arms of Burgundy, as seen upon his seals. It thus appears that the knives were made between the years 1385 and 1404; they are therefore older than the other examples previously mentioned, all of which seem to date from the time of Philip the Good.

The motto *S'il plaît à Dieu* is sufficiently vague in its tenour, and is such as any one might have adopted in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I have been unable to find it elsewhere in connexion with John the Intrepid, and researches kindly made by M. Louis Paris,[b] of the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, have not led to the desired result. The motto, or a variation of it, was used by the family of Kerlech in Brittany; and Chassant records a variant as adopted by an Order of the Holy Spirit said to have been founded in the early fourteenth century, by Louis King of Jerusalem and Sicily and Count of Provence.[c]

Monsieur Paris notes, however, that the motto, as it appears on the knives,

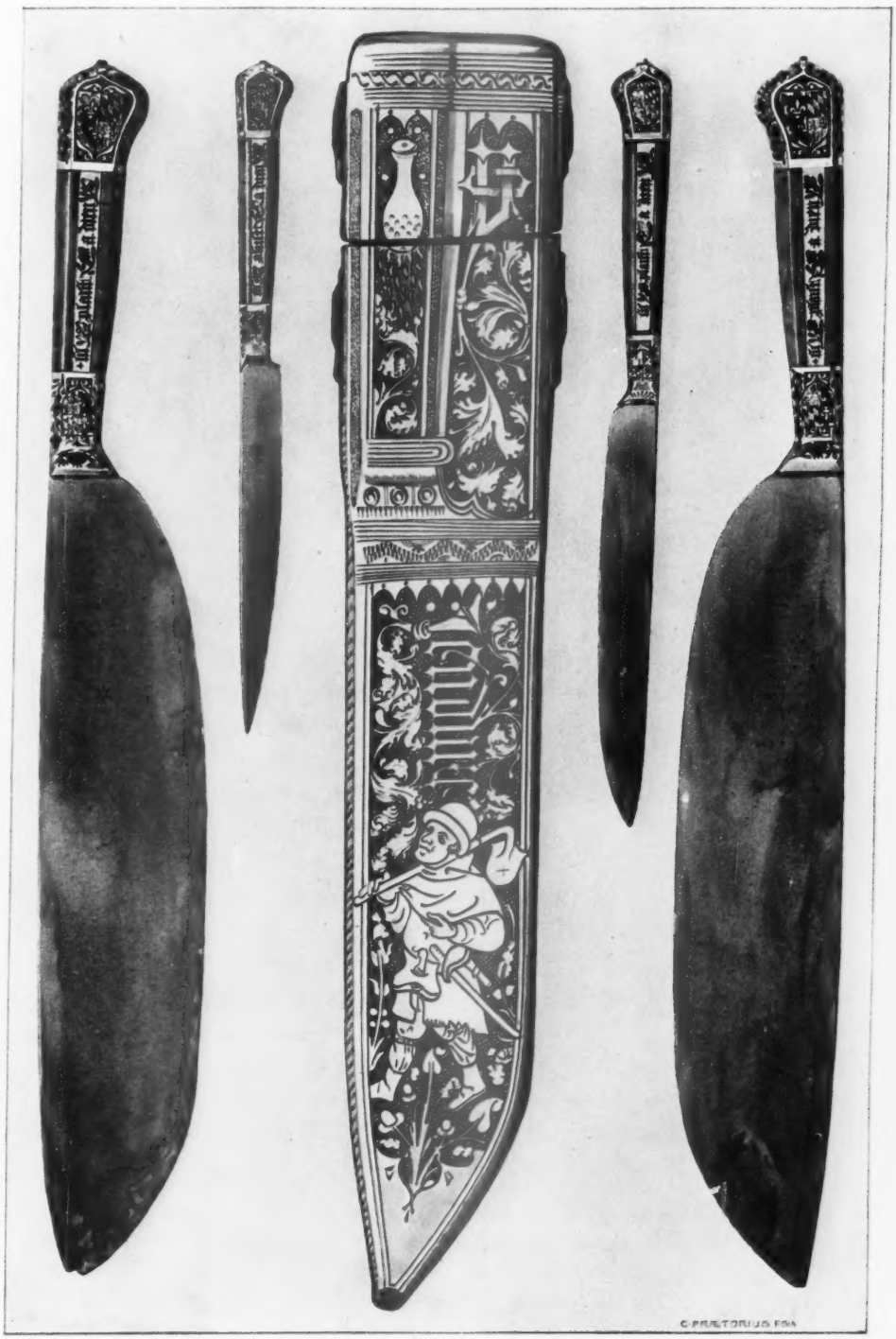
[a] H. Grote, *Stammtafeln*, 307 and 261; John Anderson, *Royal Genealogies*, 2nd ed. (London, 1736), Tables 360 and 352. Upon the knives Burgundy modern is differenced by the engrailing of the bordure.

As Countess of Nevers Margaret used upon her seals: 1, Burgundy modern; 2, Bavaria; 3, Burgundy ancient; 4, Hainault. In this case, owing to the dimidiation, the two Burgundy quarters are omitted.

For information as to these arms I am indebted to Mr. Max Rosenheim, F.S.A., and to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

[b] At the instance of M. Destrée, director of the *Musée des arts décoratifs*, Brussels, who was good enough to transmit the inquiry to M. Paris.

[c] The Order seems also to have been called *Droit Désir*.



SET OF TABLE KNIVES AND CASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. (½ LINEAR.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

is to be seen in the stained glass window of the choir in the church of Anderlecht, near Brussels. Here it accompanies the portrait of Barbe de Montfort, who is represented with her husband Maximilian de Hornes, seigneur of Gaesbeek, etc. etc. This at least proves that it was in use in the Low Countries at a time not very distant from that at which the knives were made.



Fig. 1 Pendant in the British Museum with monogram of Oliver of Blois and his wife Ysabel; and ornament on the backs of the knife-handles.

The cypher upon the sheath enables us to follow the history of these knives after they passed out of the possession of their original owner. It is composed of the letters Y and O, which, as Mr. Hope has pointed out, must represent the initials of Ysabel, daughter of John the Intrepid, and her husband, Oliver of Blois, Count of Penthièvre.[a] The knives seem therefore to have become the property of Ysabel either as a wedding gift or else by the terms of her father's will; and at some time or other she must have had a new case made for them. The British Museum possesses a small pendant, formerly enamelled, of the kind commonly used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to decorate harness, on which a very similar cypher occurs. (Fig. 1.) The leather sheath itself is a fine example of its kind, ornamented with bold floral scrolls in a good style, and bearing in addition to the cypher the figure of a peasant carrying a hoe over his shoulder, the motto **J'endure**, and a badge consisting of a *chantepleure* or *arrosoir*, from the base of which drops of water are falling.[b] (See Plate XXXIX.) The *chantepleure* was a watering-pot, usually

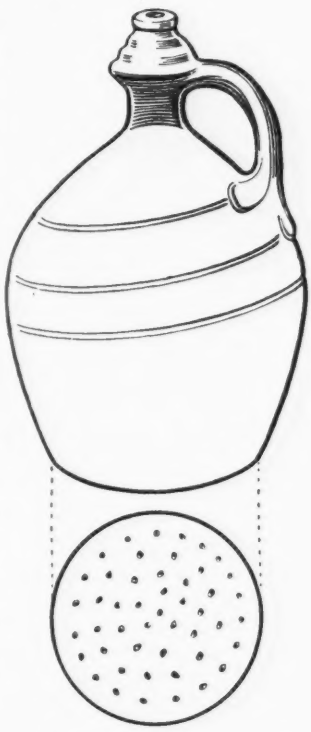


Fig. 2. Earthenware watering-pot in the British Museum.

[a] James Anderson, *Royal Genealogies*, ii. Table 360.

[b] For the *chantepleure* see Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, *s.v. arrosoir*. Examples found in London are figured in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, v. 345-6, where the story of Valentine of Milan is also told.

Two *chantepleures* were found in 1906 in the City Ditch north of All Hallows Church, London Wall. *Archaeologia*, lx. 243.

of earthenware, in common use in the Middle Ages, and represented by a good example in the British Museum. (Fig. 2.) It consists of a globular vessel with narrow neck, and a flat bottom pierced with a number of holes, like the rose of a modern watering-pot. When used, it was immersed until full; the thumb or finger was then placed upon the neck, and the vessel lifted out of the water. As long as the thumb was kept in position the water remained in the vessel; the moment the thumb was raised, it commenced to fall in a shower or spray.

This utensil has a historical interest in that it was adopted as a badge by Valentine of Milan when, in 1407, her husband the Duke of Orleans was murdered in the streets of Paris by order of the very John the Intrepid for whom our knives were made.[a] It is an obvious mourner's emblem, and with it the duchess adopted the motto "plus ne m'est rien," expressive of the inconsolable grief from which she died in the following year. Both badge and motto are found upon her tomb in the church of the Cordeliers at Blois, where they must have been seen by the Countess of Penthièvre. The occurrence of a similar badge upon the object before us therefore suggests that this sheath may itself have been made at some time of conspicuous bereavement, perhaps after the death of the Duke or the Count, for the chantepleure is not likely to have been selected at random at a period when its symbolic meaning was a matter of common knowledge. The melancholy motto *J'endure* accords very well with this supposition.

The sheath is an excellent specimen of the incised leather-work so popular in Italy and other countries in the Middle Ages. It is not quite equal to the example in the Bargello at Florence,[b] for in that case the ornamentation is of equal excellence on both sides, whereas in the present instance only one side is fine, the other bearing geometrical ornament of inferior quality. This inferior surface was evidently worn next the esquire's side, and it was not thought worth while to waste too much labour upon its embellishment.

A few notes may be subjoined as to the purpose for which such knives were made and the manner in which they were used. In his *État du Duc*, Olivier de la Marche, of the household of the Duke of Burgundy, describes the duties of the *écuyers tranchants* or esquire carvers in the year 1474;[c] and although this period is almost a century later than that to which our knives belong, the usages of the

[a] C. Paradin, *Devises héroiques* (Lyons, 1557), 91. For the circumstances connected with the murder of the Duke of Orleans *see* Barante, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, ii. 419.

[b] Reproduced by G. Sangiorgi, *La Collection Carrand au Bargello* (1895), pl. 82; but better by Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, 481. It has the Annunciation and an armorial device on backgrounds of fine floral scrolls.

[c] V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, *s.v. Couteau.*

ducal household had probably undergone but little change. We have to imagine the duke seated at a table facing down the hall, and approached from the opposite side by those who performed the service. The annexed figure (Fig. 3) from the famous "Hours of the Duc de Berri," painted at the beginning of the fifteenth century,[a] and therefore almost contemporaneous with our knives, shows the uncle of Charles VI. dining in state with his chamberlain and esquires in attendance. In the foreground stands an esquire carver holding in his hand a knife of the same form as ours.[b] Amongst the plate on the left side of the picture we may remark a covered vessel not dissimilar from the famous gold cup presented by this very prince to his nephew, and now a principal treasure of the Gold Ornament Room in the British Museum.



Fig. 3. The Duc de Berri at dinner: carvers in the foreground.
(From the reproduction in *Le Musée Conde: Manuscrits.* Paris, 1900.)

The illustration sufficiently explains the description given by Olivier de la Marche, for the dinner of a Duc de Berri probably differed in little from that of a Duc de Bourgogne. The *écuyer tranchant*, he says, placed his two large carving knives upon the table with their blades pointing towards his master, but covered by a white cloth. The small knife which accompanied them was laid beyond them with its handle towards and within reach of the duke, for whose personal use it was intended. At the appointed time the esquire advanced to the table directly opposite the duke, and there carved the meat with his two large knives. He used one to cut, the other to support and carry, transferring with it the slices from the joint to the plate or trencher. This was a process requiring some dexterity, and its acquisition formed part of an esquire's education down to about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the introduction of forks rendered the carver's task less difficult. Our two larger knives are such a pair, and were

[a] In the Musée Condé at Chantilly. See *Le Musée Condé: Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits* (Paris, 1900), i. 64.

[b] This was the usual form of carving-knives: in fact it is much the same as the form still preferred in France.

therefore employed not by the duke but by his carvers. The small knives, though kept in the same leather case and also consigned to the esquire's care, were in all probability used by the duke to cut up his meat and bread. One of them may perhaps be a *parepain*, a smaller instrument than the *taillepain*,[a] or large bread-knife with which the servant cut the lord's bread into slices for the trencher, though we are told that the *parepain* was often kept in a separate sheath.

Though Olivier de la Marche only mentions one small knife, and the case in the Museum of Le Mans has only room for one such, the early inventories clearly speak of two as a common number,[b] and the set belonging to John the Intrepid is thus by no means abnormal. The entries in the inventories seem to show that the sets of knives were not always uniform, but that the grouping of the different kinds in the cases occasionally varied.

Those who are curious in the matter of carving in ancient times may with advantage consult the early inventories, and the *Bokes of Nurture and Kervynge*, edited by Dr. Furnivall for the Roxburgh Club.[c] A number of interesting details are also to be found in Victor Gay's *Glossaire archéologique, s.v. Couteau*; also in the second volume of Viollet le Duc's *Dictionnaire du Mobilier* under the same word. Among other facts there mentioned is the custom in princely houses of using knives with handles of different materials and colours at different seasons of the ecclesiastical year: thus ebony handles were favoured in Lent and those of ivory at Easter. The materials used for handles were very various: crystal, amber, and woods of different kinds being all employed in addition to chased, nielloed, or enamelled metal. The Carrand Collection in the Bargello at Florence[d] contains fine examples of such medieval knives, one of which has been mentioned earlier in this paper. A set in the Opera del Duomo at Siena has nielloed ornament on silver upon the handles, and still preserves its *cuir-bouilli* sheath. Medieval knives of fine quality have been exhibited at various times before English archæological societies.[e]

[a] Another large bread knife was the *chaplepain*, which appears to have somewhat resembled the broad-bladed *présentoir* used for clearing up crumbs and for serving fish or pastry to the guests. Examples of the *présentoir* may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Salting Collection), in the Bargello, the Louvre, and other museums.

[b] Inventory of A.D. 1458: a case for "*quatre couteaulx à servir le roy nostre Seigneur à table. Quatre paires de couteaux à tailler sur la table, garnis de quatre paires de parepains.* (Laborde, *Inventaires des ducs de Bourgogne*, No. 1192.) In an inventory of A.D. 1368 we read the following: *Payé à Thomas de Frevillier, coustellier, demourant à Paris, 12 fr. pour une paire de cousteaux de table avec le taillepain, le petit coustel et les guainnes* (B. Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers . . . des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. i. p. 166, Paris, 1902).

[c] Published in 1866. See also the references given in the *Archæological Journal*, xxvii. 78.

[d] See the *Catalogo del R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze*, Nos. 855 ff. pp. 156-7.

[e] *Archæological Journal*, ix. 120 (three knives in a case); *Proceedings*, 2nd Series, xvii. 9.

XVIII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in* 1906.

By W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq.*, *M.A.*

Read 20th June, 1907.

The report which I have the honour of submitting to the Society, on behalf of my colleagues, of the work carried out by the Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund in 1906, is the seventeenth successive account of our investigations.

Operations were begun on 17th May and carried on without break until 19th November, by which date the unavoidable filling in had been completed. The work throughout was supervised and directed by our colleague Mr. Mill Stephenson, to whom not only ourselves but antiquaries in general are once more greatly indebted for his kind and disinterested help.

In pursuance of the plan outlined in last year's report our investigations were again confined to the grass field near the middle of the Roman site. We started with the hope of completing the excavation of this field, but the unlooked-for spell of dry weather in the autumn made the ground so hard that the work could not be extended beyond the limits of one *insula*.

This *insula*, which we have numbered XXXIV., lies immediately north of that containing the Baths, and eastwards of *Insula* VI., which was excavated in 1905. It extends east and west and measures 338½ feet along its northern, but 361 feet along the southern margin. The western end measures 220 feet and forms very nearly a right angle with the southern side, but the eastern end

is somewhat narrower, and its oblique line measures only 206½ feet. The total area of the *insula* was about 1¾ acre. (Plate XL.)

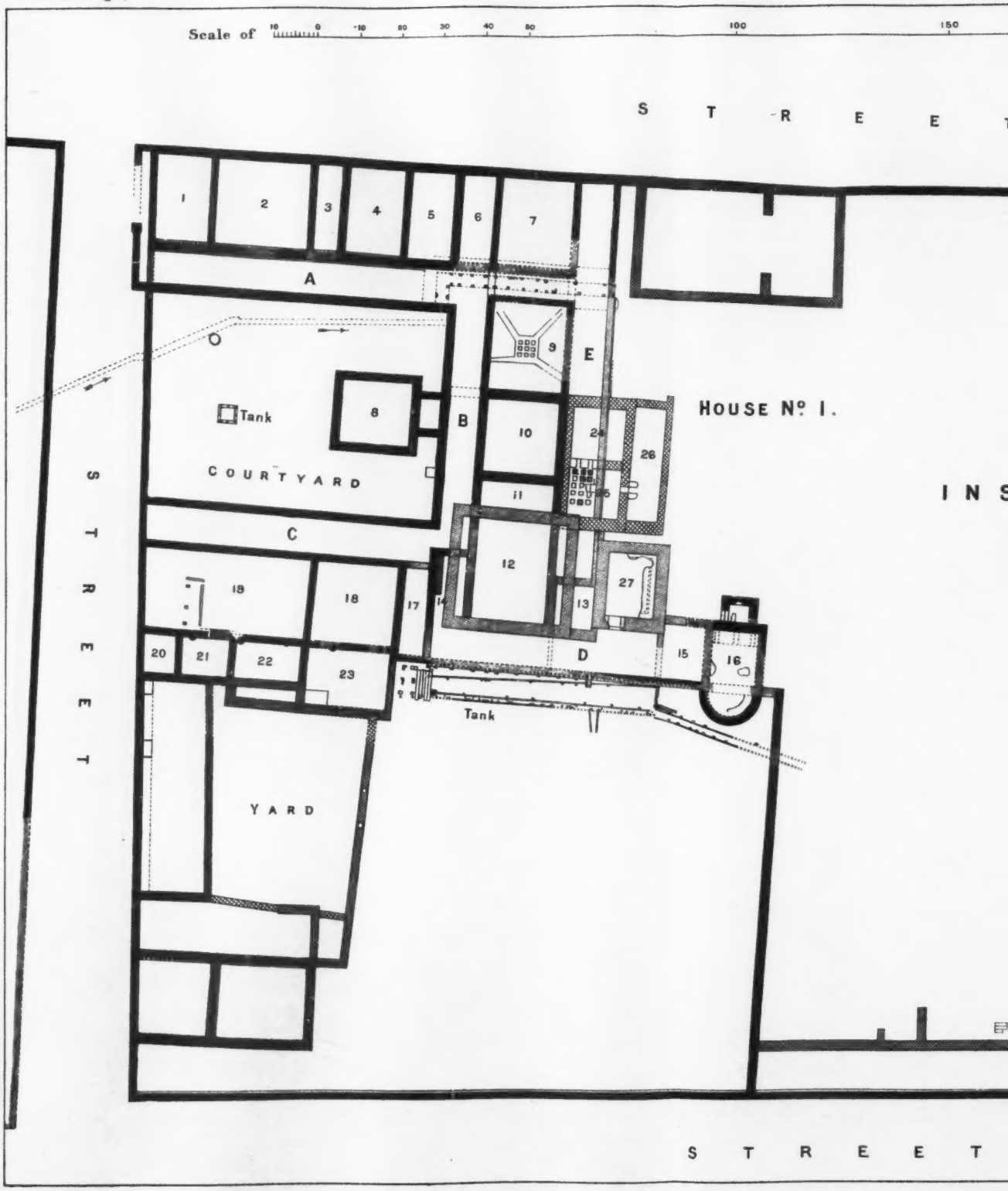
Insula XXXIV. was bounded by streets on the north, west, and south, but to the east of it no definite traces of street or lane could be found. Like *Insula* XIX., which was excavated in 1898, it was completely enclosed by walls, the lines of which were everywhere intact save at the south-east corner. Also like *Insula* XIX., that under notice contained but one important building, a large house of the court-yard type, which, with its outbuildings, filled about one-third of the area at its western end.

The rest of the *insula* was more or less open ground, but in the south-east corner a section about 90 feet square was enclosed by walls. From this another wall extended westwards parallel with and distant about 9½ feet from the southern margin of the *insula* for 116 feet, where it abutted on a wall forming the eastern boundary of another enclosed area south of the house. The long and narrow space between the two walls was probably a shed of some kind. Towards its west end are the broken ends of two walls going north from it, which could not be traced further, and near its eastern end is the foundation of an older wall running northwards for 18 feet from the boundary of the *insula*.

The remains of the boundary wall show that it was well built throughout of the usual flint rubble, 18 inches thick. The north-east angle had a quoin of large stones, and the east wall at 54 feet from its north end was pierced by an archway, 18 inches wide, constructed of tiles. The purpose of this is a puzzle. Equally hard of explanation is a hollowed out space 7½ feet long in the thickness of the wall some feet further south. Beyond this again is another odd feature: it consists of two series, 3 feet apart, each of four imbrex roofing tiles, laid close together, towards the outer face of the wall.

The large house which filled the north-western corner of the *insula* consisted of three ranges of chambers, a northern, an eastern, and a southern, built round a courtyard 68 feet long and about 48 feet wide, the western end of which abutted on the street separating *Insula* XXXIV. from *Insula* VI. The northern range, which extended along the street there bounding the *insula*, was partly explored in 1873 by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, who also laid open the corridors round the court-yard and a square building projecting into it from the eastern corridor.

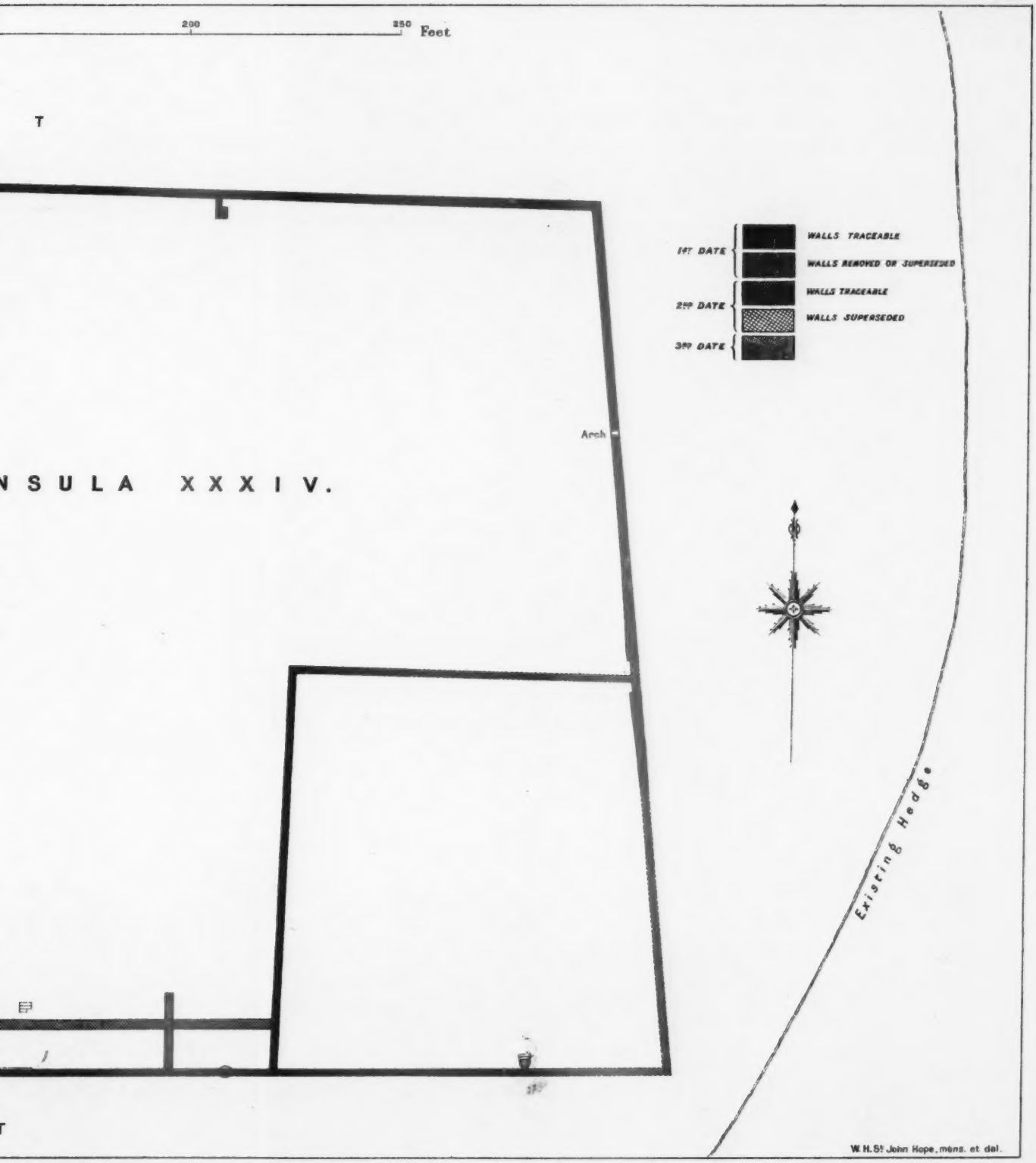
The western end of the north wing was covered by, apparently, a shallow portico 33 feet in breadth projecting into the street, with an opening in the middle of uncertain width. The entrance from this into the house seems to have opened into the room (1) behind it, and not into the corridor (A).



C.F. KELL & SON LITHO

SILCHESTER.—PLAN

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SILCHESTER.—MOSAIC PAVEMENT

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ENTS FROM INSULA XXXIV.

quaries of London, 1907

The north wing itself consisted of a row of seven chambers (1—7) along the street, all of different sizes and with mosaic floors,[a] with an eighth division at the east end, which, from its having no mosaic floor, possibly contained a staircase to an upper story. This division actually formed the north end of the outer corridor E, and was itself outside the wing. The floors of the rooms were all of plain red *tesseræ* with the exception of that in room 2, which had also a middle panel of finer coloured mosaic, measuring 11 feet 3 inches by 10 feet 1½ inch. This was taken up in August, 1874, by Mr. Joyce, and removed to Stratfieldsaye House, where it was inserted in the floor of the hall. The general design is shown in Plate XLI, from a coloured rubbing of the original, made by our colleague Mr. J. Challenor Smith. The smaller mosaic shown on the same plate, also from a coloured rubbing by Mr. Smith, is likewise preserved at Stratfieldsaye, but there does not seem to be any record of the building whence it was removed.

The floors in the north wing, owing to the fall of the ground from north to south, were about 3 feet below the level of the street, and the wall on that side was found standing to that height. There were, however, no doorways in it from the street into any of the rooms. To what purpose the several chambers were devoted is a matter of speculation.

The north corridor (A) extended along the southern side of the wing, and was 7 feet 8 inches wide, with a pavement of coarse red mosaic. Owing to the fall of the ground its level was 18 inches below that of the rooms that opened out of it.

The eastern corridor, which extended southwards from its eastern end, was a few inches narrower, and paved in a patchy way with drab stone *tesseræ* and the common tile mosaic. Opening out of the middle of its west side was a lobby or passage 7 feet wide and 4 feet 10 inches deep, and paved with red mosaic, into a rectangular chamber about 16 feet square. Both passage and chamber project into the courtyard of the house. The latter had walls of flint rubble with strong tile quoins, but there was nothing to show how it was paved.

What these detached or semi-detached buildings were is a puzzle, but they may have served as *lararia*, or chapels set apart for the worship of the *lares*, whose images would have stood within them.

Of the rooms east of the corridor (B) the northernmost (9) was one of some

[a] Mr. Joyce's notes on the house, for a copy of which we are indebted to the Rev. H. G. Monro, mention the discovery of a piece of lead piping in Room 5.

size which had originally been a winter room. The hypocaust that warmed it was of the composite order, with a square chamber in the middle containing nine *pilæ* built of tiles. From this three flues radiated, two to the northern angles of the room, the other to the western side. The stoking passage extended to the east wall. An examination of this hypocaust revealed some curious features in its construction. The *pilæ* did not stand merely upon a cement floor as is usually the case, but upon a bed of large tiles laid diagonally with respect to the sides of the chamber. These tiles were bedded in cement, under which was a series of box-flue tiles, arranged end to end saltirewise, with one row extending beneath the stoking passage. These flue tiles were apparently meant to serve as a damp course, since they did not communicate in any way with the heating chamber or the warming flues, and were effectually covered by the tiles that overlaid them.

At some later period in the history of the house the hypocaust was dismantled and filled up with clay, upon which was laid a mosaic floor; a fragment of this, of coarse red *tesseræ*, remained against the east wall.

The next chamber southwards (10) was nearly as large as the winter room, and from the position of the wall flues in the latter, probably had a wide opening of intercommunication with it. Like so many other rooms in the house it was floored with red mosaic.

The next division (11) was apparently a passage 6 feet wide through the range, but its south wall as well as its floor have been destroyed by a later building.

South of it was apparently another large room (12), but the site of this has been absorbed by the building just mentioned.

Besides the passage (11) there was another, 5 feet wide, through the range between rooms 7 and 9. Both passages opened originally into an outer corridor or pentise, 8 feet wide, which traversed the whole breadth of the house. In its southern end was what may have been a small room (13) with a red mosaic floor; but this may equally likely have been a branch of another corridor (D) which extended across the southern end of the eastern range of the house. This corridor originally had a similar branch (14), but somewhat longer, at its western end, but this was encroached upon in later times by the building already referred to.

The main section of the corridor (D) was probably about 7 feet wide and 54½ feet long, with a floor of red mosaic. Its eastern end led into a small room (15), roughly 11 feet square, also paved with red *tesseræ*, which formed the ante-chamber to another of about the same size (16), but with a semicircular apse

opening out of its south side. (Fig. 1.) This apsidal room had a composite hypocaust under the rectangular portion, and was paved, at any rate in part, with red mosaic. The stoking was done from a small external chamber on the north, of which no such perfect example has yet been found at *Calleva*. It measured internally only 5 feet by 4 feet, and had a doorway and descending steps in its west wall, and a seat with rounded back for the stoker opposite the stoke-hole. (See fig. 1.)

Returning to the main divisions of the house, there still remain to be described the features of the southern wing.

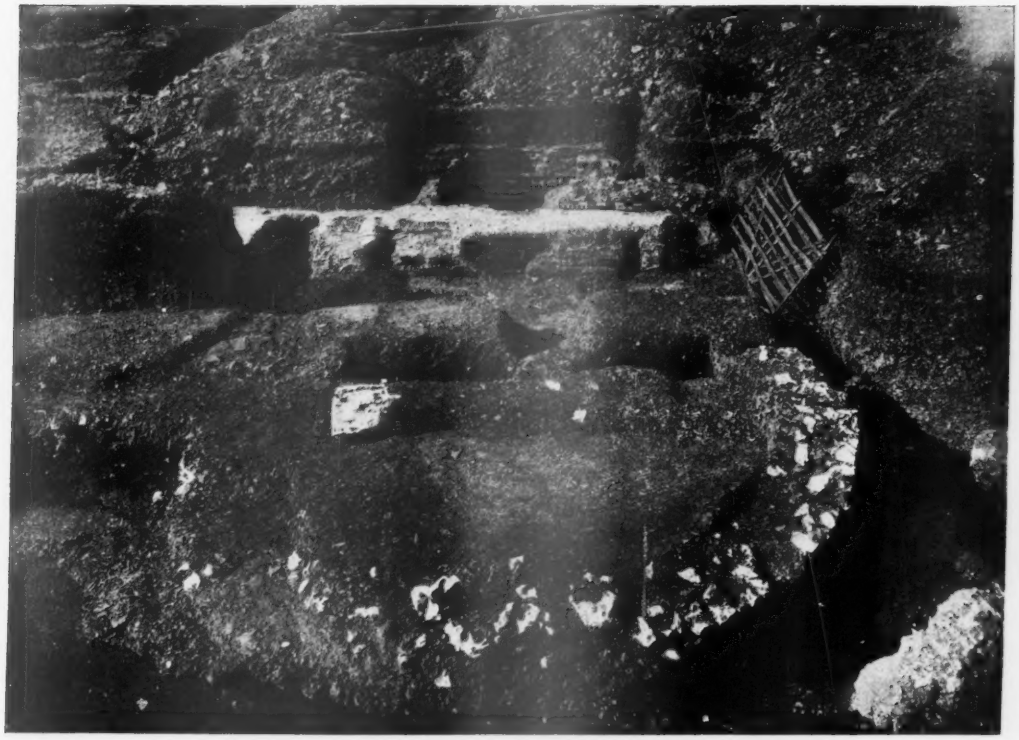


Fig. 1. Apsidal chamber and stokehole of hypocaust in House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV.
(From a photograph by Victor White & Co. of Reading.)

This had towards the courtyard a corridor (c), 8 feet wide, floored with red mosaic. The south-east corner of this was encroached upon to the extent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by the western branch (14) of corridor D, but for what reason is doubtful. Next to this, on the west, was a passage (17) $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 20 feet long

running through the range. The southern end of this for 8 feet was paved with red *tesseræ*, and had a doorway on the east opening into the corridor (D) there. The northern part on the contrary had only a mortar bed for its floor, and as there was a difference of level of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, owing to the fall of the ground, between the part paved with mosaic and the main corridor to the north, this mortar bed no doubt supported a flight of steps from the upper to the lower level, which extended eastwards all along this southern end of the house.

The remainder of corridor C extends in front of two chambers (18, 19), one about 19 feet square, the other of the same width but twice as long. Nothing was found to indicate the uses of these chambers, or how they were floored. The larger was perhaps subdivided by partitions, and the line of one towards its western end seems to be indicated by part of a row of posts found there.

Outside these chambers to the south was a series of others. Two of these (20, 21) towards the west were of small size, but the third (22) extended further south, and had another room (23) of the same width, but somewhat longer, east of it.

An examination of the wall separating these rooms from the two larger chambers to the north revealed the curious fact that there was embedded in it at regular intervals a series of tree trunks. They are roughly 11 feet apart from centre to centre and not quite in the same line as the wall. The trunks varied in diameter from 16 to 22 inches and remained to a height of about 2 feet. The tops were much decayed, but the bases were cut off square, and carefully packed round with flints. Further reference to these trunks will be made presently.

Extending southwards along the street from the chambers just described for 49 feet was a building 15 feet wide which had had a cement floor. Along its west wall there seems to have been a counter of masonry about 26 inches wide, but the purpose of the building is obscure.

Beyond it to the south, after an interval of $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, was another building of uncertain use with its west end abutting on the street. It was 21 feet in width over all and 43 feet in length, and was divided by a cross wall into two chambers of nearly equal size, the easternmost being the bigger. The south-eastern quoin of the building was formed of white tiles, a most uncommon variety as regards *Calleva*.

From the north-east angle of this building ran two walls. The one went northwards for some 12 feet and then returned westwards as if to form one side of a court between the two buildings, but after $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet it was broken off. The other wall went eastwards for 7 feet and then ran northwards for about 60 feet to

the southern wall of room 23 of the house, along the line of which it returned westwards. This room had evidently been destroyed, and room 22 partly so, on account of it, as the wall turned at a right angle opposite to that dividing the two rooms, and again after a few feet to join the wall south of rooms 21 and 20. Room 22 was thus reduced to the same width as the two lesser rooms, while room 23 seems to have been done away with altogether. Its area, however, continued to be utilized, since a patch of *opus signinum* flooring remained in the south-west corner of it, laid up to the newer wall, which (as will be seen from the plan) was thinner than the older.

In the long section of the wall just described, at 33 feet from its south end, was a circular sinking 18 inches in diameter, and 6½ feet to the north another only 12 inches in diameter. Both holes were filled up with earth, but there can be little doubt that like the instance further north they mark the place of two timber posts that have entirely decayed away.

As to the object of the other posts an explanation may be forthcoming from a discovery made on the site of room 23. Just below the level of the later *opus signinum* paving and overlaid by a bed of clay were found several layers of pieces of worked timber. (Fig. 2.) They mostly lay north and south, with others, some above, some below, crossing them at different angles, and many bore traces of having been scorched by fire. From the mortise holes and other features these timbers had clearly formed part of some framed construction, and their position is suggestive of their association with the adjacent line of posts, probably as a partition in front of them. The clay that overlaid them and in which they were embedded was no doubt derived from the filling in between the timber framing. One piece of boarding was of special interest as bearing a deep cutting, ¼ inch wide, made by a saw, and all the pieces show signs of having been worked into shape by the same tool. Traces of other similar timbers were found further west, but it was not thought necessary to remove a considerable depth of soil merely to uncover them. After the collapse of the woodwork a wall of flint rubble was built in its place, but not quite in the same line as the posts, but whether this was done forthwith or after some interval of time it is a little difficult to say.

In addition to this alteration in the south wing an important change was made, perhaps about the same time, to the eastern wing. This was the building out of a new winter room eastwards of chamber 10 and the passage 11, apparently in place of room 9. From its plan it seems to have been divided into two equal divisions (24 and 25), probably by an archway or some such

opening, and thus formed one apartment 25½ feet long by 12½ feet wide. The hypocaust, which was a pillared one, was stoked through an opening in the east wall of 25 from a long and narrow furnace room (26) overlapping both divisions of the room. The northern part of this no doubt served as a wood store. The hypocaust contained two sets of *pilæ* separated from one another by a cross

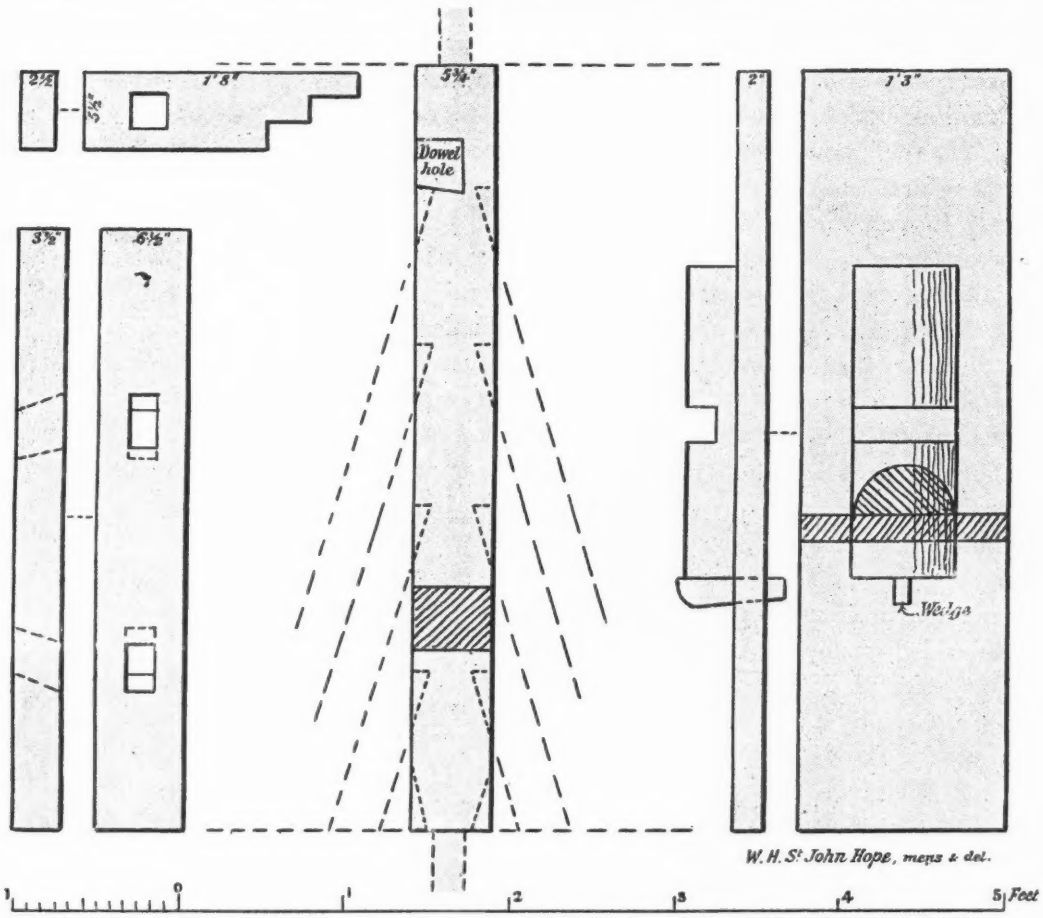


Fig. 2. Worked timbers found in House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV., under the floor of room 23.

wall pierced with several openings. It will be seen from the plan that the new winter room absorbed a considerable length of the middle part of corridor E.

The supersession and filling up of the hypocaust in room 19 probably took place upon the completion of the new winter room 24, 25.

The next addition to the building seems to have been the block which lies to the north-east of the house. It is separated from it by an interval of about 4 feet, perhaps for a staircase, and extended along the street for 54 feet from the corner of the house. It measured internally 46½ feet by 23½ feet, but was subdivided by a wall pierced with a wide opening into two unequal divisions. This block was planned to be warmed by a hypocaust, the arched stokehole of which exists in its east wall. The lower part of several of the wall-flues also remain, and the chases for others, but as no signs whatever of any *pilæ* could be found, nor of any cement or other floor on which they could have stood, it is quite certain that the hypocaust was not proceeded with. Moreover, the wall-flues have no openings at the bottom for the entry into them of the heated air, and contrary to the usual Callevan arrangement, which provides for this by a sloping passage below each flue, they could only have been made effective by breaking out the bottom ends of the flues, as in a similar case found last year at Caerwent. This, however, had not been done.

This block was clearly planned in the first instance for a drying-room in connexion with some industry; but whether it was ever completed, or if completed whether it was warmed by braziers, are questions that must remain unanswered, as must be also the further problem as to its use, if not heated in any way.

The last alterations in the plan of the house also raise some interesting questions. Although it has been assumed that rooms 15 and 16 belong to the earlier setting out, it is quite possible that they represent a later addition following upon the destruction (of which there is no doubt) of the winter rooms 24, 25, and the restoration to its full length of the outer corridor E. (See fig. 3.)

At a still later date the southern end of the eastern wing was taken down, and there was built over its site a large room (12) measuring 23½ feet from north to south, and 25 feet from east to west. As the older rooms only measured 17 feet from east to west this new room, as the plan shows, so intruded itself into the two corridors B and E as to reduce the passage of the former to 2 feet 9 inches and of the latter to 3 feet 3 inches. Its walls were 2½ feet thick, and strongly built of flint rubble, with tile quoins, on a regular foundation of wooden piling, probably on account of the number of older walls which underlay it. It was no doubt entered from the passage (11) on the north, but the door sill had been destroyed, as had also every trace of its flooring. From its south-east corner, and in line with it, another wall of equally massive construction ran eastwards for 4¾ feet and then returned northwards against a second new chamber (27) of more

remarkable character. This measured $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width and $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet in length from north to south. Its north wall was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, but the other three were as much as 3 feet thick, and all were strongly built of flint rubble. The east and west axes of the two chambers are nearly in line, but for no apparent reason, as



Fig. 3. Eastern wing of House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV., looking south.
(From a photograph by Victor White & Co.)

the two rooms were separated by an interval of nearly 5 feet, and the smaller chamber was entered from the transverse corridor D.

Concerning this chamber our colleague Mr. George E. Fox has kindly contributed the following descriptive notes:

"The room was entered by a single doorway of narrow dimensions near its south-west angle, the sill and jambs of which were of stone. The sill only now remains. (See fig. 4.) It is of one massive stone, 6 feet by 3 feet 1 inch, with an area of 3 feet by 2 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the size of the doorway, sunk in it, the sinking

being $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. This sinking leaves a fillet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide across the front of the doorway to form a stop against which to shut the door, and also on either hand a bed for the stone jambs to rest on, showing that each had a thickness of 1 foot.[a] Stops in sills such as that described are of common occurrence in Roman construction. Between the jambs the face of the sill is cut back half an inch;



Fig. 4. Vaulted chamber in House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV. The view shows the stone threshold of the door and the fragments of the fallen vault. (From a photograph by Victor White & Co.)

[a] The indications of massive stone jambs are worthy of note. Heavy stones of this kind are rarely to be found in the south of Britain, but wherever stone of sufficient size was obtainable they may be come upon, and are very characteristic of Roman work. For example, monolithic stone jambs were used in some at least of the doorways of the mile castles on the Wall of Hadrian, and a good specimen is to be seen in the baths of *Cilurnum*, a station on that wall. In the above instances they were run into grooves in the sill on each side. Openings of the same massive construction may be seen in the ruins of the public baths of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter), in Shropshire, and coming south another example is to be found in the bath chambers of the villa at Whitcombe in Gloucestershire.

and at 11 inches and at 2 feet 1 inch respectively from the east angle of the doorway occur two fragments of iron, small bolts joined to plates let into the front of the sill. They are difficult to account for, but may have had to do with the fastening of the door. On the inside of the stop, and close to and parallel with it, is a wide flat groove in the sill sloping to the east angle of the doorway, where was the place of the lower pivot of the door, to allow the pivot to be pushed into its socket when the door was hung.

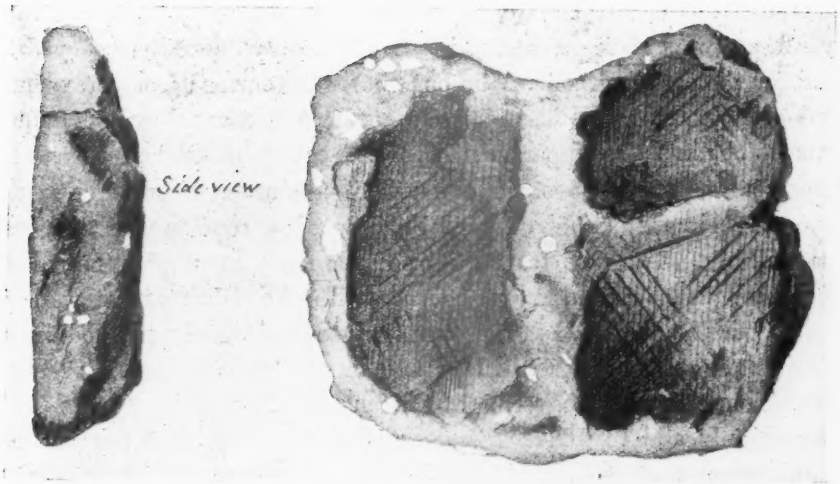
Against the pivot hole the sill has been much fractured, and there is a break in the stop at this point. Appearances lead to the belief that the door had been forcibly dragged outwards after the sill and stop had been broken, to enable the pivot to be got out. Subsequently the doorway appears to have been blocked or partially blocked with rubble.

One other point is noticeable. In the surface of the sill four concentric portions of circles, slight flat grooves, are perceptible. In the sills of Pompeian houses occasionally a slight striation shows that the door, sagging on its pivots through constant dragging, has caused an indentation by the pressure of its outer edge on the threshold; but the shallow groovings at intervals in this instance suggest that the doorway was closed rather by a grate than a door, some of the ends of the bars of which have made the indents mentioned. The grate being hung on pivots sagged in the same way as a door would do.

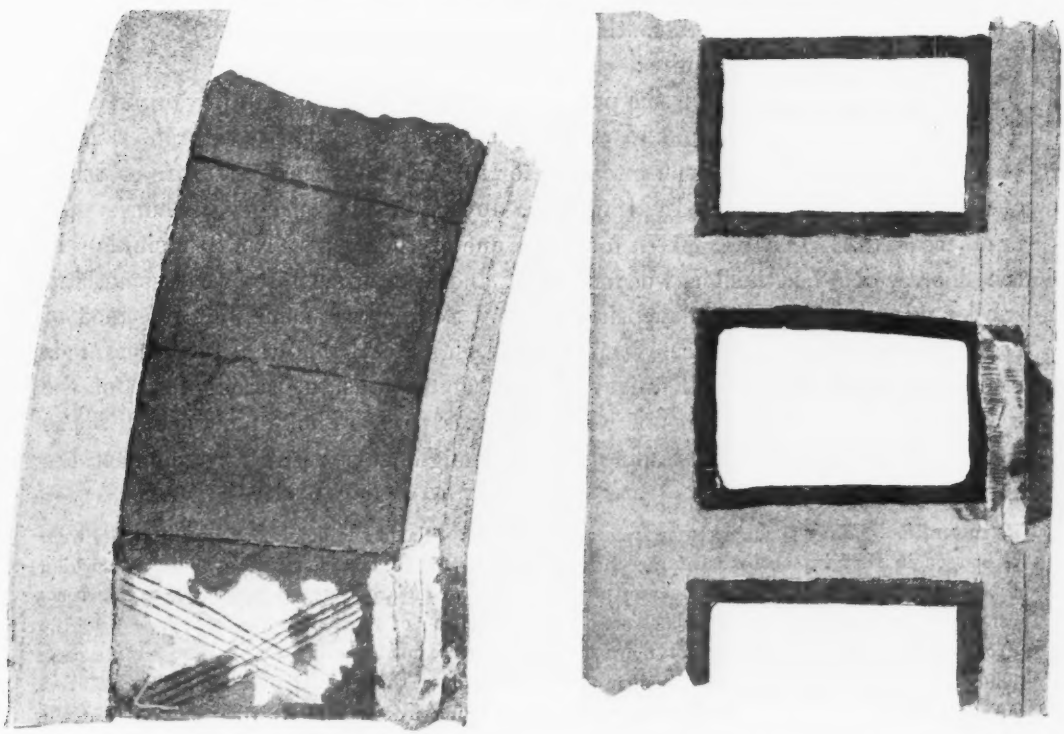
The walls of the chamber remain to a height of only a few feet. They have lost most of their plastering, but what still adhered to them showed no traces of colouring. At the foot, the usual quarter round moulding occurred, painted red. The floor had been of mosaic, but next to nothing remained. Next the walls was a band of no great width of tile *tesseræ*, well laid and rather smaller than usual, being rather under 1 inch square. Next it was a strip of black *tesseræ*, half an inch square, and then a few indications of a ground of white of the same sized cubes.

But the special point of interest about this chamber is that it affords the only example of vaulting found as yet in Silchester. The vaulting appears to have been formed of box voussoir tiles and plaster, the voussoir tiles being arranged in vertical bands, each tile fitting closely on the other with thick mortar joints binding the bands together. On the upper side a thick layer of mortar held the bands of tiles together, and on their under side a layer of plaster in two coats formed the ceiling.[a] (Fig. 5.)

[a] Such voussoir tiles as this vault is constructed with are not often found. Some, used up again as building material, were discovered in the walls of West Hampnett church, Sussex, at the time of



Fragment of upper coating of vault, of pink mortar, with casts of the scored ends of the voussoirs.



Section of vault.

Section through hollow voussoir tiles as placed.

Fig. 5. Details of vaulting of hollow voussoirs from Room 27, House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV.
(From drawings by Mr. George E. Fox.) (½ linear.)

The vault thus constructed, covering the chamber, was of the kind called a barrel vault, and was 11 feet 6 inches in diameter. The mortar employed for the joints and for the covering bed of the box tiles was very red from the quantity of powdered brick mixed with it, and it also contained a considerable quantity of fragments of chalk. The upper surface of the covering bed had been smoothed so as to present a glazy surface. It is not likely, however, that it was exposed to the open air, being probably covered by a wooden roof in the same way as medieval vaulting. The tiles from this roof were not found, for the reason that they must have been carried away together with the *débris* of the walls in the clearance the site has received in the course of centuries, only crushed fragments of the disjointed vaulting which had fallen on the floor escaping to show the exceptional character of the covering of this chamber."

I would only add to Mr. Fox's description the fact that the barrel vault had its axis north and south, and that it probably sprang from the walls at no great height from the ground. The reason for the increased thickness of the east and west walls was obviously to enable them to withstand the thrust of the vault, while the equally thick south wall contained the doorway.

Mr. Fox goes on to inquire:

"What could have been the purpose of this chamber, carefully vaulted, with doorway of especial strength, and well laid mosaic floor? The natural inference," he argues, "is that it had been intended for the safe keeping of treasure or deeds of importance, or both. In 1865 Mr. Joyce, in uncovering the house now numbered No. 1, *Insula* XXIII., found in one of the rooms (No. 8) a sinking in the floor which had held a wooden chest, and it was surmised that something similar might lie in the same position here. Search was made, but no trace of such an arrangement was discoverable. Still, in spite of this want of success, it is still possible to believe that this vaulted chamber was the strong room of the mansion or group of buildings of which it forms part. Though not sunk in the floor, the chest or chests containing valuables might have been ranged against the

its restoration. They probably came from the ruins of a villa in the neighbourhood. Others were to be seen in 1887 in the baths of the villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire. The use to which these had been put in either case was probably to form an arch over the entrance to the recess containing the hot bath. In the construction of the vaulting of the hall, which may have been the *apodyterium* of the public baths at *Uriconium* (Wroxeter), in Shropshire, these tiles played a part. They also formed an important element in the construction of the vaulting over the great *caldarium* of the public baths of *Aquæ Solis* (Bath), which, judging by the massive fragment lying at the west end of the hall, must have been largely composed of such material.

walls and fastened to them or to the floor. Instances occur of such an arrangement in Pompeian houses (notably in the so-called house of the Quaestor). With this suggestion we must leave the question."

From this description of the house we may pass to the consideration of other curious features in and about it.

When the building was partially explored in 1873-4, the Rev. J. G. Joyce noted, concerning corridor A, that the "pavement appears to be laid over a hollow way for heat running along its length." He also records later, "a wooden planking found between wooden upright posts some inches lower than the floor of the corridor, and a little to the east of where it ceased." The latter statement seems to be the outcome of an investigation based upon the former, as our own examination revealed no signs of any heating passage. But the manner in which the middle portion of the pavement had subsided led to the opening up of the wooden arrangement described by Mr. Joyce. This curious feature will be best described and understood by beginning at its starting point. This seems actually to have been the singular tank (21), also lined with wood, which was uncovered in House No. 1, *Insula* VI., in the preceding year. From the direction of this a wooden trough has now been traced crossing the intervening street obliquely, and extending into the courtyard of the house under notice. Beneath the street, where it was 6 inches wide, it was protected on both sides by parallel boarding 27 inches apart supported by vertical piles. After passing under the *insula* boundary wall, which it did at right angles to it, it resumed its oblique course, but with its width increased to 16 inches for about 21 feet. It then turned eastwards and proceeded in a straight line into the north-east corner of the courtyard, with a uniform width of 12 inches. Against the southern side of the oblique portion we found at the point shown on the plan a tub or butt 3 feet 3 inches deep, formed of two halves of a hollowed tree neatly fitted together vertically. The internal diameter was 30 inches, and the sides had been reduced to 2 inches in thickness. There was nothing to show how the two halves had been held together. The bottom of the butt was 18 inches below that of the trough and about 4½ feet below the courtyard level.

The continuation of the trough ended in the angle of the courtyard, but its office was there taken up by an extension of it northwards under the wall of corridor A with an increased width of 2 feet 10½ inches. This extension continued nearly across the corridor and then returned at a right angle eastwards through the passage between rooms 7 and 9 to the outside of the building, where it ended abruptly. The width of this eastern extension was 2 feet 6 inches.

At the point where the trough entered the house it also altered its character, and became apparently an open tank 45 feet long with sides of flint masonry 2 feet high and 3 feet thick built upon piles. (Fig. 6.) This was lined in part with oak boarding and floored with similar boarding bedded in clay. The side boards were only 7 inches deep, and kept in place by vertical posts. The bottom boards were

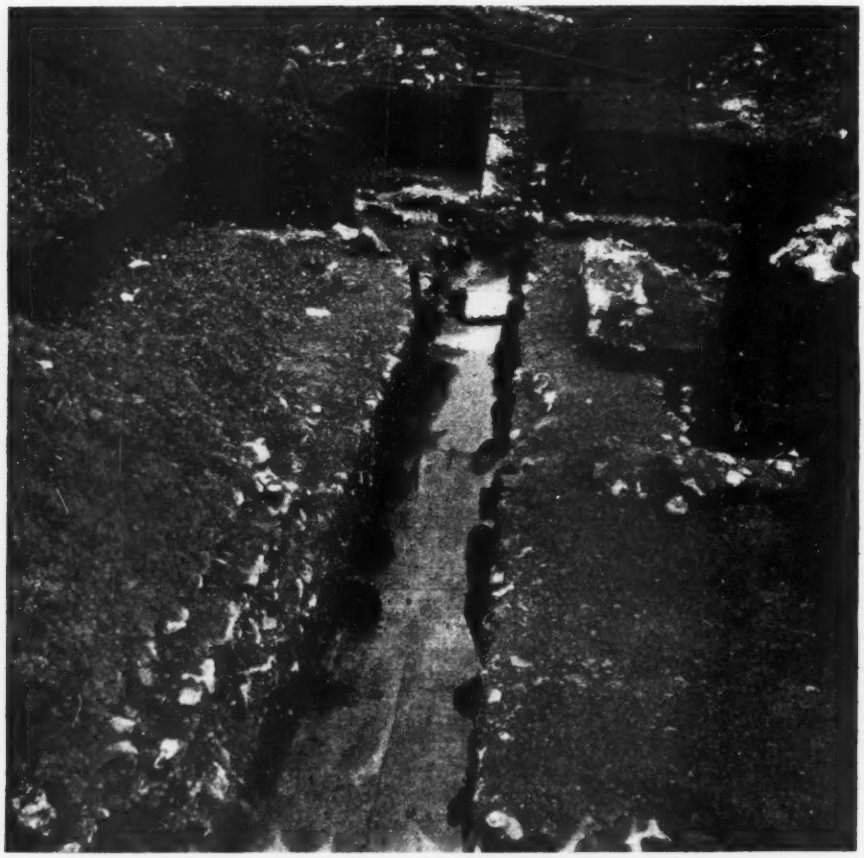


Fig. 6. Wooden trough under part of the northern corridor of House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV.
(From a photograph by Mr. R. Garraway Rice.)

14 inches wide, carefully notched to fit to the posts, and two at the western end were each 19½ feet long. The woodwork of the eastern half of the tank was much decayed, probably owing to its exposure to the weather during the former excavation. In two places the tank seems to have been spanned by brick arches; in one, where it was crossed by the west wall of the eastern range of the house; in

the other, at its eastern end, where it was crossed by the wall of corridor E. For what purpose this tank was constructed is a puzzle. It is certainly contemporary with the building, but it is difficult to see whether and how it was covered over, or in what way it could have been used. If it were open, the passage through which it passed would have been reduced to a mere ledge 18 inches wide along its southern margin. Whatever its purpose it was well supplied with water from some source towards the west, and when we had cleared it out the water flowed freely along it. Its eastern end has been almost entirely destroyed, and there was nothing to show how the water was drained away from it.

At a later stage in the story of the house the tank was filled up with gravelly rubbish and floored over with coarse mosaic.

Besides the water-butt in the courtyard, mention should be made of a curious wooden tank which was found 14 feet to the south of it, and for a description of which I have to thank Mr. J. Challenor Smith.

It was 3 feet 5 inches square, and formed of a double series of oak boarding, arranged about four rows of vertical posts. The posts were disposed in threes and measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches. The interval between the inner and outer series of boards was the longer dimension of the posts. The tank was floored with four boards running east and west, and its bottom was 2 feet 6 inches below the courtyard, but owing to the decay of its upper parts the woodwork remained to a height of 18 inches only.

Besides the curious tank within the house, there was another outside of and coterminous with corridor D on the south.

The south wall of this corridor was supported by piles throughout its length, and parallel with it 7 feet distant was another row of smaller piles or posts supporting a continuous length of oak boarding. In the intervening space was excavated a shallow tank with similarly boarded sides, but not parallel, its width gradually increasing from $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet on the west to a little over 5 feet on the east. (Fig. 7.) The total length of the tank was 62 feet, but its western end was covered by a platform or bridge about 7 feet square, of stout oak planking. The level of this platform was 15 inches below that of the mosaic floor of the passage 17 and corridor D, and about the same above the clay bottom of the tank.

At midway along the tank a narrow drain which traversed the corridor D discharged into it; and a few feet to the west, at a lower level, there projected into the tank a hollowed trough constructed of the trunk of a tree. But no drain could be found behind the latter. Nearly opposite this trough was a kind of overflow outlet to the tank, but the actual opening for emptying the tank was at the

south-east corner, whence two parallel lines of boarding, upheld by piles, extended in a south-easterly direction for some 25 feet, beyond which no definite traces were left.

The use of this singular construction is very difficult to determine. That it was used for steeping purposes seems fairly evident, and the discovery, embedded



Fig. 7. Tank (filled with rain water) on south side of House No. 1, *Insula* XXXIV.
(From a photograph by Victor White and Co.)

in the soil covering the bridge or platform at the west end, of a number of horse and ox skulls without lower jaws,[a] suggests that the hides of animals, with the

[a] The extensive deposit of lower jaws without skulls found in 1905 under Block I. Insula VI. may not be unconnected with this discovery.

skulls still adhering, were brought hither to be steeped preparatory to being tanned. No trace, however, of tan or tan-pits could be found in the boggy ground to the south and south-east.

From the very wet condition of much of the southern or lower portion of the *insula* no pits were met with, and no finds of any importance beyond the usual collection of coins, pins, brooches, etc.

For the same reason little could be done in connexion with the search for plant-remains. Our colleague Mr. A. H. Lyell has nevertheless communicated the following note on some pieces of wood and other remains that were submitted to him:

"The examination of the specimens of woods which were found in the basal construction of House No. 1 proves them to be for the most part of oak. This was the case with the five tree stumps, about two feet in diameter and standing upright, which were embedded under the wall separating rooms 18 and 19 from those to the south. The same wood, either in the form of boards or unsplit branches, was used in the construction of the horizontal sides of the tank as well as in the sides of the drain north of hypocaust room 9, and the piles to support their sides were for the most part of oak.

On the west side of the courtyard and at right angles to the drain which crossed it on the north side, but not apparently connected with it, lay a long straight piece of wood having a deep groove running its whole length. This wood proved to be alder. Its purpose was not clear, but it might have served as a water gully on the edge of the house roof whence it had fallen into the court below.

Although the seeds of plants found numbered 54 species, only two novelties can be noted, namely, *Brassica nigra* (Black mustard) and *Carduus crispus* (Thistle), both weeds of no particular interest.

Mr. Clement Reid has, however, lately been able to identify two seeds which were found in 1902 and 1905 respectively, and which deserve recording. One proves to be *Morus nigra* (Black mulberry), the other *Onopordum acanthium* (Cotton thistle), a rare plant of waste ground.

All the seeds came from the tank and the drain which crossed the courtyard of the house.

Mr. E. T. Newton has found nothing new among the small bones which were submitted to him for examination. They consist of fowl, dog, house mouse, common shrew. Fragments of coal were found in the tank."

With these notes our report may fitly end. If circumstances are favourable

it is hoped that during the forthcoming season we shall be able to finish the examination of the whole of the 100 acres within the walls, leaving for a final year an extra-mural search for the cemeteries, potters' kilns, and other features.

The accompanying block plan (fig. 8) shows the portions of the town excavated down to the end of 1906.

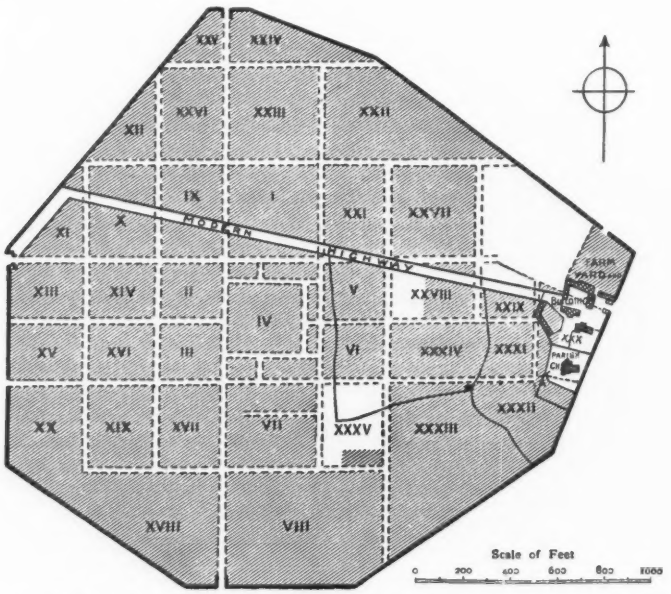


Fig. 8. Block-plan of Silchester, showing portions excavated down to the end of 1906.

XIX.—*Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the year* 1906. *By* T. Ashby, *Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A.*

Read 30th May, 1907.

The excavations of 1906 occupied a comparatively short period, from the middle of July until the end of September, and were carried on entirely upon land belonging to Viscount Tredegar, F.S.A., President of the Caerwent Excavation Fund Committee. The first portion of the time was spent in the exploration of a building to the north of the amphitheatre (Block K N) and of the mound within and parallel to the north city wall. In Block K N no discoveries of any special interest were made, and its plan may best be published when the examination of this portion of the mound is completed, which will probably be during the present summer.

The rest of the period mentioned was devoted to the uncovering of a large house (numbered House No. VII N). A small portion of it had already been excavated in 1903,[a] but at that time the rest of it lay outside Lord Tredegar's property, and has only come into his possession subsequently. Signs of previous excavation and destruction in order to obtain building material were found in some parts of it, though no record exists of other discoveries on this spot, beyond the mention in Octavius Morgan's summary[b] of "remains of tessellated pavement," a reference probably to Room 14 (see below).

Our own operations were to a certain extent restricted by the presence of fruit trees, which it did not seem necessary or worth while to remove.

[a] *Archaeologia*, lix. 112, and pl. x.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xxxvi. 425, and pl. xxxiii.

The house in its latest state is a large building, measuring some 146 feet by 72 feet, of a type not infrequent at Caerwent, with rooms surrounding a courtyard on all four sides. It has, however, been considerably altered and enlarged at different periods, and traces of earlier foundations are to be found in all parts of it except the south wing, which seems to have remained unchanged.

Four periods in its history can be distinguished, and are indicated by differences of tint, as far as it has been possible to make them out. (Plate XLII.) The remains of the first house are shown in solid black (walls not preserved above the footings are hatched), and those walls which belonged to the original building, but did not continue to exist in the later periods, are shown in outline. There are no doubt some uncertainties in the two earlier plans, which must be regarded to some extent as reconstructions; definite evidence for assigning a wall to the first rather than the second period, or *vice versâ*, is not always forthcoming. The fourth period is responsible only for an alteration in the position of the main entrance.[a]

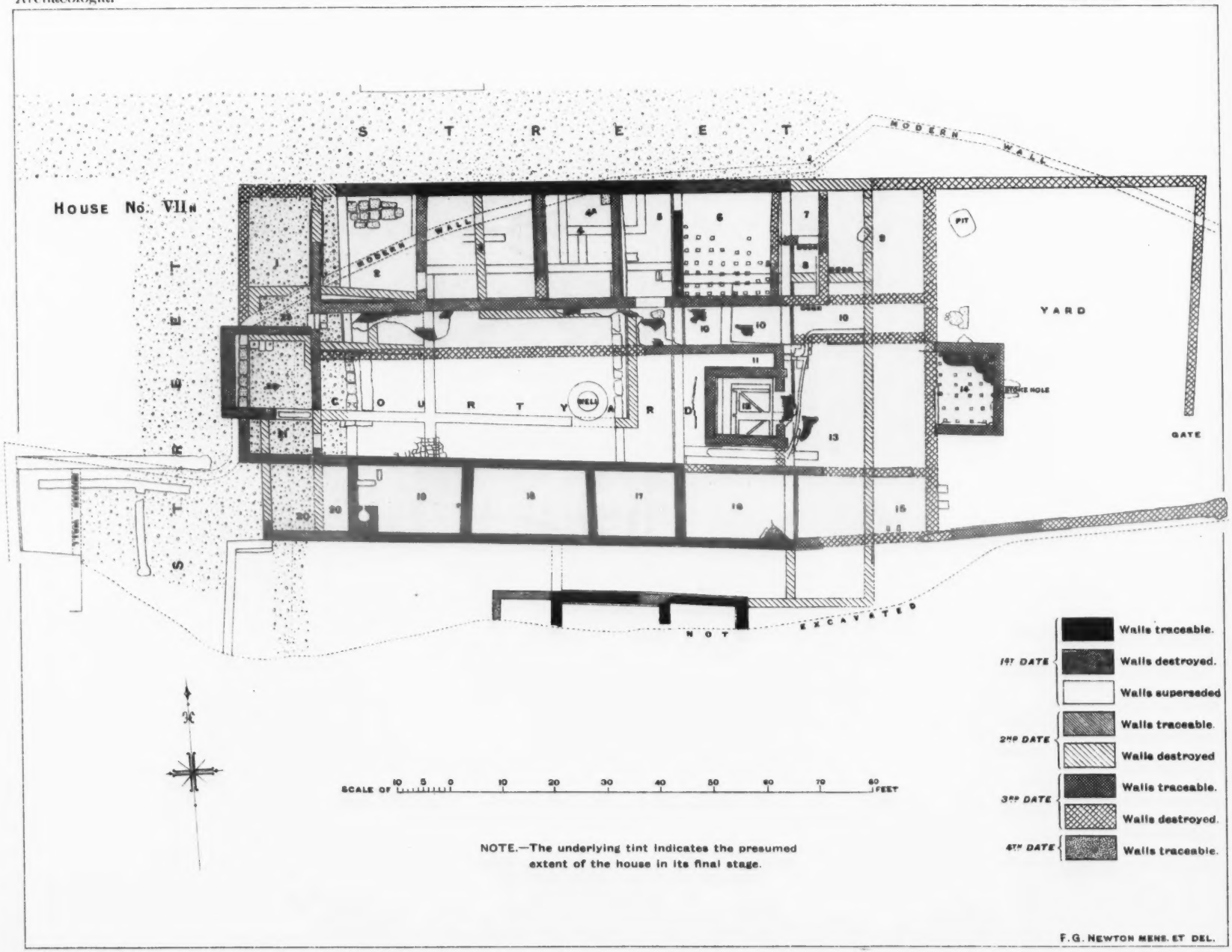
The first house was a much smaller building, 85 feet by 71 feet, with the rooms arranged round a small courtyard, and apparently no corridors on the north and west. Its main entrance was from the street on the west by a doorway 11 feet in width, the threshold of which, formed of sandstone slabs, shows considerable signs of wear; in one of them the socket hole for a door may be noticed. On the east side of the courtyard there is a similar threshold. On the east side of the building there was apparently another narrower entrance from the yard.[b] Opposite it is a square block of sandstone, probably a step, resting on mortar bedding. The floors of this earlier building so far as preserved are of gravel concrete, and there are traces of plaster on some of the walls, which do not call for special notice.

Under the north portion of Room 4 (in the later house) a small drain cut in the clay was found, 5 feet 10 inches below the modern surface level, going underneath the modern field wall, dating apparently from a period previous to the building of the house.

The first modifications which the house underwent included the construction of a corridor along the greater part of the north wing, thus lessening the area of the courtyard; the extension of the west wing westward, so as to encroach some-

[a] The plan is the work of Mr. F. G. Newton, who is also responsible for the other plates. I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for help in working out the complicated changes which the house has undergone.

[b] The east wall of this house has two footings.



C.F. KELL & SON, LITHO.

CAERWENT.—PLAN OF HOUSE No. VIIN.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1917.



Note:

The pieces of plaster above the honeysuckle pattern are vertically in position but horizontally they may come further apart. Nos 39. 40. 41. & 42. also have no fixed position.

CAERWENT.—COLOURED WALL DECOR

Published by the Society of Antiqua



CORATION FROM HOUSE No. VIIn.

tiquaries of London 1907.

what upon the street which led to the south gate, and its subdivision into several small rooms; and the construction of an additional room at the north-east angle, with a doorway on the east paved with old red sandstone slabs. This room was decorated with fine wall plaster, of which many fragments were recovered from under the concrete floor of the last period; among them was one with the figure of a hare in yellow on a dark green ground. (Plate XLIII.) Several of these fragments (though by no means all) show at the back unmistakable traces of having adhered to laths, some of them nearly two inches in width. This implies, it would seem, that the upper part of the walls was composed of wood-work, unless we suppose (what is less probable) that there was a wood backing to the plaster between it and the stonework. With these fragments of plaster was found a coin of Constans, which gives us a *terminus post quem* for the second reconstruction of the house.

Among the changes which took place in those rooms which had already existed in the earlier house we may perhaps reckon the formation of a large room in the middle of the north wing, though it is impossible to be certain to which of the first two periods the earlier foundations in Rooms 3 to 5 of the later house belong. The floor of large sandstone slabs in the north portion of Room 2 belongs to this intermediate period; below them was found charcoal, pottery, etc. and part of a large brooch which may be assigned to the second century A.D.

The room to the south of the small eastern entrance was converted into a channelled hypocaust,[a] stoked from the east (fig. 1), while the south wing underwent apparently no changes at all, except for the slight extension over the street of the last room westward, already referred to in the description of the west wing.

The second reconstruction of the house, to which we owe the house in its third state, was a good deal more extensive than the first. The north wing was widened at the expense of the north corridor, and the courtyard thus made narrower; but this was compensated for by the reconstruction of the west wing, which further encroached on the street, and thus allowed of the lengthening of the courtyard.

The south corridor appears to have been entirely suppressed; the courtyard was, however, surrounded by an ambulatory paved with large *tesseræ* of old red sandstone, the external limits of which are not very clear; on the south side a

[a] The prolongation eastwards of its south wall, indicated in the plan, has nothing else to correspond with it, and what it represents is uncertain.

repair, of slabs of the same material, may be noted. No wall belonging to the third period can be traced on the north side (the pavement lies over the corridor walls of the earlier period), and we must either assume its existence (see plan) or suppose that the pent roof which must have covered this ambulatory was supported by wooden posts of which all traces have disappeared. There was also a considerable extension to the east, where a yard was formed.

The rooms may now be described individually, beginning from the north-west angle.

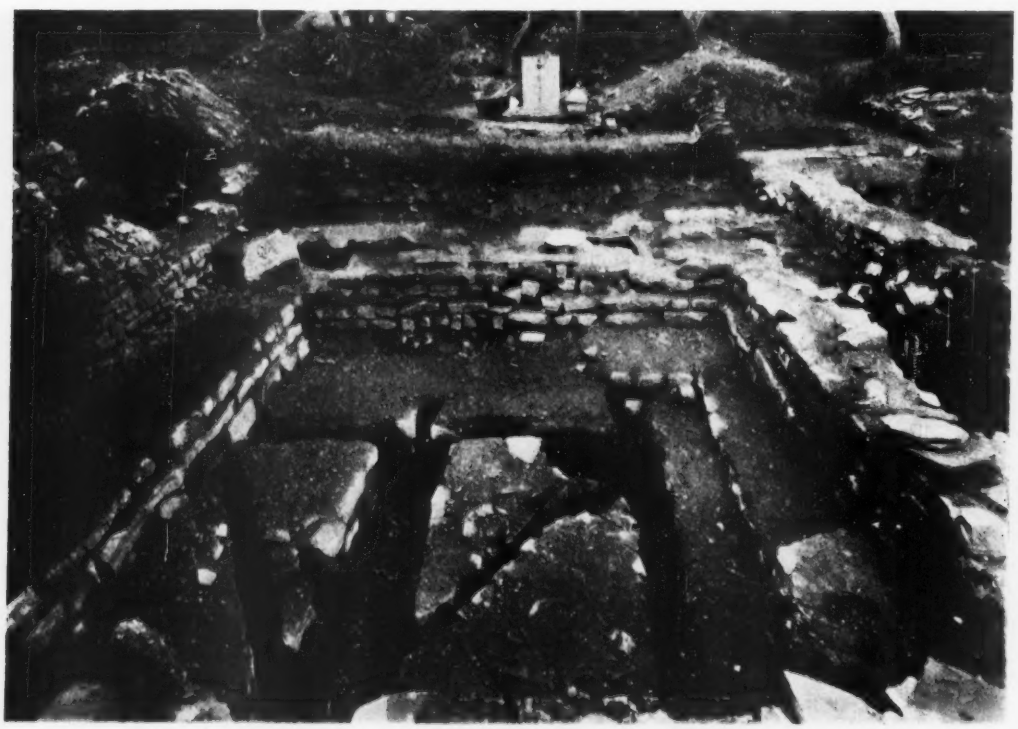


Fig. 1. Channelled hypocaust (of the second period) in Room 12, House VII N, from the east.

Room 1 is an extension over the street, belonging to the third period; its north wall has been quarried, and of its floor no traces were found.

Rooms 2, 3, 5 (the latter in the southern portion only) had gravel concrete floors at the upper level, about 2 feet below the modern surface, while that of Room 4 has entirely disappeared. The south wall of Room 2 is preserved to a height of 6 inches above the tessellated pavement of the ambulatory; in the

middle it is somewhat higher (about 1 foot), as is also the south wall of Rooms 3 and 4. Room 2 therefore probably opened directly into the ambulatory, Rooms 3 and 4 being reached through it. Room 5 again opened directly to the south, a block of sandstone being placed as a doorstep in the ambulatory. On the south wall of Room 3 there was dark green plaster with lighter splotches *in situ*.

In the north-east angle of Room 4 an impost block of sandstone was found, placed flat, 1 foot 9 inches below the modern surface; under it was a small bronze leg (of a box or chest?) in the form of a lion's claw, some glass, pottery, etc.

Room 6 was a large hypocaust stoked from Room 5; the concrete floor of the latter only extended over its southern portion.

The *pilæ* were of sandstone, 2 feet 3 inches in height, in ten rows from north to south and eight from east to west, most of those in the southern portion being still in existence. The floor which they supported was composed of fine gravel concrete $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, and there was apparently no tessellated pavement (unless it had been carefully and entirely removed), for we discovered no *tesseræ*. A considerable quantity of coloured plaster in very small fragments was found, and also a considerable number of flange tiles of the type found in House No. VIII N,[a] but without scored backs; likewise a number of mussel, limpet, and razor shells. Fragments of box flue tiles were found in the adjoining corridor (10).

The northern portion of the east wall of the room has apparently, with a great part of the north wall of the house, been removed for building material; and this has certainly been the case in the two small rooms 7 and 8. The former seems to have been accessible only from the latter, which was a kind of lobby, with a door into Room 6, another entrance southward into the corridor 10, and probably a third eastwards into Room 9, the walls of which have been removed by quarrying,[b] though the concrete floor, 4 inches higher than that of Room 7, is still preserved. From under these concrete floors came the plaster of the second period already referred to; and in the concrete itself small pieces of wood were embedded.

To the south of Room 5 the existence of the corridor (10) begins to be certain. The western extremity of its south wall is broken off, and the wall and line of threshold blocks to the west of it again, running north and south, belong to the second and first periods respectively. The exact arrangement here

[a] See *Archaeologia*, lix. 109, fig. 10.

[b] The existence of the south wall is merely assumed; but the start of the east wall from the south, and, further north, the trench made for the previous excavation of its stones, were traced.

repair, of slabs of the same material, may be noted. No wall belonging to the third period can be traced on the north side (the pavement lies over the corridor walls of the earlier period), and we must either assume its existence (see plan) or suppose that the pent roof which must have covered this ambulatory was supported by wooden posts of which all traces have disappeared. There was also a considerable extension to the east, where a yard was formed.

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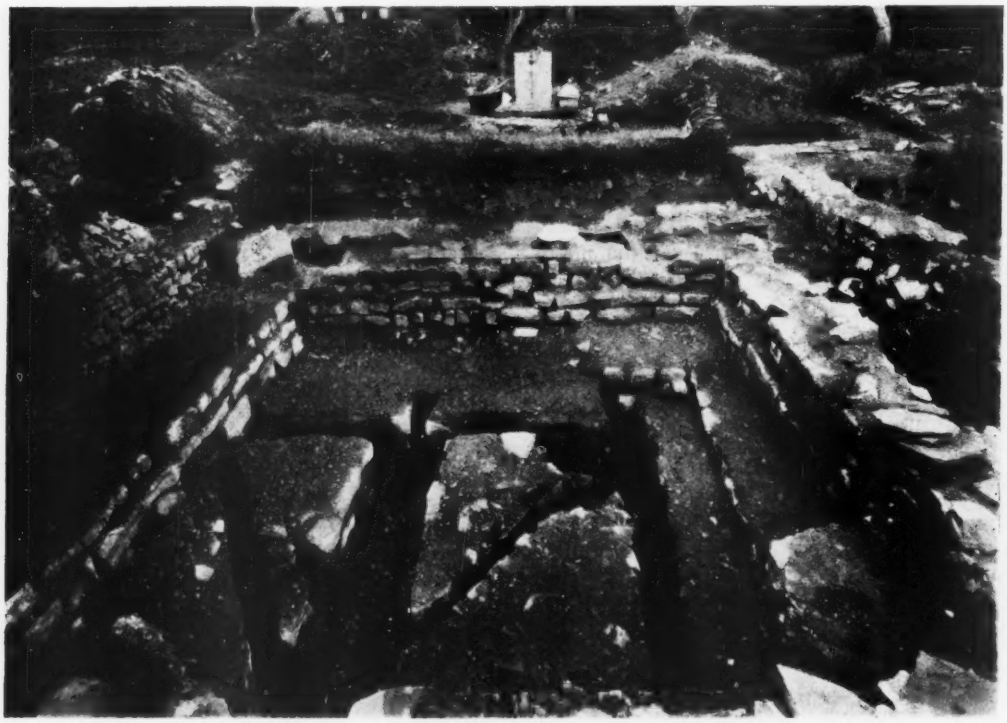


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Room 6 was a large hypocaust stoked from Room 5; the concrete floor of the latter only extended over its southern portion.

The *pilæ* were of sandstone, 2 feet 3 inches in height, in ten rows from north to south and eight from east to west, most of those in the southern portion being still in existence. The floor which they supported was composed of fine gravel concrete $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, and there was apparently no tessellated pavement (unless it had been carefully and entirely removed), for we discovered no *tesseræ*. A considerable quantity of coloured plaster in very small fragments was found, and also a considerable number of flange tiles of the type found in House No. VIII N,[a] but without scored backs; likewise a number of mussel, limpet, and razor shells. Fragments of box flue tiles were found in the adjoining corridor (10).

The northern portion of the east wall of the room has apparently, with a great part of the north wall of the house, been removed for building material; and this has certainly been the case in the two small rooms 7 and 8. The former seems to have been accessible only from the latter, which was a kind of lobby, with a door into Room 6, another entrance southward into the corridor 10, and probably a third eastwards into Room 9, the walls of which have been removed by quarrying,[b] though the concrete floor, 4 inches higher than that of Room 7, is still preserved. From under these concrete floors came the plaster of the second period already referred to; and in the concrete itself small pieces of wood were embedded.

To the south of Room 5 the existence of the corridor (10) begins to be certain. The western extremity of its south wall is broken off, and the wall and line of threshold blocks to the west of it again, running north and south, belong to the second and first periods respectively. The exact arrangement here

[a] See *Archaeologia*, lix. 109, fig. 10.

[b] The existence of the south wall is merely assumed; but the start of the east wall from the south, and, further north, the trench made for the previous excavation of its stones, were traced.

is therefore quite doubtful; but it may be understood if there was an ambulatory on the north side only of the courtyard.

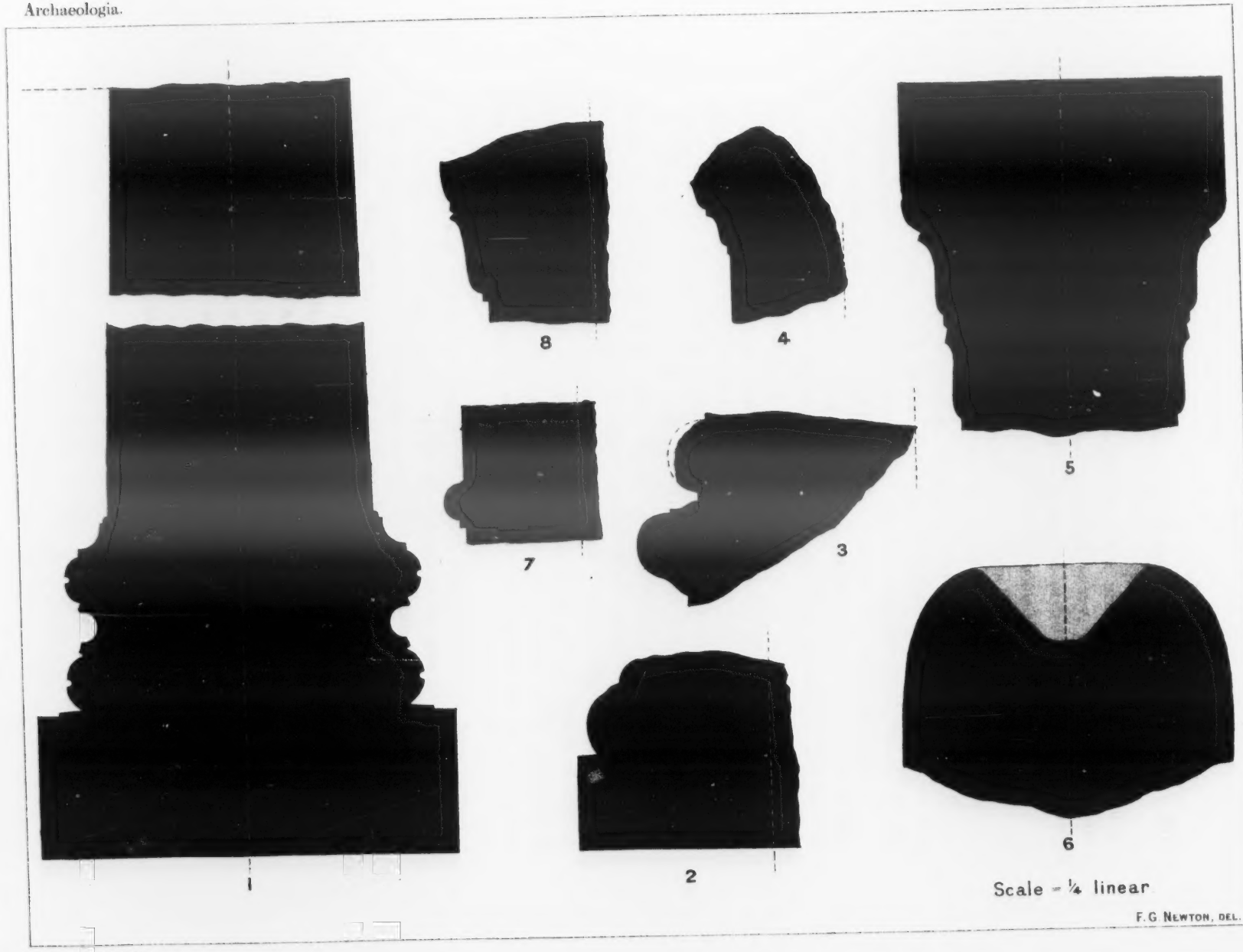
The corridor is 7 feet 4 inches wide, and paved with old red sandstone *tesseræ*; on the north wall is a plain white dado of plaster with yellow splashes, 1 foot 6 inches in height. In the corridor were found five fragments of small sandstone columns 6 to 8 inches in diameter, and near the threshold stone leading into Room 5 lay a larger fragment 2 feet 8 inches in length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a base with double torus (Plate XLIV. fig. 1), and a fragment of a plain base (Plate XLIV. fig. 2) and part of another (Plate XLIV. fig. 3). A piece of a capital (Plate XLIV. fig. 4) may also have been found here. Two gravel concrete floors, belonging to the second and first periods respectively, were found running under the west portion of the south wall of the corridor.

At its east end are two steps descending to the (11) yard outside the house. The pitching of this yard was found in places about 1 foot below grass level. In its north-western angle, just outside Room 9, was a small pit, which had had a cover of old red sandstone slabs, at about 5 feet 3 inches below the surface, but this had slipped in. A piece of coal was found 7 feet 6 inches down, but nothing else of note, the earth being all dry and loose; and the natural bottom was reached at 10 feet down. In the yard was found part of a capital. (Plate XLIV. fig. 5.)

The wall bounding the yard on the east ends with a straight face at its south extremity; here there was probably an entrance. The eastern portion of the south wall is only preserved as a very rough irregular foundation, and it is possible that it may have extended still further eastward than the plan indicates. At the end of the excavated portion a fine silver coin of Galba was found about 2 feet below grass level.

To the south of the corridor (10) there was a narrow space; it was traversed by a drain from the courtyard, which passes through its east wall by an aperture 9 inches wide by 1 foot high. Shortly after this it received a branch from the south, measuring 7 inches wide by 8 deep, and roofed with fragments of old red sandstone slabs, which ran under the tessellated pavement of Room 13, and then turned north into the corridor (10). It then went east again, falling somewhat sharply; but, owing to the quarrying for building material which has taken place here, its prolongation could not be traced. It measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, and from 3 to 10 inches in width.

The hypocaust in Room 12 was suppressed and its channels and stokehole filled up; and Rooms 12 and 13 (the latter apparently all one room), with the threshold between them, were both paved with old red sandstone *tesseræ*, but in the



C.F. KELL & SON, PHOTO LITHO.

CAERWENT.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND IN 1906.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1907



eastern portion of 13 the concrete bedding is alone preserved. The drain under the pavement of the latter is probably contemporary, inasmuch as it would have interfered with the stoking of the hypocaust under Room 12, had it been in existence in the second period, to which the hypocaust belonged.

In Room 13, on the north of the doorway from Room 12, a large slab of old red sandstone, 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 9½ inches by 3 inches thick, was found lying in a slightly slanting position with its upper edge 1 foot 5 inches below grass level. To the north again was a small furnace below the level of the tessellated pavement but above the drain. In the doorway itself was found the rounded stone shown on Plate XLIV. fig. 6.

Room 12 was accessible only from the east; but Room 13, besides having probably an entrance from the corridor (10),[a] could also be reached by a narrow passage on the south of Room 12.

Room 13 led again into another room with a hypocaust (No. 14), having stone *pilæ*, in seven rows from north to south and five from east to west. The *pila* in the extreme south-west angle is a fragment of a capital.

The stokehole was on the east side, the hypocaust being stoked from the yard; the aperture had brick sides where it passed through the wall of the room, but stone sides elsewhere, and the upper part of it was cantilevered.

The pavement was tessellated; the border of old red sandstone *tesseræ* was preserved in places, but in the middle, which had a geometrical design of smaller *tesseræ*, white, black, and red, hardly anything was left. Some of the plaster from the walls was fine Pompeian red with a yellowish line, and on the north wall there was a pink dado.

In each wall except the west, which is much ruined, were two flues formed of box-tiles, scored as usual on their outer faces to make the plaster adhere, and with rectangular holes in their sides, the mortar protruding through these keeping them in place. The hot air had access to them through an irregular hole broken in the bottom tile of each flue. (Fig. 2.) This somewhat primitive arrangement furnishes an explanation of what was found in a house excavated at Silchester in 1906, in which, in a hypocaust partly constructed and never actually used, the flues had no openings into them at all.

Under the floor, which is best preserved in the north-east angle, a curious collection of objects was found: a fragment of a small column with necking

[a] Possibly at the west end of the north side, though there is no respond on the east to the small projection on the west.

(Plate XLIV. fig. 7), a large iron hoop for the hinge post of a wooden door, a perfect tinned spoon, two cows' skulls, some mussel and limpet shells, two cocks' spurs, pottery, and two coins of Valens. In the north-east angle part of a capital was found (Plate XLIV. fig. 8).

On the south side of Room 15 two stone *pilæ* of a hypocaust were found *in situ*, and are shown on the plan; another block of sandstone, perhaps a *pila*, but only 18 inches high, was found lying outside the room. On the east side of the



Fig. 2. Base of a flue in Room 14, House No. VII N.

same room two brick piers, 1 foot 6 inches apart, were found; that on the south was faced with sandstone on its south side. They were probably the sides of the stokehole of the destroyed hypocaust, but the wall on each side of them had been broken away, no doubt by searchers for building material, to whom we must attribute the almost complete destruction of the hypocaust.

Turning now to the south wing, we find that at the south-east corner there has again been a good deal of destruction, so that the eastern portion of Room 16

and the whole of Room 15 lack the east and parts of their south walls. The two rooms here of the earlier house had been thrown into one long one, which was paved with old red sandstone *tesseræ*.

To the west of this the south wing seems to have remained without modification. The lack of floors at the later (upper) level renders it often difficult to see how the rooms were entered. Room 17 was accessible apparently from the east; it had a concrete floor three feet below the modern surface level, and the walls a dado of dull pink plaster.

In the north-east angle of the room, in a hole sunk through the concrete floor, a large grey urn, with an external height of 15 inches, and a maximum

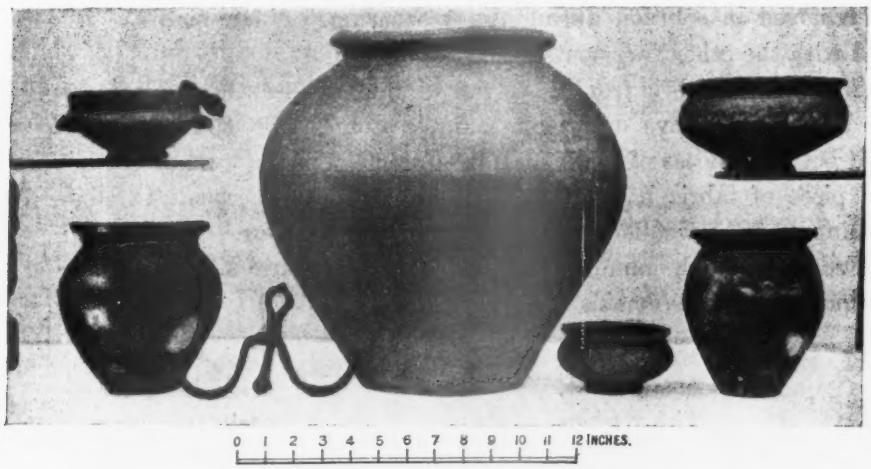


Fig. 3. Urn and contents found in House No. VII N.

diameter of 15½ inches, was discovered. It was covered by an inverted *mortarium*, which seems to have been cemented on, as the rim shows traces of cement all round; it was unluckily broken by the pick. The urn contained the fragments of two pewter vessels, three red bowls probably belonging to the third century A.D., to one of which, with white painted decorations, adhered part of an iron knife blade, and two rough black pear-shaped pots with strong traces of burning, which lay in the lower part of the urn. (Fig. 3.) At the bottom of the urn was some earth, in which were some iron objects, including a knife blade and a double hook for a lamp (?), and fragments of the pewter vessels.

Mr. Gowland reports that the vessels consist of lead carbonate and tin oxide,

resulting from the weathering and oxidation of the pewter. On analysis the following results were obtained:

Lead carbonate	17·67 per cent.
Tin oxide	67·80 ,,
Earthy matter	14·53 ,,
	100·00

The relative proportions of tin and lead present are as 80 to 20, which is the composition of standard pewter. The proportions of these metals, however, in the original alloy may have been somewhat different, as a portion of the lead may have been removed in solution during the weathering. A few pieces of iron rust are mixed with the other fragments.

Some woven fabric from the larger of the two pear-shaped pots found in the large grey vase, above described, is interesting. The larger pieces have been placed between pieces of glass, and are preserved in the local museum. Only one small piece of fabric had previously been found at Caerwent, in House No. 1 N. Both appear to be woollen, and of a red or brown colour.

From the earth found within the large grey urn Mr. Newton, who kindly examined it, reports remains of

Mole.
Mouse bones.
Fish vertebra.
Helix rotundata.
Zonites sp.
Cochlicopa lubrica.
Limnæa peregra.
Achatina acicula.
Pupa muscorum.

There may have been some slight admixture of earth from above, owing to the fact that the *mortarium* which covered it was broken. *Helix rotundata* and *Cochlicopa lubrica* were also found in a smaller sample, which was adhering to the bottom of the urn.

In Room 18 there was no floor that could be definitely traced; a layer on the east, 2 feet 5 inches below the grass level, and about 5 inches thick, may have been a disintegrated concrete floor. Under this layer, about 5 feet below the grass level, were found some third-century coins and a worn second brass of Marcus Aurelius. The successive reconstructions of the cross wall between Rooms 19 and 20 are a little difficult to follow; it is possible that in the later state of the house the rooms were not divided. Upon it in later times a furnace

was erected, facing to the south, with a stokehole, the side walls of which were only one stone thick, sunk below floor level.

Room 20 came into existence in the second period, and appears to have become in the fourth period the main entrance to the house from the street. It had a concrete floor 2 feet 1 inch below the modern surface level, and its threshold was some 7 inches higher; the pitching of the street led up to it and showed signs of having been raised a few inches.

The wall to the south of it, which comes forward of the line of the front, is apparently a yard wall; it encroaches considerably on the line of the street, while the two walls which cross the street east and west and that running at right angles to the southernmost of them,[a] must belong to the period after the abandonment of the street and the beginning of the amphitheatre. The wall running north and south to the west of them, on the other hand, belongs to the Basilica of the town, which was under excavation during the summer of 1907, and of which a description will be given subsequently.

To the south of the south wing are three cross walls, all belonging apparently to the first or second period, joining this house to another to the south, which has not as yet been completely excavated.

The history of the west wing is somewhat difficult to follow. We have already seen that the two main reconstructions of the house mark two successive encroachments on the line of the road. The first reconstruction, giving us the house in its second state, must originally, one may suppose, have taken the west wall of Room 20 as its front line; and we find a prolongation of this in Room 21, and a wall in line with it in Room 23; in the intervening room, however (No. 22), there is no trace of a wall in this line.

Slightly to the west of it, however, is a threshold, 10 feet in width, formed of slabs of sandstone, and occupying the same relative position as that of the earliest period, which must have been the main entrance to the house in the third period. The west wall of Rooms 21 and 23 was at the same time moved slightly forward so as to come up to the line of this threshold. In the fourth period this entrance was blocked by a wall, and the main entrance to the house was then transferred to Room 20. The opening in its west wall is not regularly formed, and looks as if it may well have been broken through subsequently.

Room 22 was floored with old red sandstone slabs $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. It had a pavement of slabs of old red sandstone, which lies over the earlier east and west

[a] At the end of this is a large sandstone block, perhaps one pier of a gateway.

wall on its north side. The eastern part of its south wall seems to cover a channel lined with concrete, the purpose of which is quite uncertain. Along this wall a small piece of mortar showing wattling was found, no doubt from the upper part of the walls. The small doorway in Room 23 continued to exist, with a descent of 6 inches into the ambulatory. The road bed found under all these rooms was about 17 inches thick, made up of gravel and sandy stuff.

In the courtyard of the house, near the south-east angle, was a well, which seems to have belonged to the third period of the building, as it broke through the line of the earlier courtyard wall.

The stonework began at about 2 feet below the grass level, the internal diameter varying from 3 feet 1 inch to 3 feet 5 inches, and from that point to 7 feet below it was filled with loose, powdery earth, with some Roman glass and pottery in it. At this depth a large sandstone slab, 3 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 11 inches, and about 6 inches thick, was wedged across the well, and below it the well was clear to the water, which was found at 15 feet. The lining of stones continued for another 2 feet, and was roughly circular. Then, at 17 feet, four flat stones, about 2 inches thick, were placed so as to form roughly a rectangle, the sides of which measured (1) 2 feet 10 inches, (2) 2 feet 7 inches, (3) 3 feet (opposite to (1)), (4) 2 feet 8 inches (opposite to (2)). Below this there was no lining, the sides being of soft clay and pebbles. The lower part of the well, from about 16 feet, was filled chiefly with stones, especially sandstone slabs, some of which were roofing slabs; one or two fragments of tile and pieces of mortar also occurred. From 19 feet to 20 feet several fragments of iron bucket handles and many pieces of wood from buckets were found; and at 20 feet another sandstone slab, 2 feet by 1 foot 11 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, was found, lying flat. The bottom was reached at 21 feet 9 inches. In the last foot were found a pewter jug, 8 inches in height, broken, similar to one found at Brislington,[a] and a round pewter disk, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, forming the central portion of a platter. The decoration of the disk resembles that of some dishes found at Appleshaw,[b] which appear to belong to the Christian period, but the central ornament of the Caerwent specimen is a circle containing a wheel-shaped object within a square. (See fig. 4.)

Two or three fragments of pottery, some more wood and metal from the buckets, and a cow's rib were found. The relative scarcity of animals' bones is in contrast to the state of things in other wells excavated at Caerwent.

[a] *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, v. pl. xviii. fig. b.

[b] *Archaeologia*, lvi. 7-12, especially fig. 3.

Samples of mud were taken between 19 feet 6 inches and 21 feet 6 inches below grass level, and sent to Mr. Arthur H. Lyell, who was kind enough to examine them. A few plant remains were found, but all, with the exception of the sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*), belonged to species already recorded from Caerwent.

Mr. Clement Reid, who was kind enough to identify the seeds found in 1906, reported that the only other novelty was the raspberry (*Rubus idæus*), found



Fig. 4. Pewter vessels found at Caerwent, in House No. VII N.

in a pit to the south of the mound at a depth of 19 feet 3 inches below the grass level.

The small bones and shells identified by Mr. E. T. Newton in the samples from the well were as follows:

Bank vole (*Evotomys glareolus*).
Field vole (*Microtus agrestis*).
Water shrew (*Crossopus fodiens*).
Frog (*Rana temporaria?*).

Water vole (*Microtus amphibius*).	*Helix arbustorum.*
Small vole (*Microtus* sp.)	*Helix rotundata.*
Toad (*Bufo vulgaris*).	*Zonites* sp.
Mole (*Talpa Europæa*).	*Cochlicopa lubrica.*
Shrew (*Sorex vulgaris?*)	*Limax agrestis.*

The block plan (fig. 5) shows the discoveries down to September, 1906.



Fig. 5. Plan of Caerwent, showing discoveries down to September, 1906.





SILVER-GILT CROSIER OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, (1367 - 1404)
(THE HEAD ½ LINEAR; THE FULL LENGTH VIEW ABOUT ⅛ LINEAR)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1907

XX.—*The Episcopal Ornaments of William of Wykeham and William of Waynfleet, sometime Bishops of Winchester, and of certain Bishops of St. Davids.* *By* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq.*, *M.A.*

Read 13th June, 1907.

In July of last year, on the kind invitation of Mr. J. B. Carrington, I was able, through the courtesy of the authorities of New College, Oxford, to examine at leisure the splendid crosier of their Founder, Bishop William of Wykeham, which Mr. Carrington had offered to cleanse from an accumulation of dust and dirt. One of the things at once apparent on examining the staff was its somewhat rickety condition, and in view of the fact that any mishap might be productive of deplorable injury, at the request of the College I drew up a report on the crosier and the steps that should be taken to make its several parts secure. As a consequence of this report the staff has been entrusted, on my recommendation, to Mr. C. Krall, who has carried out with his usual skill only such repairs as were absolutely necessary; it being the special instruction of the College that nothing further should be attempted. The wisdom of this course can not be too highly commended.

As it was not possible for Mr. Krall to repair the crosier elsewhere than in his own workshop, the College has allowed it to be brought up to London, and before it returns to Oxford to be exhibited to the Society, and that is how and why it is here this evening.

Together with the crosier it seemed desirable to exhibit whatever other relics of the Founder are preserved in the College, and by the courtesy of the Warden we are able to see the fragments of the bishop's precious mitre; part of its cap; and two leather mitre cases; two rings believed to have been the bishop's; his gloves; and a lovely jewel of the finest possible workmanship.

With Bishop William of Wykeham's crosier it was hoped that there might be

exhibited that of Bishop Richard Fox, but the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College were not willing to allow their Founder's staff to come up to London.

Yet a third College in Oxford, that of St. Mary Magdalen, is fortunate in possessing some episcopal ornaments which are believed to have belonged to its Founder, Bishop William of Waynfleet, and these, consisting of a pair of buskins and sandals, the President and Fellows have most kindly sent for exhibition.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Davids have also contributed two gilt-latten crosier heads and part of a third of unusually early character, and the curious framework of another crosier head; as well as two silver chalices, and two good examples of episcopal rings.

The history of the ornaments belonging to New College is summed up in a brief sentence of the Founder's will, which was drawn up by him on the 24th July, 1403, fifteen months before his death on 27th September, 1404:

Item lego Collegio meo Oxonie mitram meam et baculum meum pastoralem. ac dalmaticas et sandalia mea.[a]

He also bequeathed to his college at Winchester his other plain mitre with orphreys (*aliam mitram meam planam aurifrigiatam*). To his successor in the bishopric of Winchester he left his best pontifical and massbook; his best gold pontifical ring with a sapphire encircled by four "baleys," two little diamonds, and eleven pearls; his best gilt chalice, enamelled in the foot with images of the Passion; and his best "ponser" (or thumbstall) worked and wrought with nine balasses and 141 pearls. To his cathedral church of Winchester the bishop left his new vestment of blue cloth wrought with gold lions, with thirty copes of the same suit orphreyed with the story of Jesse; also a pyx of beryl, and a gold cross with relics of the true Cross. His other numerous bequests do not call for any special notice, and the disposal of the rest of his goods was left to the executors.

Bishop William of Wykeham's New College at Oxford no longer possesses his dalmatics and sandals, but his crosier, the fragments of his mitre, and other ornaments believed to have been his, are still among the most cherished relics of his foundation.

The crosier has been figured many times, notably by John Carter in his *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, where a full-sized representation of the head is given. In spite, however, of the extraordinary interest and surpassing artistic

[a] Reg. Arundel, part i. f. 215 *b*.

merit of the staff, it is curious that, so far as I can learn, it has never been fully described in detail.

The crosier has a total length of 6 feet 9 inches, and consists of two parts, the shaft and the crook. (Plate XLV.) The shaft measures 51 inches in all, and is composed of three lengths of piping with intermediate bosses, surmounted by an elaborate capital from which rises the crook, and ending with the usual spike at the lower end. (Plate XLVI.) The pipes have a uniform diameter of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch throughout, and are joined by screws, which are alternately right- and left-handed. The uppermost pipe is $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the middlemost $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the lowest $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The bosses or knots are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 1 inch deep, and are divided, the upper into twelve, and the lower into thirteen lobes. The pipes are formed of series of panels, in bands of threes, arranged in half section one above the other. Owing to their unequal lengths the uppermost pipe has five bands, the next six, and the lowest seven. The panels are 2 inches high and 1 inch wide, and formed of silver plates, each of which contains, stamped in relief, a group of five lily flowers growing on one stalk. The grounds are enamelled either green or blue, and are so arranged that each band contains alternately one blue and two green panels, or one green and two blue. As the panels had to be fired, they are inserted separately into oblong holes cut for them in the piping. These holes are bordered by delicate beading which, like the interspaces, is gilded. The effect is consequently that of a series of silver lilies on blue or green grounds, set in gold frames. The lowest pipe ends, not in a knot, but in a length of six-sided piping with a narrow lobed ring round the middle, beyond which is a silver spike with an iron core. Of the latter $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch is exposed and forms the point of the staff.

The capital of the shaft is 11 inches in height and consists of four distinct members, all of which are gilt. The lowest is a sub-capital with a circular bell surrounded by a series of upright leaves, and an octagonal abacus with a rose in each side of its hollow member. From the capital rises an octagonal shaft, buttressed at the angles, and with a two-light traceried compartment on each side. This is surmounted by a cornice with beautifully wrought leafwork, upon which stands another length of shafting, likewise buttressed at the angles; but the sides are treated as niches, richly canopied, and with backgrounds enamelled alternately blue and green. The niches contain a charming series of delicately modelled images, each about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. That in the front niche is a standing figure of Our Lord, crowned, and holding the orb in his left hand, and blessing with the right. Engraved on the back of the niche behind his head is a cruciform and irradiated nimbus. The

niches on either hand of Our Lord contain each a kneeling figure: that on the right is a lady in a long gown and with a veil upon her head; that on the left a man, bearded and bareheaded, and enwrapped in a loose robe. Both figures have a nimbus engraved on the back of the niche; they therefore probably represent Our Lady and St. John Baptist. Next to St. John is an image of St. Katharine, crowned, and trampling on the tyrant Maximian; the sword and wheel which she usually holds are lost. Next to the kneeling figure of Our Lady is St. Peter holding a book, but his key is partly broken away. On the opposite side to Our Lord is an image of Our Lady and Child; she originally was crowned, and also held an open book, a distinctly unusual feature. The niche on her right has an image of St. John Evangelist with the cup and devil; and that on her left St. James the Greater, holding up a big scallop shell in his right hand.

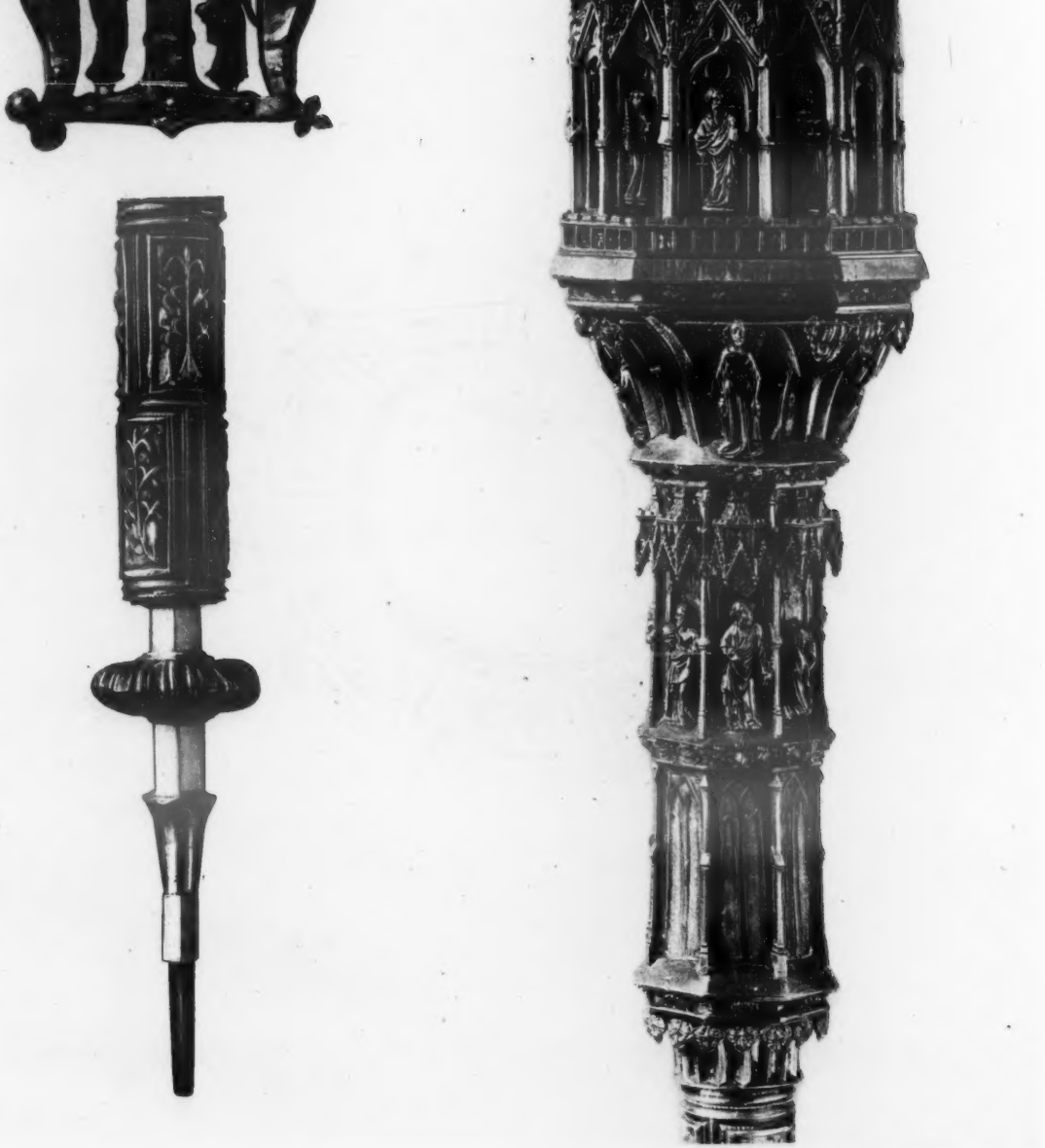
Above the canopied niches is the main capital of the shaft. It rises from a cornice of leafwork surmounting the canopies and has round the incurved bell four sitting figures of angels, alternating with as many groups of three upright leaves, some of which are broken away. Below each group was another pair of leaves, now gone. The angels[a] have their wings outspread, and their hands upon their knees as if to help to support the weight of the work above them. This has a hollow studded with leaves, and is surmounted by an embattled parapet, pierced on all sides with quatrefoil openings. Owing to a necessary change in the section of the crosier, the platform enclosed by this parapet is an elongated, instead of a regular, octagon, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 4 inches in width.

From this platform rises the crook. Its lower half is masked by an elaborate base of the most decorative character and extraordinary delicacy of workmanship. This base consists in the main of a series of richly canopied niches, the backgrounds of which are filled alternately with green and blue translucent enamel. The plan is somewhat peculiar, being formed of four oblong members arranged in cross, with four other two-sided members fitted into the angles. These latter have on both sides niches containing images, but the oblong members have niches with figures on their front faces only.

The figures are twelve in number. The front figure is that of Our Lord, and the opposite figure at the back that of Our Lady, in each case duplicates of those below; but the Blessed Virgin here has her crown, in token of her royal descent, and the open book. The other principal figures are St. Peter, also a duplicate, but retaining his key, and St. Paul with his sword and book.

[a] The faces of the angels are not gilt, but they have golden hair.





GOLD JEWEL AND SILVER-GILT CROSIER OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER
(THE JEWEL FULL SIZE; THE CROSIER HEAD AND SPIKE ½ LINEAR)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1907

The figures flanking Our Lord are St. Bartholomew on the right, with knife and book, and a bearded Apostle (probably "James the Lord's brother") on the left, whose emblem is lost. It was something slender that was held in the right hand, perhaps the fuller's bat wherewith St. James was done to death at his martyrdom.

Our Lady has on her right St. Andrew with his cross saltire, and on her left St. Matthew holding up an axe.

St. Peter is flanked by two identical figures of St. John Baptist,[a] holding a disc charged with the Holy Lamb; and St. Paul has on his right St. Simon, with saw and book, and on his left St. John Evangelist with cup and devil, also a duplicate of the figure below.

The upper part of each niche is a smaller version of the lower, having a similarly enamelled ground, but no figure, and surmounted by a tall crocketed pinnacle capped with a finial of blue enamel.

The duplication of several of the images is a little difficult of explanation, as is the possible scheme of their arrangement.

Mr. Krall suggests that the duplication is due to the replacing of lost figures by casting from some of those that were left. This will possibly account for the second of the standing figures of St. John Baptist, but after comparing the other figures I find a difficulty in accepting the suggestion generally.

The scheme of arrangement is somewhat of a puzzle. Our Lord in Majesty with Our Lady and St. John Baptist form an interesting group, and the presence of Our Lady and Child is easy to explain, as is that of the patron saints, Peter and Paul, of the cathedral church of Winchester. The rest may have been intended to give complete the series of the Apostles, but in that case only eight of the twelve are forthcoming.

Whether by accident or design the upper set of figures is not nimbed in any way.

From the middle of the pinnacled niches there rises, to a height of $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches from the base, an eight-sided tower. It has on the two broad sides an imitation window of three lights with a quatrefoil in the head, and on each of the ends a two-light window, also with a small quatrefoil above. All these have grounds of translucent blue enamel. The four canted sides have a single cusped light only, with a ground of green enamel. Round the top is an embattled parapet, cresting a band of pierced quatrefoils.

[a] That on his left has evidently been cast from the other, and may be a comparatively modern "restoration" to fill a vacant niche.

On the top of the tower is set a little six-sided house. Owing to its position it is more elongated in plan than the tower, and has the longer sides lined to represent masonry and surmounted by corbel tables and embattled parapets. In each of these sides is a square-headed doorway, and over it on the roof a little dormer window. The ends of the building are each formed of two of the lesser sides meeting at an angle, which is masked by a round pinnacled turret. The other angles were also masked by buttresses, of which only two are left. Each of the divisions forming the end runs up into a cusped and crocked gable. The roof is a plain one of high pitch which ignores the oblique gables. Beneath and in front of each gable was originally a silver image of an angel with outspread wings, playing on an instrument of music, but only one now remains. Some group or ornament, now missing, was fixed in front of each of the doorways.

Out of the roof of the house rises the crook proper to a height of about 11 inches. The sides of it are flat, but the edges are ridged and ornamented with four rows of a wheeled pattern of small four-leaved flowers. Between these rows is a plain rib which is masked round the outside of the curve by leafwork crockets, which are of cast work.[a] The incurved end of the crook is supported by a beautifully modelled angel who stands upon a corbel in form of a bearded man's head. The curve of the crook ends in an elongated six-sided platform $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and 1 inch wide. This was till lately a mere plate of thin copper, and as it had to be removed during the repair of the staff, Mr. Krall has replaced it by one of silver-gilt. Upon it has been refixed a small kneeling figure which has for a long time occupied this position, and a small group on a bracket supported by a curved copper strip. The kneeling figure is that of a bearded man with long wavy hair and apparently bare arms, enwrapped in a long loose robe or mantle. This has hitherto been described as Bishop William of Wykeham, but a comparison of it with the duplicate figure on the capital of the staff proves beyond doubt that it is meant for St. John the Baptist. The group on the bracket does not appear in any of the older representations of the crosier, notably that of John Carter of 1785, but it is shown in a small engraving of the staff, made by G. Hollis in 1815, and published in 1823.[b] Its copper support suggests its having been fixed in place in modern times, but there is no record at New College of this having been done, nor is it easy to see whence the group was derived. A recently published work describes it as consisting of "the figure of Our Lord, and an

[a] One of the crockets is missing.

[b] By Joseph Skelton, in his *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*.

attendant kneeling angel." But the latter holds part of a scroll on which may still be seen the words abe : ma . . . . and the standing figure is of course Our Lady herself, with unbound hair, holding up her hands in amazement at the archangel's message.

This Annunciation group is so obviously out of place in its present position as to raise the question, whether it has not been moved hither from another part of the staff. As a matter of fact, it would stand very well on one side of the little building lower down, where there are corresponding marks for its attachment. All the several representations of the crosier depict one and the same side, but the little group was probably fixed on the other, and so has escaped notice. It was no doubt removed owing to the corresponding group on the opposite side of the building having been lost. The kneeling figure of St. John Baptist was probably within the crook from the first, and placed in front of such a subject as a seated figure of Our Lady and the infant Saviour, for which there is ample room; and there are the marks on the crook of a subject on the same scale as the supporting angel below having been fixed above it upon the platform.

The flat sides of the crook are $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, but the crockets and mouldings increase the width to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They are bordered by simple beads, and divided by double bands set with small four-leaved flowers into ten compartments on each side. Each compartment has let into it a silver plate bearing an engraved figure of an angel playing upon an instrument of music, and sitting or standing on a cloud, the whole being covered with translucent enamel. The clouds are purple, and float in a lovely blue sky, and the angels' wings are barred of two colours.

On one side the instruments carried are (ascending from the bottom) cymbals, triangle, bagpipes, portative organ, penny whistle, zither, trumpet, pipe, cittern, and pipe. On the other side the lowest angel is a six-winged seraph; the rest are playing respectively on the drum, fiddle, flute, jew's harp, fiddle, harp, cymbals, pipe, and trumpet.

Although there can not be any doubt as to the identity of the crosier now at New College with that bequeathed by the Founder, it is open to question whether it was actually made for him.

William of Wykeham was elected Bishop of Winchester in October, 1366, but the papal assent to his election was not given until July, 1367, and he was consecrated the following October.

Now the architectural details of the crosier seem to belong to an earlier date

than 1367, and there is a possibility of the staff having originally been made for Wykeham's predecessor. This was Dan William of Edington, who was elected and consecrated in 1346 and died in October, 1366. His will, dated 11th September of that year, contains the bequest:

> Item lego domino Willelmo de Wykeham clerico privati sigilli domini Regis unum anulum aureum cum uno rubie et unum jocale ad valorem xx^{li}.[a]

but there is no mention of his pontifical ornaments. He leaves, however, the residue of his unbequeathed estate

> ad perfeccionem operis navis ecclesie Sancti Swithuni Wyntoñ per me inchoati si indigeat,[b]

and it is possible that his crosier, etc. may have been bought by his successor, one of whose first official acts was to continue the building works that Edington had begun.

The suggestion that the staff was made for William of Edington does not, however, apply to the actual crook. The ornamental details of this are quite different from those of the work below it, and certain peculiarities in the enamelled parts point to an origin in common with some of the ornaments of the precious mitre to be described presently.

One further point about the staff may be mentioned, and that is the startling resemblance, both in plan and design, of the rich tabernacle work at the base of the crook to the work on the well-known Waltham Cross.

This is one of the series of memorial crosses set up by her executors at each of the places where the dead body of Queen Eleanor, the consort of King Edward I., rested on its way from Harby to Westminster in 1290, and it was in building from about the middle of 1291 to some time in 1293. It need not of course be claimed that the crosier is so early, but as another of the Eleanor crosses was that of Cheap in the city of London, Mr. W. R. Lethaby has suggested to me, as an explanation of the resemblance just noted, that the crosier was the work of a goldsmith in Cheap, who borrowed the design from the cross in front of his shop. Unfortunately the Cheap Cross has long perished, and we know not how closely it resembled that at Waltham.[c]

The mitre bequeathed to New College by the Founder has long since fallen to pieces from age, and is now represented by the remains of its ornamental parts. These have been preserved in a cabinet in the Warden's lodgings, but without any regard to their original arrangement.

[a] Reg. Langham, f. 110 a.

[b] *Ibid.* f. 111 a.

[c] Fragments of it now preserved in the Guildhall Museum show that the two had many points in common.

In the hope that a careful study and comparison of the fragments might enable the mitre to be to some extent reconstructed, I offered to undertake the task if I might have them in my charge for the purpose, and to this suggestion the Warden and Fellows have most kindly agreed.

The remains of the mitre which were handed over to me comprised the four silver-gilt crocketed borders, three large gilt flowers with jewelled eyes, a considerable number of real and counterfeit stones in silver-gilt collets, a number of small silver-gilt stellar ornaments, several series of enamelled and jewelled tablets hinged together in bands, a fleur-de-lis set with stones, and an apparently hopeless mass of tangled and crumpled gold tissue intermixed with strings of seed pearls, amongst which were several more jewels.

There were also three uncut emeralds mounted in gold,[a] sundry pearls on gold stalks, and several odd jewels, as well as some book-clasp hinges and fragments that cannot have belonged to the mitre.

The crocketed borders presented no difficulty, and when pinned together at the top as originally, they at once gave the angle of the upper half of the mitre, as well as its approximate width.

The next point to determine was the position and arrangement of the hinged bands. The design of the enamelled divisions, all of which contain figure subjects, suggest that some were placed horizontally and some vertically, but nothing satisfactory on this point could be made out from the existing series.

From a number of loose jewels nothing of course could safely be deduced, though they afforded room for much speculation, and it was with a somewhat hopeless feeling that I at length turned to the ravelled heap of gold tissue and seed pearls.

The detection among this of what seemed to be a set of tassels suggested at first sight that the mass was largely made up of the fragments of the pendent labels of the mitre, but the tassel when unravelled did not bear this out, and I afterwards discovered that it belonged to one of the red silk gloves preserved with the mitre.

The next proceeding was to straighten out the rest of the mass. This yielded the remains of several distinct pieces of stuff, and it was with great satisfaction that I found on smoothing out and pinning down the largest that it was actually part of one side of the mitre itself. The next piece was an equally lucky find, since it proved to be part of the groundwork of the other side. The rest apparently also formed part of this same side.

[a] Two of these are shown in the upper part of Plate XLVII.

The discovery of these fragments settles definitely the design and arrangement of the greater part of the mitre.

On one side the ground seems to have been formed of horizontal bands, each 1 inch wide, of cloth of gold tissue, sprinkled with pearls. Down the middle was a vertical band, also of gold tissue, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and bordered with pearls, and similar bands formed the upper borders. These borders were embroidered with trails of very small pearls, leaving at intervals lozenge-shaped panels edged with gold, and worked with fylfots and other devices. The vertical band was embroidered with trails of larger pearls, in the interspaces of which were set imitation turquoises and other counterfeit stones, alternating with the stellar ornaments. These ornaments are of silver-gilt, and each is formed of a six-rayed flower or star, fixed by a short hollow stalk on to a round plate, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, with cabled border. In the middle of the flower is a silver socket for a seed pearl. (See Plate XLVII. B.) On the band were still attached a turquoise which forms the topmost jewel, an oval faceted crystal about 4 inches lower down, and an oblong green stone near the bottom. Three of the stellar ornaments also remained, one below each stone, and that next the turquoise still has the little pearl in the centre. (See Plate XLIX.)

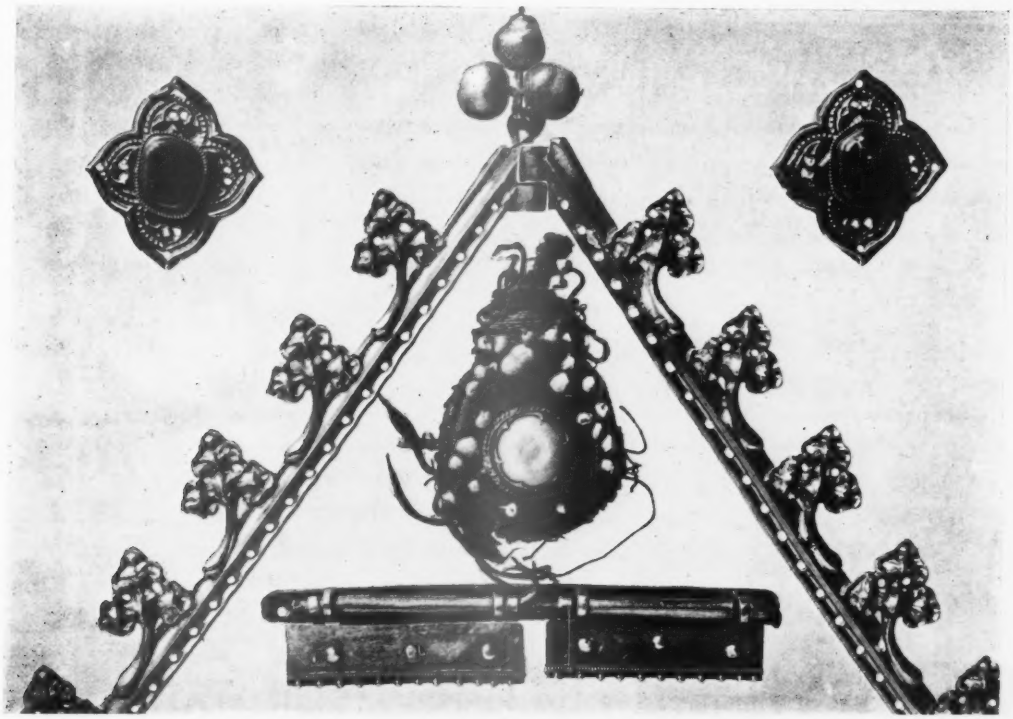
The other side of the mitre was probably arranged and ornamented in the same way, except that the ground was embroidered all over with scrollwork in silver thread, interspersed with trails of small pearls. From its more elaborate design this probably formed the front. (See Plate XLVIII.)

There is nothing left of the original ground of the mitre, but some small remnants[a] found with the other materials suggest that it was of velvet, perhaps of a red colour.

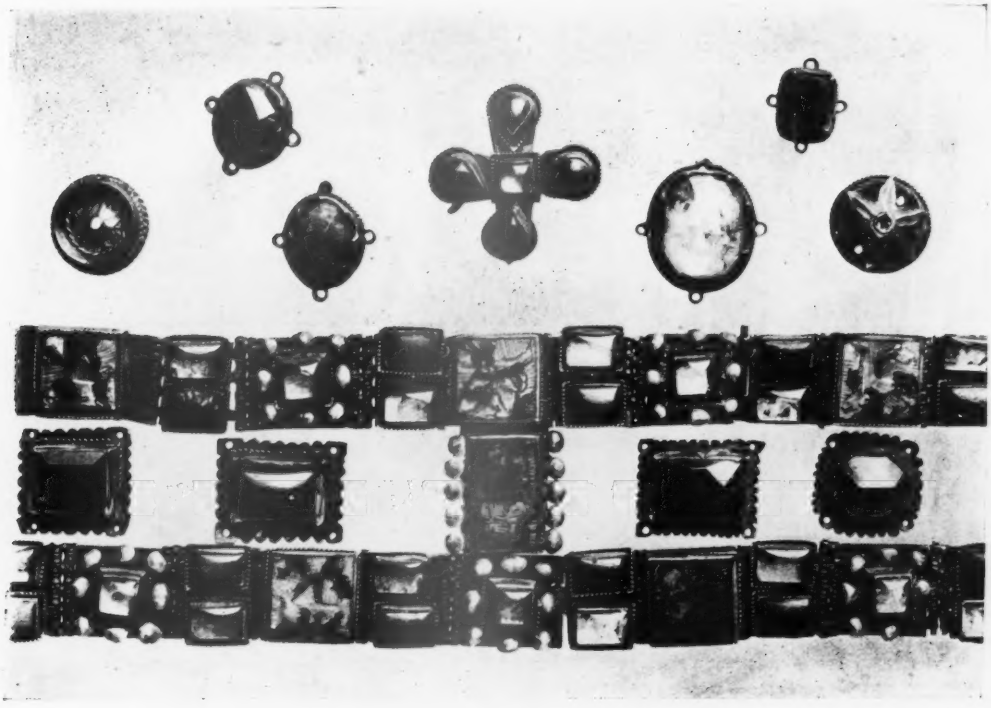
It is now clear from the fragments just described that the bands of enamelled and jewelled tablets belonged to the lower border of the mitre, and that none of them was placed vertically.

The tablets forming these bands are of three different patterns, with a uniform depth of $\frac{9}{16}$ inch, and are arranged so that the first alternates alternately with the second and the third. (Plate XLVII. B.) Those of the first pattern are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and each consists of a silver-gilt plate, with minutely beaded upper and lower edges, on which are fixed, one over the other, two oblong collets containing respectively a crystal and a green paste gem. In the original arrangement of the

[a] In the mitre as restored, these remnants have been laid down for preservation on either side of the large pearl ornament on the front horn.



A.



B.

ORNAMENTAL DETAILS OF THE PRECIOUS MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1367–1404. (½)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

bands the positions of the two coloured stones are alternated. The tablets of the second pattern are composed of similar but square plates, also with beaded edges, and having each in the middle a high square collet enclosing a crystal, and encircled by a beaded belt to which are affixed eight pearls. The other tablets are square plaques or sockets $\frac{3}{16}$ inch high, and with beaded edges, enclosing silver plates decorated with translucent enamels. All have the same coloured ground, a lovely sapphire blue, and a tree or bush with leaves of green, and yellow or purple, in front of which is an animal. In three this is a monkey ambling along on his four hands, and in two a sitting monkey blowing a horn. In one instance a stag is feeding and on another a lean dog is prowling. In the remainder (to the number of eleven) the beast is in each case a hare, either feeding, or sitting on its haunches, or lying down. All the animals are banded of yellow and purple.[a] One of the enamelled tablets differs in being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long



Fig. 1. Hinges and joint of the jewelled bands of Bishop William of Wykeham's precious mitre. (½.)

and slightly narrower than the rest, and having along each of the long sides a row of five pearls. (Plate XLVII. B.) The subject on it shows that it was meant to be placed vertically.

The tablets were originally attached to one another by hinges so constructed as to give the utmost flexibility to the bands. In the case of the enamelled plates the hinge on either side of them is a simple one of nine interlocking members working on a pin. The other hinges are double and interlock on either side of a pin, on which is a row of five gilt beads that form a feature in the design of the bands.

As seen from the back the hinges are suggestive of the component parts of the bands being laced together. (Fig. 1.)

[a] As noted above, the angels' wings in the enamelled plates on the crook of the crosier are barred of two colours.

Owing to careless treatment of the mitre many of the original hinges have been broken and replaced by others of more simple form.

The bands themselves are composed of sets, each containing an enamelled tablet, and one with the pearled crystal, alternating with two with the twin gems. Of these bands there remain three separated lengths, each comprised of four sets, and another shorter length which, with three other detached tablets, will make another series of four sets. These four lengths therefore supply sixteen sets of tablets. There is also another of four perfect, one quasi-perfect, and sixteen imperfect tablets, more or less clumsily coupled up in one length, in many cases with modern jumped rings, and ending in the pearl-bordered enamelled tablet.

The total length of these sections is $51\frac{3}{8}$ inches, or, deducting the pearl-bordered tablet and a small nondescript piece, $50\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Now there can be no doubt that this length of material belongs not to one band, but to a pair, which encircled the lower edge of the mitre, and the next question is whether any and how many of the tablets are lost.

Of the enamelled plaques there are sixteen perfect and one quasi-perfect, or seventeen in all.

Of the pearl-bordered crystals there are eighteen perfect[a] and the plates of three others, making twenty-one in all.

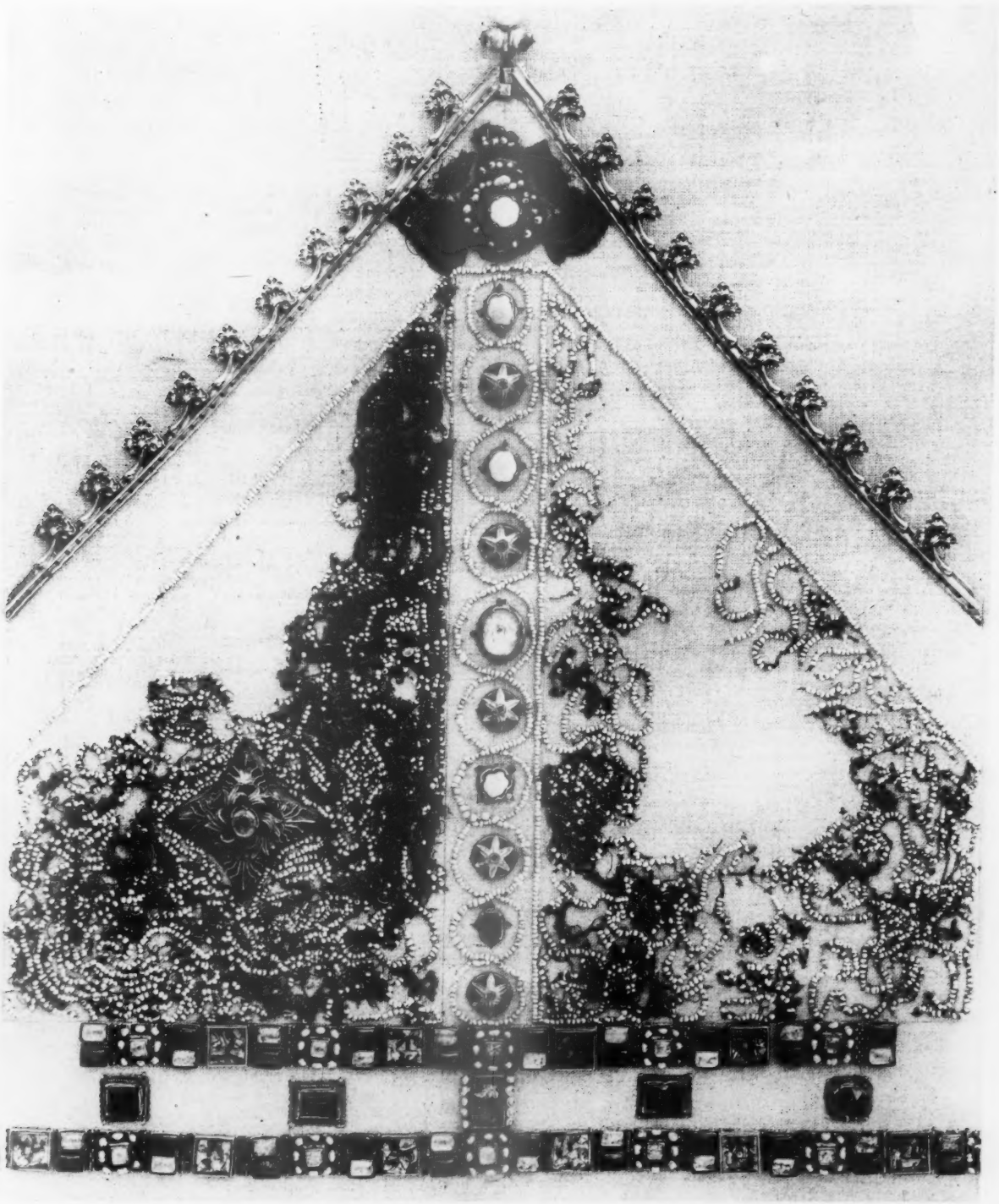
Of the twin gems there are thirty-four perfect, eight imperfect, and three plates, representing forty-five in all.

Now since the twin gems, if the bands were symmetrically arranged, as they no doubt were, were as many as the enamels and pearled crystals added together, and as there must have been an even number of them, there could not have been less than forty-eight, inasmuch as the half of forty-six will not give an equal division of enamels and pearled crystals. There must therefore be missing three of the twin gems, three of the pearled crystals, and five of the enamelled tablets, the united length of which would be about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

This would give twelve sets of tablets to a band, and as the average length of a set is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, each band was $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. But there are two enamels which formed the joints of the bands, and are $\frac{1}{4}$ inch longer in bed than the others. This increases the length to $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches, or $57\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the two.

The outside width of the mitre if flat must therefore have been not less than $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

[a] There is also a crystal and its pearls wrongly affixed to an imperfect socket of one of the enamels.



FRONT OF THE MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, AS RESTORED FROM REMAINING FRAGMENTS.
(½ linear)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

How far apart the bands were placed is uncertain, but since the enamel with the pearled borders must somehow have been associated with them, I think it may be the survivor of a pair, and that they were placed between the bands, either one on either side of the mitre, or one in the middle of the front and the other in the opposite position. This would fix thei nterval between the bands at $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

This interval was no doubt filled with some of the jewels already mentioned, but before discussing their possible number and arrangement, it will be well to consider first the disposition of those on the vertical band of the mitre. One of these, as noted above, still has attached to it three of the stellar ornaments, also a large turquoise, an oval crystal, and an oblong green stone.

There is a fellow to this crystal among the loose gems, as well as a number of turquoises, and there are also thirteen more of the stellar ornaments. Of these there must have been at least four on each side of the mitre, and there is also an oval crystal for each, supposing, of course, that the two sides were similarly arranged.

Of loose turquoises there are twelve, and it is curious to notice that six of them are numbered underneath IIII, VI, VII, X, XI, XII, while the one that is attached is apparently also numbered II.

With them must be associated seven coloured stones, all of similar size and character of setting, and all also numbered underneath III, V, VIII, IX, XIIII, XVI, XVII. (See Fig. 2.) There is also an empty collet of the same series likewise numbered VIII.

The two series together give us therefore all the numbers from II to XVII inclusive, with the exception of XIII and XV, and there is a duplicate VIII, which may represent XIII or XVIII.

The meaning of these numbers is not at all clear. They represent no sequence or alternation of colour, nor do they furnish any reasonable arrangement of odds and evens. Moreover there is not enough room for them on the vertical bands, on which place must certainly be found for three, if not four, pairs of the stellar ornaments.

It is true that the turquoise still in place is numbered, but the crystal and the green stone are not so distinguished, and it is possible that the blue stone was originally an unnumbered one. The six turquoises without numbers, and two later unnumbered blue stones set in silver (see Fig. 2), may therefore have belonged to the vertical bands, and the numbered stones have been placed either along the labels or between the bands round the base of the mitre. Of these alternatives the former seems the more likely, and for this reason.

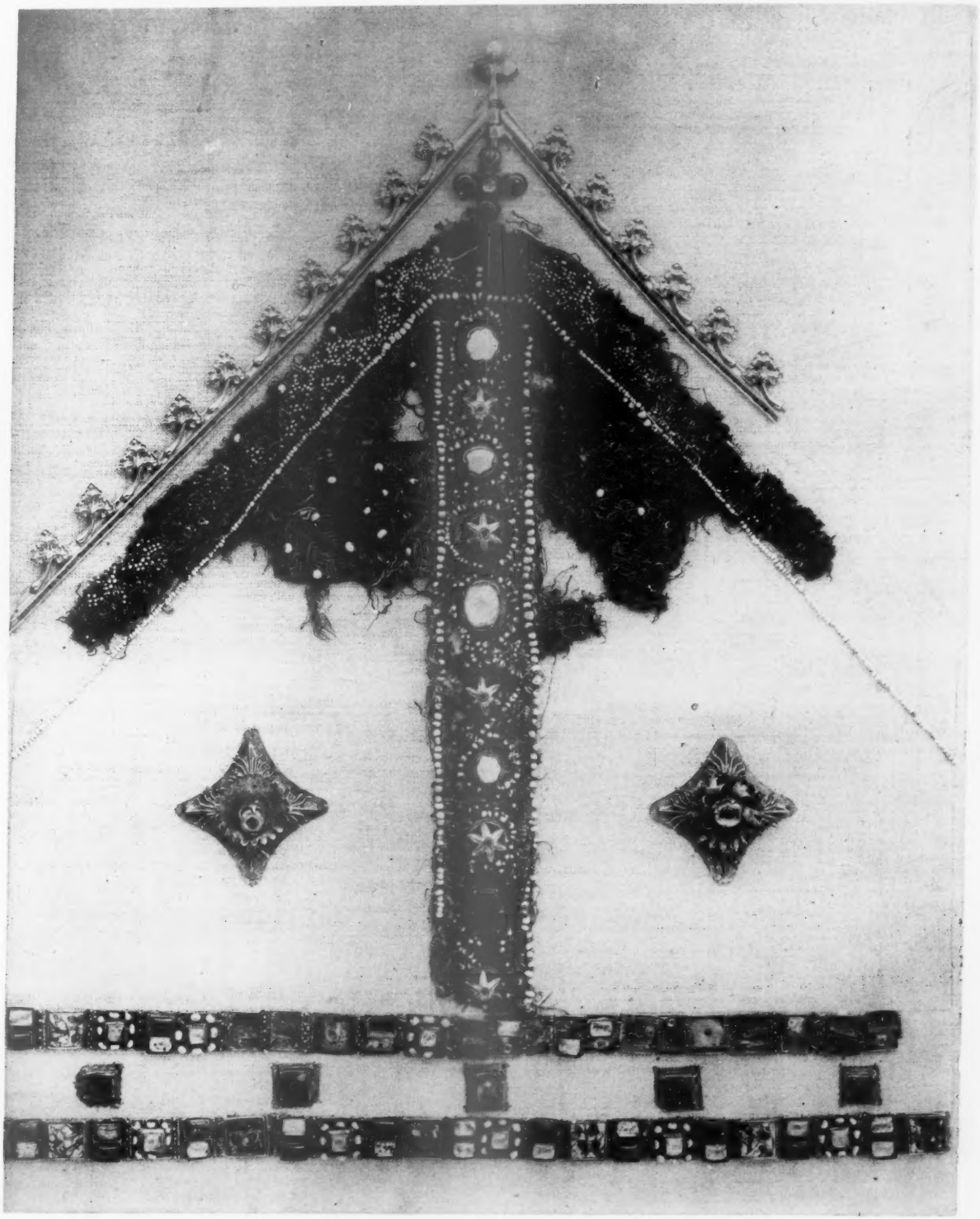
Beside the jewels which have been passed under review there are nine coloured stones of larger size mounted on quadrangular plates with invected edges. (See Plate XLVII. B.) Their form is so suggestive of their having been attached between the enamelled and jewelled bands round the base that I think this must have been their original position. There were probably a few other stones now lost, and the interspaces were no doubt filled with trails of pearlwork as in other parts of the mitre, perhaps containing the remainder of the stellar ornaments, unless these too belonged to the labels.



Fig. 2. Jewelled ornaments from the mitre of Bishop William of Wykeham. (½.)

There are also two other jewels for which room must be found. One of these is a fleur-de-lis set with a small crystal and four green stones[a] (Plate XLVII. B), and a likely place for it is the uppermost point of the mitre. The other is a large pearl set in the same fashion as the turquoises, but sewn on to a padded silk mounting and encircled by a double row of seed pearls. To one side of this is also attached a small panel worked over with gold thread, and likewise pearled. (See Plate XLVII. A.) As the diameter of the mounting is a full inch, the large pearl cannot have belonged to the lower border, but it might have formed part of the decorations of the body

[a] The reverse of this is shown in Fig. 2.



BACK OF THE MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, AS RESTORED FROM REMAINING FRAGMENTS.
(½ linear)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

of the mitre, on which something has yet to be said, or it may have been placed in the uppermost point of the front.

In all the later mitres shown on effigies or in pictures the irregular divisions of the field on either side of the vertical band down the middle are partly filled with large and sometimes smaller devices of some sort, either jewelled or embroidered, and William of Wykeham's mitre no doubt followed the fashion. It is a little difficult, however, to say in what way. Of the various jewels, etc. there remain after the solitary pearl only three ornaments that may have served. They are of silver-gilt, and as they are numbered underneath II, III, IIII, there was clearly another which has been lost. When complete each consists (i) of a cruciform frame with incurved sides, about 2 inches square: on this is fixed (ii) a circular plate with invected edge, from under which issues, cross-fashion, a number of flame-like petals; and upon the plate is (iii) a wreath of twisted leaves kept in place by a red-eyed crystal which surmounts the whole. (See Fig. 2.)

By themselves pairs of these would have made a somewhat insignificant enrichment of the front and back of the mitre, but if we may assume that they were surrounded with pearl-work, there would be no difficulty in making them the centres of very telling ornaments; and if they were accompanied by a few of the large pearls like that on the padded mount, the mitre would have looked precious indeed.[a]

There is, however, such a difference of character between these red-eyed ornaments and the others that clearly belonged to the mitre that they may not belong to it at all, and their suggested places may have been taken by other devices.

The general effect of the mitre was of course wonderfully increased by the beautiful silver-gilt crocketed borders. (See Plate XLVII. A.) All four of these have been preserved, but one has unfortunately lost four inches of its length.[b] Each consists of a strip of metal $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide and 10 inches long,

[a] When Adam of Orleton became bishop of Hereford in 1317 he borrowed from his chapter various *episcopalia*, including a mitre which had many features in common with William of Wykeham's. It is described as "unam mitram de perlys cum voltis deauratis et amalatis plenis lapidibus pretiosis quam bonæ memoriæ dominus Johannes [*sic* for "Ricardus"] de Synefeud quondam episcopus Herefordensis [1282-3-1316-17] emit a magistro Willelmo de Kyngescote quondam canonico Herefordensi [1303-11] pretii quadraginta librarum." [Reg. Orleton, f. 12 a.]

A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford. Abstract, &c. (Camden Soc. 62), xxxvi. note.

[b] From certain points of resemblance to the crocketed parts of William of Wykeham's crosier, it is possible that these borders may originally have formed part of an earlier mitre belonging to William of Edington.

strengthened and stiffened down the middle by a ridge, on the upper side of which is fixed a row of ten lovely leaves of cast work with thickened stalks. On the lower side of the ridge is a series of holes for sewing the border on to the mitre. On the upper end of each border is an eye, so placed that one overlaps the other for the passage of the pin that holds them together. This pin had of course an ornamental head that served as the finial to the mitre, but the one surviving pin is a fragment only, and the head has been broken off.

There are preserved with the mitre two sets of three fair-sized pearls fixed on the arms of a wire cross that suggest themselves as finials, for which they would do excellently.[a] But the gold instead of silver-gilt wire seems against their having formed the original terminals of the mitre.

It is a matter of great regret that the pendent labels have so completely perished. And the only thing that can definitely be claimed to pertain to them is a metal strip on which are fixed two hinges for their attachment. (Plate XLVII. A.) The strip was of course sewn, through holes for the purpose, on to the hinder edge of the mitre, and the labels were secured partly by rivets and partly by sewing. The rivets are suggestive of the labels having being mounted on leather, and the hinges show that their upper ends were about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. In the Limerick mitre, which is later in date and somewhat smaller than William of Wykeham's, the labels are $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, without the fringe, and gradually widen out to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends. A series of jewelled and stellar ornaments that possibly belonged to the labels has already been noticed.

As to the future of the mitre, I have proposed to the College that all the loose parts should once more be mounted on a new mitre, as nearly as possible in their original places, so as to make them more intelligible and to minimize further losses, and it has been agreed that this shall be carried out under my direction and supervision. (*See* Postscript.)

Among the miscellaneous objects associated with the Founder's name is a triangular piece of silk, which must have belonged to the precious mitre. (Plate L.) It was once white, but is now of a buff colour, and measures $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height by 9 inches across the base. Laid down upon it in crimson satin edged with white (or yellow now faded) is the sacred monogram ihc in large separate letters. The upper edges of the triangle are bound with black silk, which was edged with pearls, as may be seen from the remains of them on the sinister side. The lower edge or base is ragged, but a row of needle

[a] One of these is shown in the upper part of Plate XLVII.

holes show that it was once joined to something, probably a piece of silk of corresponding shape with the letters x p̄ c. The remaining fragment therefore probably formed part of the cap or filling in between the horns of the mitre.[a]

The two mitre cases differ somewhat in construction as well as date.

The earlier is 17 inches high and 12 inches in diameter across the circular



Fig. 3. Original leather case of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre. (¼ linear.)

base. (Fig. 3.) It is formed of sheet iron, covered with black leather, which is stamped all over with a small fleur-de-lis (Fig. 4), and banded in different directions with iron hooping ¾ inch broad.

[a] In the Inventory of the Vestry of Westminster Abbey made in 1388 the seventh of the list of mitres is described as "de consimili panno [*i.e.* de panno serico vocato Bawdekyn] aurifrigiata est cum ymaginibus habens in utraque parte hoc nomen insertum ihc xpc." *Archaeologia*, lii. 221.

For half of its height upwards the case is circular in plan, but the opposite sides are then gathered in towards the top, which is an oblong of 10 inches by 3 inches.

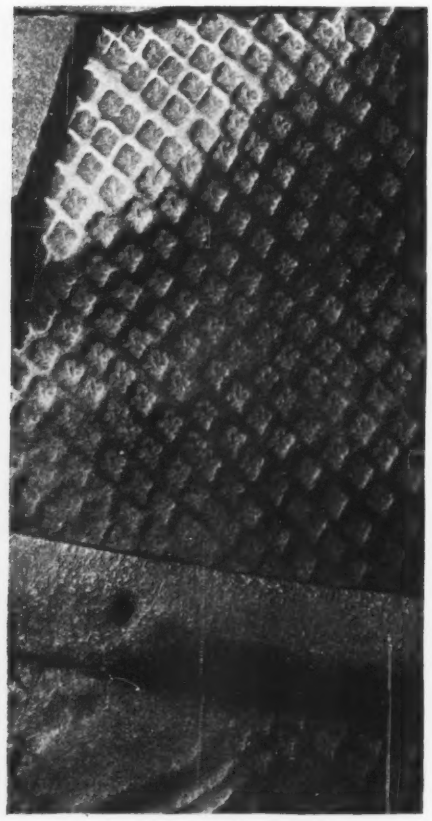


Fig. 4. Stamped fleur de-lis pattern on the leather case of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre. (¼.)

The case opens vertically down the middle, but is hinged at the bottom and secured by a lock on the top. The opening is also held together on each side by a hasp and turning pin. On the left half of each side is a pair of iron loops for holding a strap by which the case could be carried. On one side the end of the strap, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, is left. The inside is lined with baize.

This case is certainly contemporary with the bishop's precious mitre, which could be carried in it without flattening it.

The second case is of similar form to the other, and measures 17 inches in height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches on the top, and 10 inches in diameter across the base. (Fig. 5.)

It is formed of thin oak boarding, covered with black leather. The surface of this is divided by incised lines into panels, which, on the lower half, contain large leaves, and on the upper half spiral scrolls of leafwork, all likewise incised. The case opens vertically like the other, with hinges at the base, and has a lock on top and turning catches on each side, but there are no iron hoops. On each side are two iron staples for a strap, a considerable portion of which, of white leather $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, is left. The edges of the opening of the case are covered with crimson leather, and the inside lined with yellow baize.

This case seems to have been made late in the fifteenth century, as a more convenient receptacle for keeping the mitre in than its heavy and more clumsy travelling case.

Of the two rings, one is a small and plain gold one set with a table ruby, and

can hardly be so early as the bishop's days. The other is a large and massive gold one with an irregularly shaped greenish crystal in a heavy claw setting. On each side of the bezel is a figure in low relief of an angel with outspread arms and wings issuing from a cloud, and below some other ornament, beyond which is a St. Andrew's cross.



Fig. 5. Leather mitre case at New College, Oxford. (¼ linear.)

The gloves, which are certainly unique in this country, are of knitted or woven crimson silk, and have an extreme length of 9¾ inches. (Plate L.) Round the wrist of each is a band or cuff 2 inches deep and 5¼ inches wide, with gold octofoils in octagonal crimson compartments bordered with gold, with smaller green quatrefoils between, also bordered with gold. The whole has an outer

edging of crimson with a gold cable pattern. Round the base of the thumb and of every finger is woven a gold ring with a second one like a coronet above it. On the back of each glove is also a circle $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter with ihs in gold, surrounded by wavy rays of gold arranged spirally, making a total diameter of 3 inches. The gloves, including the thumbs and fingers, are woven in one piece throughout, but the cuff bands have a seam along the outside edge, covered with a chain-stitch of thick gold thread and little pale blue tufts. To the lower point of each cuff was attached a tassel, one of which has been recovered from the tangled materials of the mitre. It consists of a row of small woollen balls, covered with a gimp of blue silk and gold thread, and connected together by red and gold cord in this order, 1, 4, 1, 4, 1, 2. The cuffs (only) of the gloves are lined with red silk, and the circular device on the backs is protected by a similar lining 3 inches in diameter.

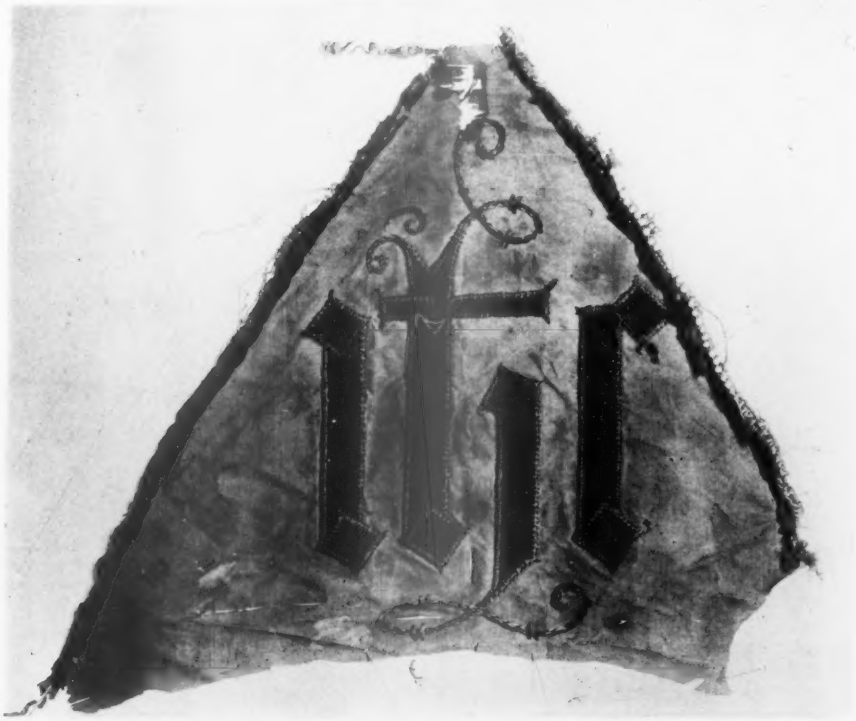
With the episcopal ornaments of Bishop William of Wykeham there has been preserved a lovely fourteenth-century jewel of red-coloured gold. (Plate XLVI.)[a]

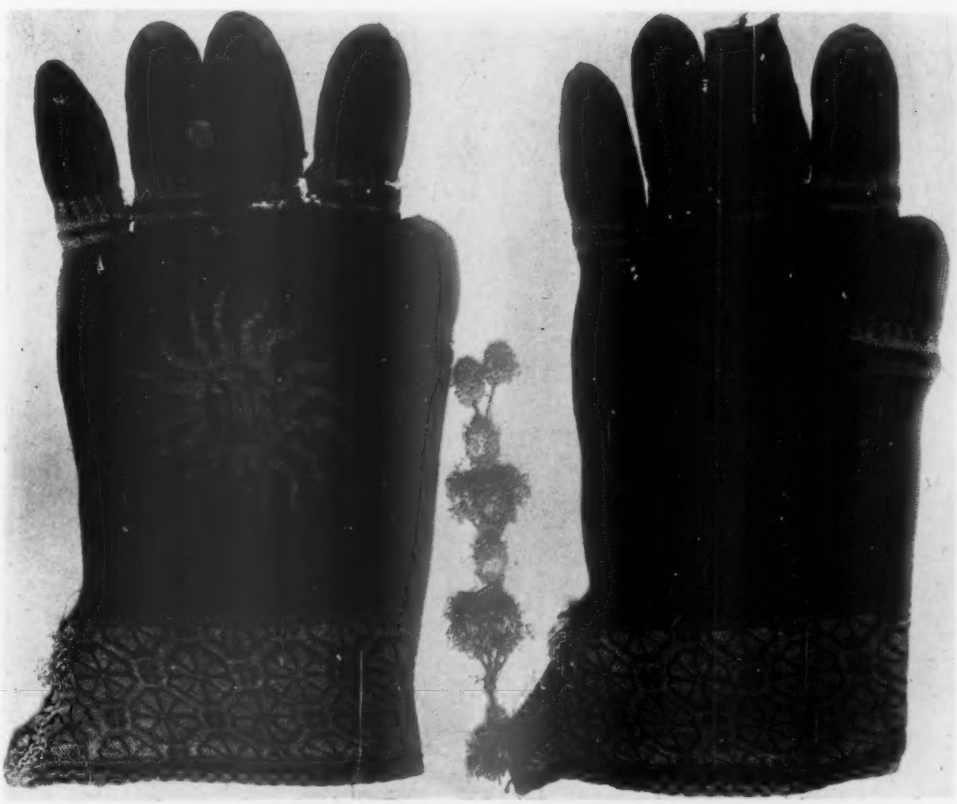
It is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $1\frac{13}{16}$ inch wide and in form of a crowned M. Within the openings of the letter, which are double cusped, stand on brackets two beautifully modelled figures, in gold, of the Archangel Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin Mary, facing each other. The wings of the archangel are enamelled green with yellow bars, and have therefore been wrought on a separate piece of gold, riveted on behind the figure. On the upright bar of the M is the pot of lilies usually found in representations of the Annunciation. The pot or vase is here formed of a carved ruby, and the lily has a gold stalk with leaves of translucent green enamel, and three flowers enamelled white. Above the lily pot is a group of three pearls surmounted by a diamond, with a ruby on each side, and below it an emerald between two rubies. On each side of the letter was a large ruby and two emeralds.[b] The curves of the M end in small gold trefoils, and to that on the sinister side are tied with silk two pearls fixed on to a gold bar, which do not belong to the jewel. The crown surmounting the letter is formed of three large and two small fleurons, jewelled with a ruby and two emeralds with intermediate pearls.

The jewel bears no pin holes for attaching it to anything, but has on the back remains of the hinge of a pin and marks of its catch. It was therefore

[a] This jewel has been figured and described by the late Mr. Albert Way in *The Archæological Journal*, ii. 206.

[b] On the dexter side the ruby is lost, and on the sinister side the uppermost emerald.





GLOVES AND PART OF MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BP. OF WINCHESTER. (½)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

probably a brooch, and an ordinary personal ornament. Its delicate construction forbids its having been a morse or fastener of any heavy vestment; and the fact of its being of gold shows that it had nothing to do with the mitre.

There is probably no other such exquisite jewel of its date, and certainly not of English workmanship, in existence.

The will of Dan William of Waynfleet, who was bishop of Winchester from 1447 to 11th August, 1486, is dated 27th April of the latter year, but makes no mention of any specific bequest of any episcopal ornaments to his College of St. Mary Magdalen, which he had founded at Oxford in 1456.

In the college accounts for 1485-6 a payment of £6 3s. 4d. is entered for bringing various things from Waltham, where the bishop died, to the College in three carts, and the Founder's vestments, etc. were probably among them. There does not seem, however, to be any list or inventory of the bishop's effects, or of any ornaments given by him to his College, or which passed to it at his death. But the College certainly had at least his mitre and crosier, and an inventory of the ornaments of the chapel drawn up in 1495 (see *post*) contains a section headed *Indumenta Episcopalia*, which includes some things that may well have been the Founder's.[a]

That the College obtained possession of Bishop William of Waynfleet's mitre and crosier is proved by certain documents relating to their alienation and disappearance.

In some notes printed by Hearne from a manuscript written by Antony à Wood, the latter records:

> The founder of Magd his crosier & miter taken away out of the treasury of Magd. by the presbyterians, & Col. Kelsey countenanced them.[b]

From an account of certain proceedings for the recovery of the ornaments in 1661[c] it appears that they were carried off by one Michael Baker, a messenger of the House of Lords, who having "missed of that share he promised himself in the division of the said Mitre, etc. offered" Dr. Drope, one of the Fellows, "his best service in the behalf of the College, not doubting but a valuable consideration might now be recovered for the premises." A case for the recovery of the ornaments was accordingly drawn up, but counsel's opinion being that the Statute

[a] They were not for the boy-bishop and his ministers, as a previous section specifies certain ornaments "*Pro pueris.*"

[b] T. Hearne, *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (Oxford, 1728), ii. 574.

[c] See Dr. Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College* (Oxford, 1857), ii. 341-346.

of Limitations barred all proceedings at law, petition was made to the House of Lords. This states:

> That in the year 1646, by colour of an Order of this Honourable House for seizing Popish Reliques, Michael Baker, a messenger then belonging to that House, took and carried away out of the said College a Mitre, Crosier-Staff, and other things, being the venerable remains of their Founder, esteemed and reputed to be worth about £2000. That the said Mitre and other things were, as the said Baker pretends, delivered unto Mr. Alexander Thaine, then Usher of the Black Rod. That the said Thaine, and one Wheeler, a goldsmith, since deceased, without any Order from this House or other lawful authority, have either concealed the said Mitre, etc. or otherwise converted them to their own use, never rendering any account for the same.

In regard of the fact that the College was dispossessed of the ornaments by virtue or colour of an order of the House and were therefore remediless in any other judicature, the President and Fellows pray that the said Baker and Thaine and Wheeler's executors may be summoned to give an account of the premises, and to restore the goods if not destroyed, or if converted to answer their value.

Through pressure of business and owing to an adjournment of Parliament the parties were not heard, and before the next meeting the death of the President of the College and election of a successor necesitated the whole business being begun all over again. This was done, and a new petition drawn up. It is couched in slightly different language from the former, and gives a little more detail:

> That about the year 1646, under pretence of an Order of the then House of Lords, there was seized and carried away from the said College a rich Mitre, with a border of gold garnished with several stones and pearls, a Crosier-Staff, and other things of a very great value, being the sacred and venerable remains of their Founder, belonging to the Chapel of the said College, etc.

By the advice, however, of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London the matter was not pressed, and seems ultimately to have dropped altogether. What actually became of the mitre and crosier, etc. is not recorded. But they were certainly not restored to the College.

The episcopal ornaments believed to have been Bishop William of Waynfleet's, which passed to Magdalen College at his death, consist now only of his buskins and sandals, with which are preserved a curious pair of white leather shoes.[a] (Plates LI. and LII.)

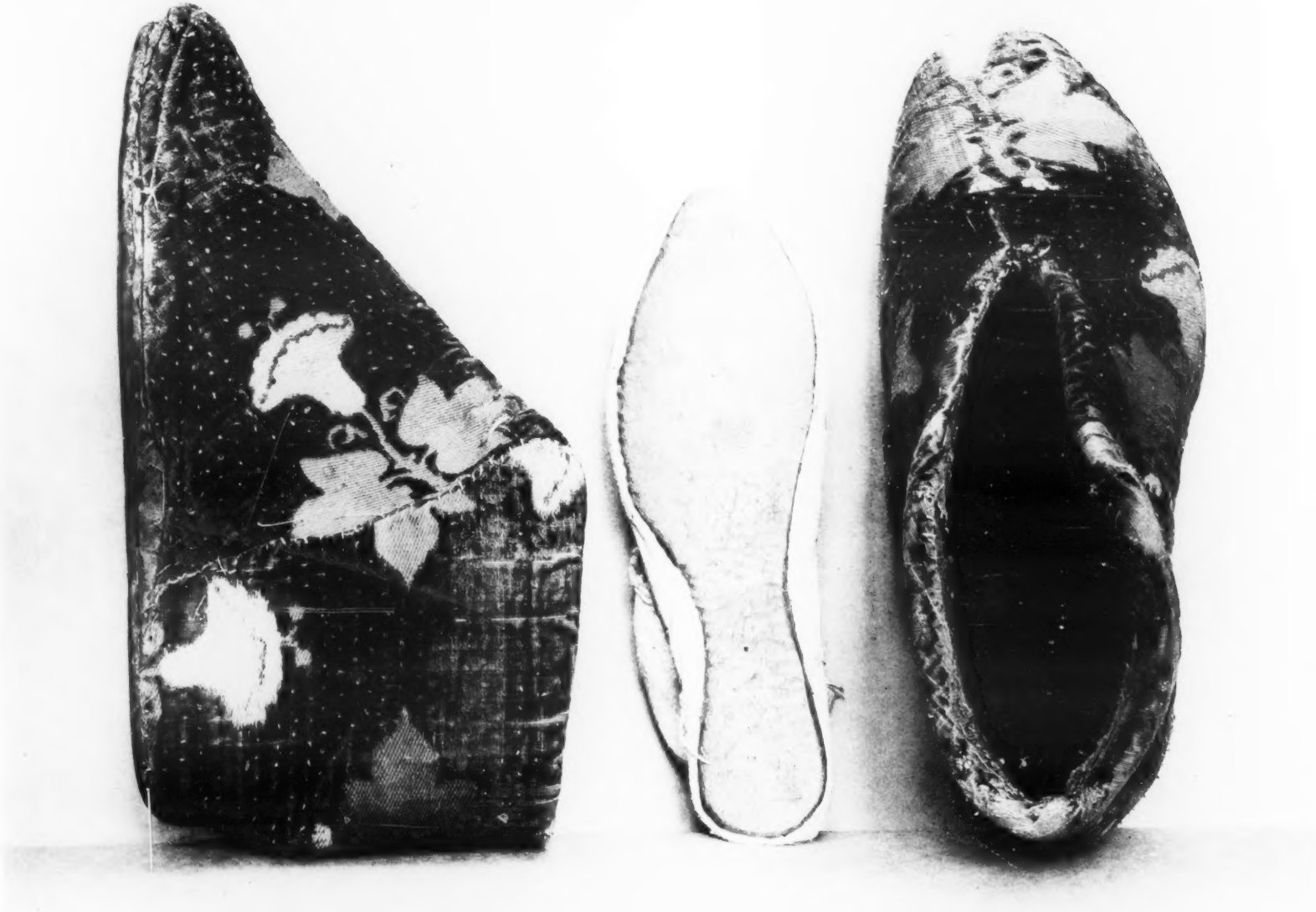
[a] The late Dr. Rock, who has figured and described a buskin and a sandal, not very accurately, in his *Church of our Fathers* (ii. 249, 250), adds in a footnote that the sandal "is lined with very thin kid." He writes as if only one buskin and one sandal were preserved in the College.





SILKEN BUSKINS OF WILLIAM OF WAYNFLEET, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1447-1486. (½)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



SANDALS AND SHOE OF WILLIAM OF WAYNFLEET, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1447-1486. (½)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

These shoes are rough outside but smooth within, and seamed with linen thread. They have pointed leather soles $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, which show signs of considerable wear, and were apparently fastened by a threefold lace across the front.

The buskins (Plate LI.) have an extreme length of 2 feet, and are made of brocade, originally crimson in colour, but now faded to a brown-pink. The stuff has a bold damask pattern of curving branches, between which is a repeat of (1) a silver eagle with a crown round his neck, sitting on a green and yellow branch of a plant with blue and white cornflowers, and (2) a silver bear, encircled by blue columbine flowers, and sitting on a cloud from which issue green rays.

On one side of each buskin is a button covered with the same stuff, and on the other side a silk lace, for fastening the buskin below the knee.

Both buskins are lined throughout with coarse linen.

The sandals are large and clumsy-looking objects made of thick dark-brown felt covered with brocaded velvet, and with leather soles $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches long. (Plate LII.) The velvet is crimson in colour, powdered with silver or silver-gilt lily flowers on a stalk with two leaves, party green and yellow, and two small white pendent buds. The velvet ground is sprinkled all over with tiny loops of silver thread. There are no traces of any method of fastening the sandals, which must therefore have been worn slipper fashion.

From their relative sizes it is clear that if worn with the sandals and buskins the white shoes must have been put on first, then the buskins, and lastly the sandals.[a]

In an inventory of the ornaments, etc. of the college chapel taken in 1495 is the following section, headed *Indumenta Episcopalia:*

Item ij tunicas de damaske albo duplicatam [*sic*] cum blodio tartaroun et par sandalium ejusdem sectæ. Item duas tunicas de rubeo serico duplicatas viridi tartaroun. Item par caligarum de serico cum diversis floribus. Item par caligarum de albo damaske (*added in the margin*). Item par sotularium de tyssue.[b]

Possibly the objects under notice may be identified with the "pair of buskins of silk with divers flowers" and the "pair of shoes of tissue."

[a] The buskins and sandals may be compared with another perfect English series, those found in the coffin of Archbishop Hubert at Canterbury in 1890. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vii. plate iv. figs. 1, 2, 3.

[b] Through the kindness of the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A. Hon. Litt.D. F.S.A. this entry has been collated with the original at Magdalen College.

The interesting episcopal ornaments from St. Davids were found in graves which have accidentally been opened during recent repairs in the cathedral church. With one exception, they were certainly made for use, and not to bury, according to custom, with deceased bishops; and their artistic and archæological value are beyond question.

Of the crosier-heads, the finest is that found in a grave on the south side of the presbytery in 1844.[a] (Plate LIII. A.) It has unfortunately been broken into several pieces, but still consists of a crook of gilt latten, partly cast upon an iron spike for fixing it into the staff, with a decorated collar for covering the junction of staff and crook, and part of the uppermost knot.

The crook is 7 inches high, and has a plain eight-sided stem, relieved at intervals round the outside of the curved part by small leaves as crockets. As the stem curls round these crockets are supplemented by twisted leaves, and it finally ends in a splendid two-fold conventional flower with broadly expanded petals. The width of this fine head is between 3 and 4 inches.

The collar that covered its junction with the staff consists of a band 1 inch deep, decorated with four vertical strips of delicately engraved and chased ornament, surmounted by a crown of four tall pointed leaves, giving a total height of $2\frac{13}{16}$ inches. The collar itself was fixed at its base to a plain flattened knot, about 2 inches in diameter, of which only part has been preserved.

Of the staff, which was apparently of oak, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, some $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches are left. In it is embedded the broken spike of the crook, and its upper part is reduced to $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in thickness to allow the knot and collar to be slipped over it. Round the base of the crook are the remains of a mass of iron rust, the fibrous appearance of which is suggestive of the oxide of iron having gradually replaced, by slow chemical change, part of the linen or silken veil sometimes tied to and hung from the crook of a crosier.

Near to the place where this crosier-head was found is a tomb attributed (without any foundation) to Bishop Gervase, who held the see from 1215 to 1229, but the crook probably belongs to the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The second of the crosier-heads (Plate LIII. B) is of somewhat earlier date than the first, and was found, together with a chalice and ring, during the repairs of 1865-6, in the grave of a bishop immediately in front of the *pulpitum*.[b]

[a] W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St. David's* (London, 1856), 113. See also a paper by Mr. J. B. Clear in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S. xii. 63, and *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vi. pl. 60.

[b] See plan, etc. in Mr. Clear's paper above referred to.



A. C. B.

REMAINS OF CROSIERS FOUND IN THE GRAVES OF BISHOPS OF ST. DAVIDS. (¾ linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

The crosier-head, which is quite perfect, is of gilt latten, and consists of two parts, the crook, and the pipe and knot which connected it to the wooden staff. The crook is $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches high. The lower part of its stem is circular, and has at a height of $\frac{7}{16}$ inch up a band of silver $\frac{10}{16}$ inch wide decorated with niello scrollwork. Above this the section gradually becomes oval, and at $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches octagonal, the change being marked by another band of silver and niello. From where the stem begins to curve it is considerably reduced in thickness, and eventually terminates in a spreading mass of branches with stiff leaves and conventional flowers of a character common in carvings of the third quarter of the twelfth century. The whole of the crook is of cast work, and has an extreme width of 3 inches.

The piping is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. It has at the top a band $\frac{9}{16}$ inch deep, engraved with scrollwork, to cover the junction with the crook, and then a plain knot, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and 1 inch deep. Below this the pipe is divided vertically by delicate engraving into three compartments, one containing two, the others each three circular panels, each with the figure of a dragon. Inside the pipe and the lower part of the crook are some fragments of the wooden staff, which was 1 inch in diameter.

One of the knots of the staff has also been preserved. It is somewhat flattened in section and quite plain, and has above and below it a short piece of piping, the one round, the other octagonal, also plain. The total length is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. A bit of the staff remains inside.

The ring found with this crosier is a plain gold one, with an uncut rose-coloured gem, perhaps a balas ruby, set in an elongated octagon.

The chalice is a fine and perfect example, of silver, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches high. (Fig. 6, A.) The bowl is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, with a slight lip. The stem is only $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch long, eight-sided, and encircled by a plain circular knot of somewhat flattened section.[a] The foot is plain and round, and, as usual, of about the same diameter as the bowl. This elegant chalice belongs to Type B,[b] and to the second half of the thirteenth century. It was evidently made for use, and is not a mere coffin-chalice.

The grave in which these ornaments[c] were found is believed to be that of

[a] The piece of silver under the knot, at its junction with the stem, has been recently added by Mr. Krall by way of repair, owing to the chalice being broken at that point.

[b] Of Hope and Fallow's classification. See *Archæological Journal*, xliii.

[c] The crosier-head, chalice, and paten are also drawn full-size in *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vi. pl. 60; they are also figured with the ring, etc. in Mr. Clear's paper in *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

Bishop Richard of Carew, 1256-1280, who is recorded to have been buried "before the altar of St. Cross, in the south part." The point is not, however, very material, as the ornaments were deemed old or disused at the time of their burial.

Of a third crosier-head only a beautiful fragment was found, in an unmarked grave to the north of that last-mentioned. (Plate LIII. c.) The fragment is fortunately complete in itself, and consists of a rounded stem with stiff stalked



B. A.

Fig. 6. Silver chalices found in graves of Bishops of St. Davids. (⅔ linear.)

leaves and buds at intervals, curved into a circular form, and enclosing a standing figure of an eagle. Like the others it is a casting of gilt latten, but has evidently been made to fit on to the end of a wooden or ivory crook, to which it was further attached by pins passing through the largest pair of leaves and a subsidiary curved branch below the eagle. None of the staff of which it formed part seems to have been preserved, nor its character noted. This finely modelled fragment is of a date *circa* 1200.

With it were found a ring, a silver chalice and paten, three fragments of silver ornament, and a penny of Edward I.[a]

The ring is a plain gold one, with an uncut stone of irregular oval form, the setting of which is strengthened with four projecting claws. (Fig. 7.) The stone is apparently an amethyst, and has a pear-shaped natural dent on the surface.



Fig. 7. Gold ring found in the grave of a Bishop of St. Davids. (½.)

The chalice is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, and of silver, with a broad and shallow bowl with slight lip, a plain circular knot and stem in one piece, and a rather tall and round spreading foot. (Fig. 6, B.) It thus belongs to Type A, and to the first half of the thirteenth century. The bowl is $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch deep, and the foot of equal diameter with the bowl. This interesting chalice is in a very brittle and fragile state, and parts of both bowl and foot have been broken out and lost. Of the paten only about half remains. It was 4 inches in diameter, with a single depression in the form of a square and quatrefoil combined[b] and an engraved circle in the middle. It belongs to Type B.

The three fragments of silver (Fig. 8) average $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch in length. They have all been stamped in the same mould, and are embossed with a scroll pattern ending in a rude fleur-de-lis. Each is pierced with a symmetrical series of nail holes. Some of the nails remain, and are $\frac{7}{16}$ inch long and of silver. The fragments have apparently formed part of the metal decorations of the crosier.



Fig. 8. Silver fragments found in the grave of a Bishop of St. Davids. (½.)

The grave in which these ornaments were found is believed, but without any authority, to be that of Bishop Thomas Bek, 1280—1293.

The fourth crosier-head is a remarkable object of very unusual character.

[a] See Mr. Clear's paper above noted.

[b] This peculiar form of sinking also occurs on a paten found in Lincoln Minster in the grave of Bishop Richard of Gravesend, 1258-1279.

What remains of it consists of a pair of latten plates, cut to the shape of a simple crook, with large and small crockets alternating along both edges. Several of these are pierced with holes for pinning the plates together. The plates are barely $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick, and were separated by a thin plate of lead of the same shape. The core thus formed seems to have served as the foundation for an ornamental covering of lead, probably of cast work and gilded. Unfortunately the lead had become so oxidised from lapse of time that almost all of it has perished. The total height of the crook was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Its lower end was fixed into a leaden ball with a covering of latten, and at the bottom end of the staff was a blunted ferule, also of latten. (Plate LIV.)

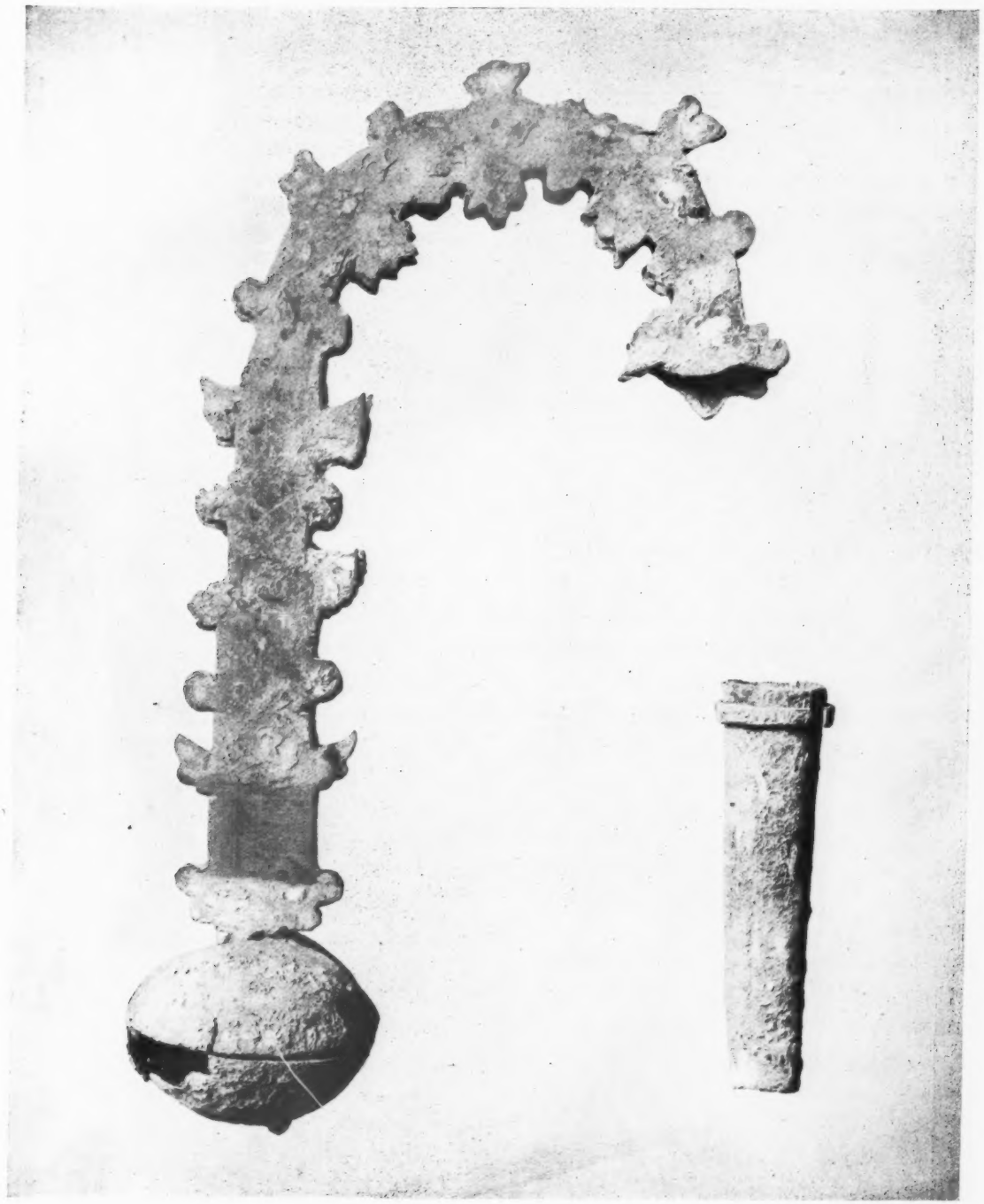
This example differs from the other crosier-heads in being merely a piece of funeral furniture. It was found in the grave beneath the effigy of Bishop Henry of Gower, 1328-1347, which lies under the southern half of the *pulpitum*.[a]

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this paper was read, the remains of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre have been mounted on a new foundation of unbleached linen, in the way shown on Plates XLVIII. and XLIX. As will be seen, an approximate place has been found for everything save the three gold-mounted emeralds, which may not have belonged to the mitre at all. The other jewels not shown in the plates have been placed on the new labels which have been added to the mitre.

The tedious work of laying down the fragments has been most carefully and skilfully carried out, as a labour of love, by Mrs. A. H. Christie, who has also restrung all the loose seed-pearls and re-used them wherever possible.

[a] See Mr. Clear's paper above noted.



LATTEN FRAME AND FERULE OF A FUNERAL CROSIER FOUND IN THE GRAVE OF HENRY GOWER, BISHOP OF ST. DAVIDS, 1328–47. (½ linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907

XXI.—*The Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, Wiltshire.* *By* HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 20th June, 1907.

THE site of the abbey of Stanley is a wide valley two and a half miles east of Chippenham, in Wiltshire. It is upon the south bank of a little river called the Marden, which rises on Calston Down some five miles to the east, and joins the Avon just above Chippenham. Stanley owes its origin to one Drogo, a chamberlain of the Empress Maud, at whose instigation her son Henry, then Earl of Anjou, gave a place called Locwell (now Lockswell) in the manor of Chippenham in perpetual alms to God and St. Mary of Quarr, in the Isle of Wight, for the purpose of there founding a monastery.[a]

From the founder, Drogo, this abbey was called *de Drogonis Fonte* or Drownfont,[b] the second part of the name being derived from the copious springs of pure water which abound on the site, and are used at the present time to supply the inhabitants of Corsham and part of Lacock.

Three years after the foundation of Drownfont, owing apparently to the exposed position of the first settlement, the monks removed to Stanley, a place in the King's Manor of Chippenham.[c] Buildings were begun in stone on the new site, and in 1204 the convent had increased sufficiently to be able to send out

[a] *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1825), v. 563.

[b] In Rev. W. Bowles, *The Parochial History of Bremhill* (London, 1828), 96, is the text of a grant, then in the possession of Edward Baynton, of a pasture near Lacock Bridge by the Empress Maud and her son to the abbey *Sanctæ Mariæ de Drogonis Fonte*, and on p. 95 another grant of a hide of land in Lamburn *Sanctæ Mariæ de Drownfont.*

[c] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 563.

a colony to Ireland to occupy an abbey founded at Graignamanagh.[a] The monks seem to have had difficulty in obtaining a good water supply at Stanley, for in 1214 Thomas Calstone, the abbot, completed an aqueduct from the old supply at Lockswell to his new house.[b]

The early buildings were, like those at the mother house of Quarr, begun to be rebuilt for no apparent reason within fifty years of their foundation. In 1241 the abbot and convent exchanged part of their quarry at Hazlebury, in Box parish, with the canonesses of Lacock for their quarry at the same place which was bought of Henry Crook some years before.[c]

In 1247 the convent entered the new monastery, which doubtless means that the eastern part of the church and the new eastern range of buildings were finished.[d] The church, however, was not ready to be hallowed until 1266, in which year that ceremony was performed by William of Wyle, then bishop of Salisbury.[e]

In 1270, on St. John Baptist's day, the new frater was finished and entered by the convent.[f]

During the fourteenth century some building works were undertaken in connexion with the church, and new cloister alleys were built.

Just before the Suppression some of the abbey was "newe buylded,"[g] though what part is not possible to tell except that it was not any of the claustral buildings.

The abbey was suppressed with the lesser monasteries in 1536, and on the 29th of June the year following the site and part of the possessions were granted to Sir Edward Baynton of Bromham, in consideration of the sum of £1,200, which was paid by instalments.[h]

[a] Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I.* (Vindobonæ, 1877), 210.

[b] Bodl. Lib., Digby MS. 11 (vide Bowles' *Bremhill*, 119): Hoc anno (1214) perfectus est aquæductus de Lokeswelle versus abbatiam de Stanley in Wilts a domino Thoma de Colestune abbate ejusdem domus.

[c] *Lacock Cartulary*, f. 30*b*.

[d] Digby MS. 11, f. 184. (Vide Bowles' *Bremhill*, 120.) 1247. Ingressus est conventus de Stanlegh novum monasterium.

[e] *Ibid.* f. 187. 1266. Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleye in Wiltschire a domino Waltero de Wyle tunc Sarum episcopo.

[f] *Ibid.* Eodem anno (1270) intravit conventus de Stanleye in Wiltes novum refectorium scilicet die beati Johannis Baptiste.

[g] P. R. O. Chantry Certificates, 100, 2.

[h] *Patent Roll* 28 *Henry VIII.*, part 3, m. 6, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* xii. pt. i. 143.

This Sir Edward Baynton was building at this time a considerable house at Bromham, for which he had license to remove stone from old Corsham House and Devizes Castle.[a] He apparently began, as soon as he got possession, to pull down Stanley for the same purpose.

Aubrey, writing about 1665, says that "here is now left scarce any vestigium of Church or house. *Mem.* Old Mr. Ansted. *natus.* 1588, told me he was born in this Abbey."[b]

If this memorandum be correct some part of the abbey was converted into a dwelling-house at the Suppression, which is rather borne out by the finding of the head of a dragon, one of the supporters of Henry VIII., in the late excavations on the site of the western range of buildings. This western range may have been converted into a house, as the occurrence of a stout wall across its south end can hardly have been for anything monastic, and in addition the foundations of the outer walls for the great part remain, indicating a different period of demolition from the rest of the building.

From the Bayntons the site descended to Mrs. Starkey of Bromham, upon whose death it was bought by the Marquess of Lansdowne, the present owner.

The position of the principal buildings has always been known, though every vestige of them above ground has long disappeared. A level square marked the site of the cloister, and as the ground sloped down to the river on the north, the church must have been on the south side. On the east side of the cloister were high mounds, on the south the frater was marked by a deep sinking, but on the west the site was fairly level; eastward were further sinkings and mounds marking the position of the infirmary buildings.

At the end of 1905 the Marquess of Lansdowne was approached by the writer through Mr. Herbert Smith, his lordship's agent, with the suggestion that some excavations should be made on the site. This suggestion meeting with approval, and the tenant's consent being readily obtained, four men were at once put at the writer's disposal.

The first week's work being of interest, the excavations were continued, through the liberality of the owner, for some months, until all that remained of the claustral buildings was traced. Trenches were also cut across the site of the infirmary, but with little result. The whole of the buildings, except the western range, had been so rifled for stone at various times that in most cases the main

[a] Leland's *Itinerary* (ed. 1744), ii. 27.

[b] *Wiltshire Collections* (1862), 113, 114.

walls were grubbed up to the veriest foundations, and the lines of many were only marked by sinkings in the ground. For all that the result has been far from fruitless, and has enabled the plan of another Cistercian abbey to be definitely settled as far as possible under the circumstances.

THE PRECINCT.

The precinct at Stanley was roughly rectangular, with its longest faces to the north and south. (Fig. 1.) It contained about 24 acres,[a] and the main buildings around the cloister were placed in the north-west angle. It was surrounded by dykes, which were filled with water by a system of sluices, and though now dry are perfect in all but a part of the west side. The precinct may have been further protected by a wooden stockade on the main bank of the ditches, as no sign of a surrounding wall remains.

A long leat for the water, that filled the ditches on the south and east sides, runs in at the south-west angle of the precinct from the high ground to the south. It is banked on both sides, but that on the west is wider than the other, and had on the top a causeway by which the abbey was approached. On the west side of this causeway was a pond 500 feet from north to south and averaging 130 feet in width, which was also supplied by water from the high ground, and formed the mill pond. The western ditch of the precinct was used as the mill leat and ran from the pond to the river. At slightly more than half-way down this ditch was a small pond, beyond which northward the ditch is destroyed by a farmyard, but shows again immediately to the north of the farm buildings.

The ditch on the north side was supplied by water from the river, which was tapped a little above the precinct. This ditch runs in a straight line to the north-west angle of the precinct, where it joins the western ditch before emptying into the river, and had an overflow to the river opposite the main block of buildings.

In addition to the main ditches there is a wide ditch running from the middle of the east ditch some 500 feet directly towards the claustral buildings, and then turning southwards for over 100 feet. Another ditch joins the last from the south ditch at about 200 feet from the east ditch. An overflow from the middle ditch runs to the north ditch nearly parallel with, and 300 feet from,

[a] The area of the precinct at Beaulieu was about 58 acres, Fountains 55 acres, and Boxley 23 acres.

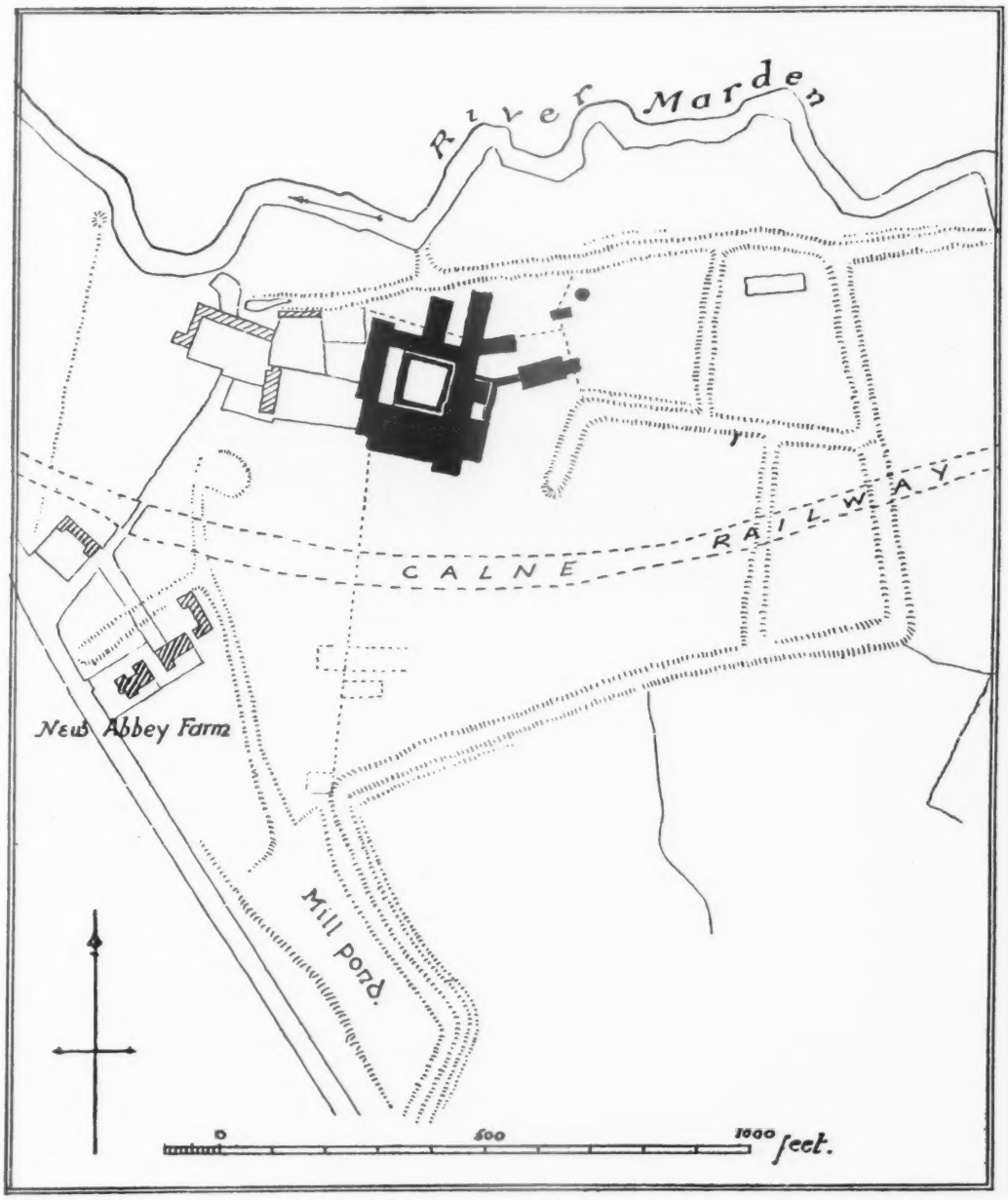


Fig. 1. Stanley Abbey, Wilts. Plan of the Precinct.

the east ditch. These cross ditches divide the eastern part of the precinct into two islands, in the northern of which is a small fish pond.

Besides all these ditches are the remains of another just in front of the present "Abbey Farm," and from its west end is a bank as far as the mill pond; the area thus enclosed may have been for the mill and its yard. Another bank runs from the present road parallel to, and at about 300 feet from, the western ditch, as far as the river, where it stops with a small mound. This boundary is unlike the others in character and may mark a later extension of the precinct.

At the point where the causeway joins the south-western angle of the precinct was the outer gate of the monastery, now marked by irregularities in the ground.

The inner gate was some 200 feet northward, as is shown by a series of depressions and mounds, and had in connexion with it a long range of buildings going in an easterly direction.

A wall ran from the inner gateway to the south-west angle of the church, which with the west side of the precinct enclosed the outer court of the abbey.

On the east side of the outer court towards the north was the principal group of buildings around the cloister. Owing to the slope of the ground from south to north the church was on the south side of the cloister; the dorter over the chapter-house, parlour, and novices' lodging on the east; the warming-house, frater, and kitchen on the north; and the cellarer's building, separated from the cloister by a court, on the west. Eastward of these buildings was the monks' infirmary, which with its garden occupied the space up to the inner ditches on the east. The cemetery seems to have been on the east and south sides of the church.

The main drain of the abbey started from the west end of the ditch, which runs westward from the middle of the east side of the precinct, and was taken northward about 120 feet under some of the infirmary buildings. At this point it appears to have turned at right angles, and passing under the north ends of the claustral buildings, emptied into the north ditch at its west end. The first portion of the drain continued northward, apparently as an overflow, into the north ditch, and was 5 feet in width. No part of the main drain was found, but it is not likely to have been of less width than the overflow.

In 1860 to 1863 the Calne railway was cut through the precinct from west to east, but to the south of the claustral buildings and to the north of the gate-house. There is a report that a number of stone coffins were found, but this cannot be verified. The foundation of one wall shows in the cutting.

THE CHURCH.

The first church appears to have been of the same plan as Bindon, Cleeve, Calder, Roche, and Buildwas, having a small aisleless presbytery, transepts with two chapels to each divided by solid walls, a nave with aisles, and a low tower over the crossing. As every part of this, except a fragment of the foundations of the north wall of the transept, the walls of the pits beneath the quire stalls and perhaps the foundations of the nave arcade, has gone it is impossible to tell its character.

In the thirteenth century this church was rebuilt or greatly enlarged, and finished sufficiently to be hallowed in 1266. The old nave may have been merely remodelled, but the presbytery was increased to one of three bays with aisles, and the south transept to three bays with two eastern chapels. The north transept, owing to the adjoining claustral buildings, could not be similarly enlarged, and probably contained a considerable part of the original work.

In the fourteenth century the church was further enlarged by the addition of a row of chapels on the south side, beyond the aisle of the nave, but whether these extended as far as the west end there is no evidence to show. The *pulpitum* or quire screen was rebuilt about the same time, and the quire stalls were doubtless altered or renewed.

The presbytery was about 50 feet in length by 31 feet wide. The east wall had gone, but was marked by a sinking in the ground. The foundation of the first pier on the north was found, and in connexion with it was a portion of a screen wall 28 inches thick. This screen filled the second arch, and probably, as at Fountains and Tintern, was continued under the other arches of the presbytery and separated it from the aisles. About 8 feet inside the east end was a solid platform of uncertain extent that marked the site of the high altar, the space behind being used for a vestry, as at Roche, Kirkstall, and other places.

The aisles ended in line with the main east wall as at Rievaulx, Salley, Netley, and Tintern, and had chapels in the easternmost bays. Of the south aisle nothing but the depression of its grubbed-up outer wall remained. Of the north aisle a large piece of the tile flooring was found in position. There were indications of a cross step in line with the first pillar of the arcade, and another 7 feet eastward, leaving a space 10 feet wide for the altar platform. The tiles were set without any reference to their patterns except below the first step, where

the general flooring was of plain yellow and black tiles with a border of two rows of tiles.

The crossing is now marked by the four holes from which the tower piers have been grubbed.

The quire, from the first, was partly under the crossing, and a considerable length of the walls to support the stalls of the first work was found on the north, and a fragment of the inner wall on the south side. The gangway between the two ranks of stalls was $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet.



Fig. 2. Sunken pillar in south transept.

The south transept was about 48 feet long by 24 feet wide, and had an arcade of three arches on the east. The first arch, which had a step across it, led into the aisle of the presbytery, and the other two into the chapels, which were also raised a step above the transept floor. The two pillars of the east wall were found sunk

into pits, off their proper beds, and without bases or foundations, indicating that this part of the building had been destroyed wholesale with the use of props and mining the foundations. (Fig. 2.)

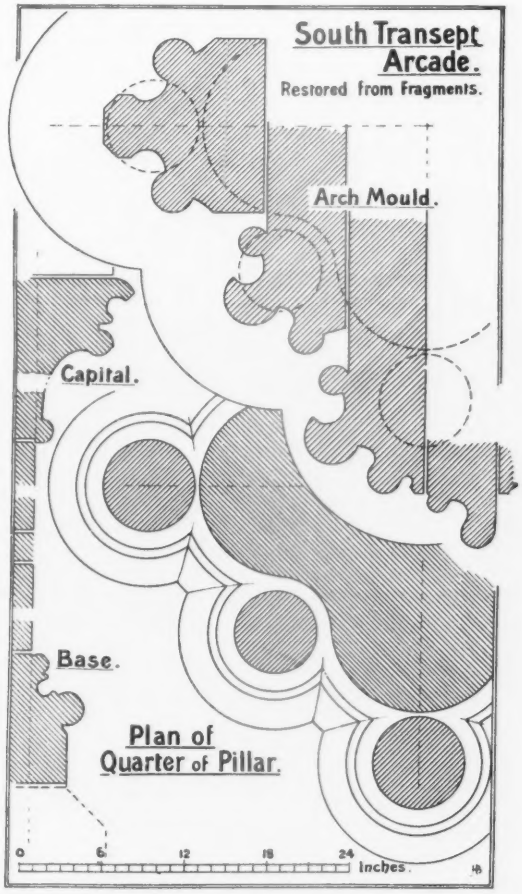


Fig. 3. Architectural details of the south transept.

With the exception of Lewes Priory no other example of this drastic method of destruction of monastic buildings is known, but there the process is minutely described in a letter to Cromwell from Giovanni Portinari,[a] who was employed to

[a] Recently published by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope in the *Sussex Archæological Society's Collections*, xlix. 76-81, with translations. Mr. Hope has since come across documentary evidence of similar destruction at Barking Abbey, Essex.

raze the great church and infirmary to the ground. At Stanley this transept was apparently the only part so treated, which may possibly be due to the tragic end

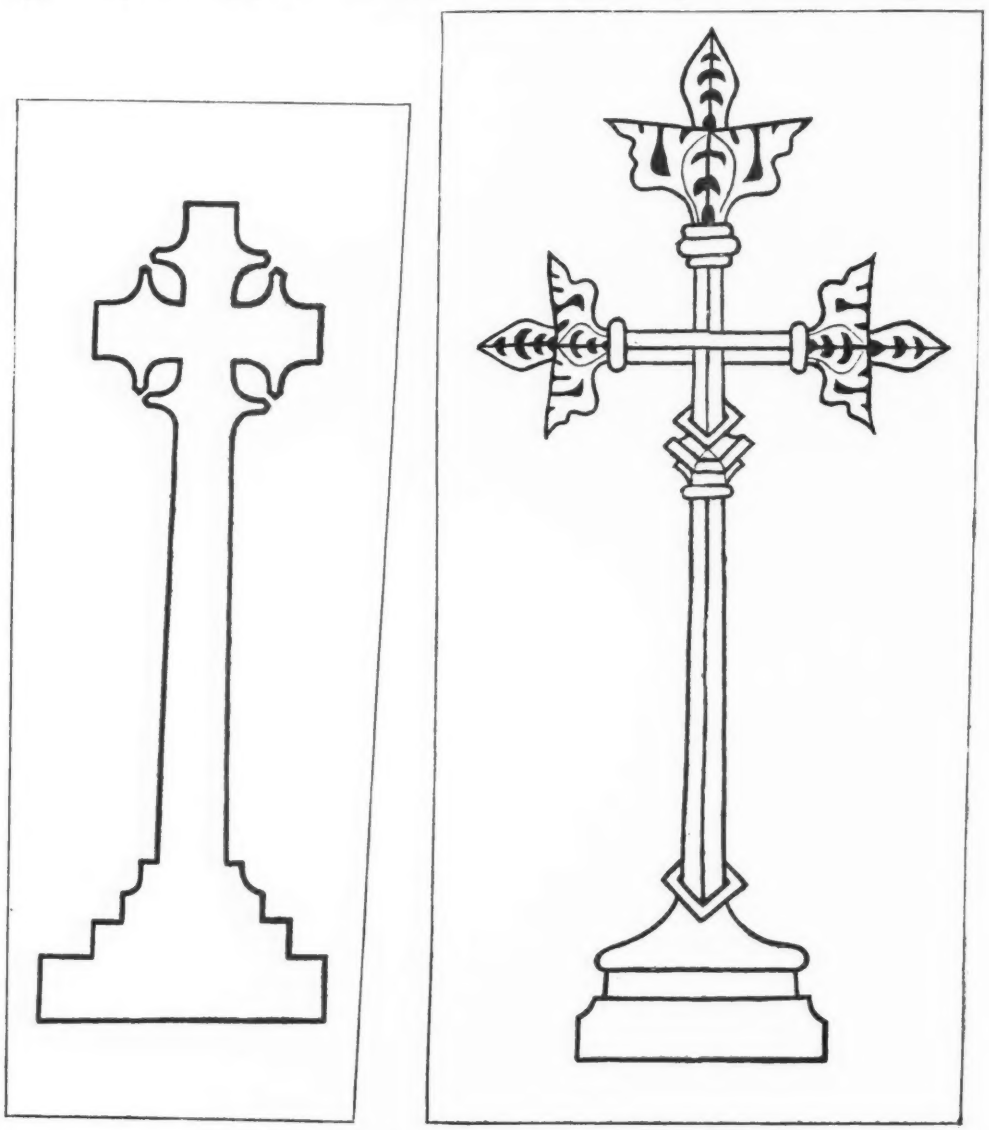


Fig. 4. Incised grave stones found in the south transept. ($\frac{1}{12}$ linear.)

of one of the workmen, whose skeleton was found beneath the fallen masonry.

The pillars consisted on plan of four half-circles surrounded by eight

detached columns, which were banded, probably at half height, and the capitals were moulded. The arches were of three moulded members and had hood-moulds. (Fig. 3.) Fragments of all these different parts were found as they fell, but not a single vaulting rib was met with, which, judging from the number of these found elsewhere, seems to show that no part of the transept was vaulted.

In front of the middle arch was a large patch of pavement, in which were two grave slabs undisturbed. (Fig. 4.) The southern was 6 feet long by 2 feet 6 inches wide and incised with a simple cusped cross with stepped base. The northern, which was slightly later in date, was $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, and of unusual thickness. It had incised upon it a large cross with foliated ends and a moulded base. On neither slab was any inscription, nor was anything found beneath.

The north transept was the same width as the south but only 43 feet in length. It had two arches on the the east leading into the presbytery aisle and a chapel respectively.

The west wall, of which a fragment of the foundation was found, projected into the cloister about 4 feet beyond the line of the eastern range. A great mass of foundation of the north wall, about 10 feet thick, was found with a return footing running southwards. This appeared to belong to the earlier church, as the return footing was eastward of the later line of pillars.

There were to the westward a fragment of tile flooring and the indications of a step to the chapel. In a trench that was cut from this point southward a number of square tiles bearing letters was found. As none other was met with they may have formed an inscription to some monument.

The nave was 130 feet long by 32 feet wide and of eight bays. The arcades were carried on square blocks of foundation of which four were found on the north side and one on the south. A fragment of the west wall also remained. Not a vestige was found of any architectural detail that could have belonged to the main structure of the nave, so that with the fragmentary nature of the foundations it is not possible to say definitely if the thirteenth century rebuilding extended to this part of the church. It should, however, be remembered that the space between the quire stalls is too narrow for them to have co-existed with a nave of the width of that found, and if the usual width of double stalls be added to the interspace it would make the original nave of the same width as the transepts, which it is reasonable to suppose it was in the first place. Between the third and fourth pillars on the north was a grave, over which were found a

number of fine painted fragments of a fifteenth-century tomb that presumably covered it.

Of the north aisle no remains are left save a patch of flooring of plain tiles against the fourth pillar and the foundation of a cross wall at the third pillar. This probably supported a screen to enclose a chapel in the aisle behind the bay with the tomb, which was a usual treatment of nave aisles in late days, as at Fountains, Kirkstall, and Rievaulx.

The south aisle was 11 feet wide, and a mass of foundation of its south and west walls remains at the south-west angle.

In the fourteenth century a new *pulpitum* was built, of which the lower part of the western screen wall is left. It was 34 inches thick, and had a doorway 3 feet 8 inches wide in the middle. This had a stone sill, which remains, and the arch was a pointed segment simply moulded; of this a stone forming one of its sides was found. Eastwards of this wall was a quantity of tile flooring laid very carelessly and partly covering the pits of the earlier quire stalls.

During the first half of the fourteenth century chapels were added on the outside of the south aisle. They were about 20 feet wide and had solid dividing walls. Indications of at least four chapels were found, but they probably extended the entire length of the nave up to the west end, as at Maulbronn in Germany and at Melrose in Scotland, though no similar example has yet been found in England.

In the first and second chapels a fragment of the floor remained. In the third was a large surface of flooring which was formed of tiles 8 inches square. These bore the leopards of England, the chevrons of Clare, and three lions rampant, and were laid in pattern with cross and diagonal bands. This floor extended across the line of the aisle wall, showing that the chapel was connected therewith by a wide arch. The dividing wall between the third and the fourth chapels remained, and in connexion with it in the line of the aisle wall was the eastern base of the respond which carried the arch between the chapel and aisle (fig. 5). The respond was formed of three circular shafts, with beads and hollows between. The base mould of the two rolls followed the line of the pier, but below was octangular and had a small plinth. A portion of the flooring of the fourth chapel remained. The south wall of the church extended some 17 feet beyond the west wall, showing that across the west end was a galilee porch, a not unusual, though by no means an essential, addition to a Cistercian church.

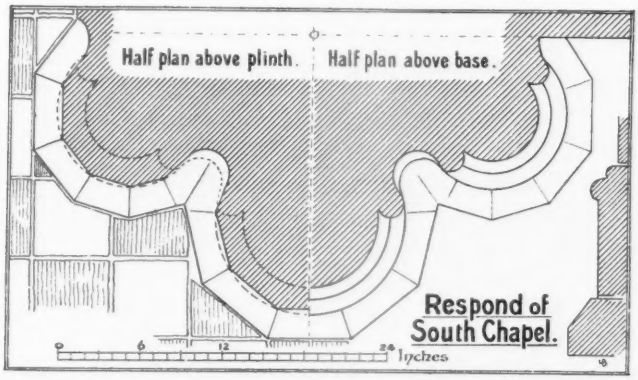




Fig 5. Respond of the south chapel.

THE CLOISTER.

The *claustrum* or cloister was not quite square, being 105 feet from east to west by about 100 from north to south. It had originally pentise-covered walks on all the four sides, supported towards the court by a series of arches on coupled columns with moulded capitals and bases, of blue lias, which rested on dwarf walls. Fragments of the capitals and bases were found in various parts of the abbey, but chiefly near the *pulpitum*, in which they had been used up as old material. This shows that the cloister was rebuilt in the fourteenth century. The inner walls were about 2 feet thick, and found on all but the south side. They had no buttresses, so the roof must still have been of wood, though what was the character of the walls is impossible to say, as only a few fragments of fourteenth-century mouldings were found. The alleys varied in width from 12 feet on the east to 9 feet on the west, and were all floored with tiles. The flooring of the west alley was found in a very perfect state for over 40 feet, and has been covered by a permanent shed in order to preserve it in position.

THE VESTRY.

Adjoining the church, on the east side of the cloister, was the vestry; it was 14 feet wide, but its extent eastward is uncertain. In its north wall was a late inserted doorway, of a single member moulded with two ogees, of which the east jamb alone remained, together with part of the stone sill. From the character of the stop beneath the moulding of the jamb it appears to be post-Suppression in date, in which case the amount of the monastery converted into a house was considerable.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

Next to the vestry was the *capitulum* or chapter-house, which was all of the thirteenth-century rebuilding, and was 60 feet in length by 30 feet in width. It was six bays long, and divided into three aisles, of which the middle was wider than the others, by two rows of columns, and vaulted with cross and diagonal moulded ribs without bosses. The columns were monolithic, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in circumference and 6 feet 2 inches in height; they had moulded capitals and bases, and were all

formed of a hard blue lias stone. (Fig. 7.) Each joint was bedded in sheet lead. The moulded base had a freestone block beneath upon which it was bedded on three flat pieces of iron set in hard cement; but in order that the base might not press unevenly on the iron before the cement was set, wooden wedges were inserted on three sides. (Fig. 6.) These were doubtless removed when



Fig. 6. Base from the chapter-house, showing lead and iron packing.

the cement was set, but what was the use of the pieces of iron it is impossible to say. The eastern base of the north side remained as well as the fourth and fifth on the south. At this point the ruin was found as it fell, with one of the columns, though broken in two, and the vaulting it carried.

In the second bay of the middle aisle were three stone coffins, which though retaining fragments of bones had all been disturbed. A portion of the tile floor was found in the middle of the fourth bay.

Round the walls were stone seats, but they do not seem to have been raised on a step in the usual manner, and nothing of them but the rough foundation along part of the south side was found.

THE PARLOUR.

Next to the chapter-house was the *auditorium* or parlour, which usually had a doorway at either end and formed a passage to the infirmary. At Stanley it was 27½ feet long by 16 feet wide, and was floored with plain dark and light-coloured tiles, checkerwise. In this chamber were found some chamfered ribs of smaller section than those of the rest of the range, which possibly indicated that it was vaulted into three bays.

THE NOVICES' LODGING.

Northward of the parlour and extending for some 166 feet was a long sub-vault constructed without a break and divided into twelve bays, with a row of

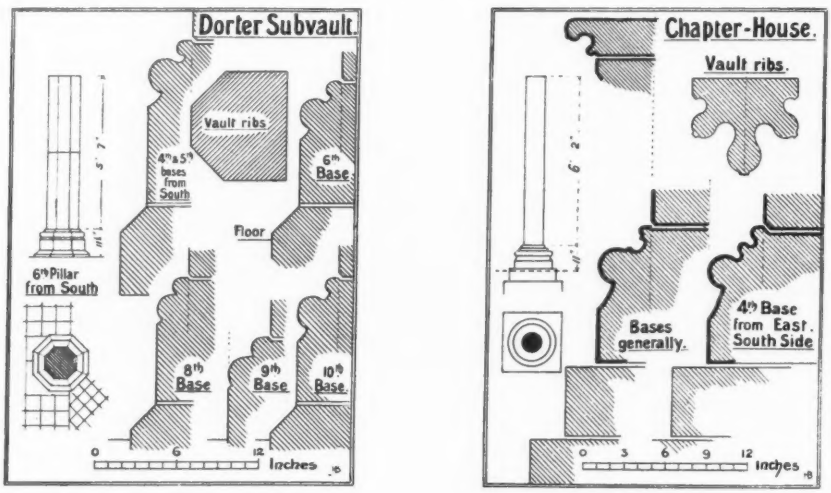


Fig. 7. Architectural details of the chapter-house and dorter subvault.

columns down the middle. The side walls had been grubbed up, except a fragment of that on the east at the ninth bay and the foundation on the west at the eleventh bay. The piece of wall on the east retained its chamfered plinth, and in connexion with it was a fragment of that of the buttress which projected opposite the ninth column.

The middle of the building, except at the north end, was found as it fell; the floors generally were tiled, and the vaulting was of simple chamfered ribs

8 inches wide. The columns down the middle were octagonal on plan, $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and 6 feet 6 inches in height above the floor. All the bases were found except the first, tenth, and eleventh; they varied slightly in section. (Fig. 7.)

The base of the eighth column was of one stone with the square angles left on under the base mould, and the column had been set with iron wedges in cement like those of the chapter-house. At the first column was a cross wall; the second was also in a cross wall and was found as it fell; the third was bedded in another cross wall and stood to its full height to the underside of the capital. The fourth column had gone owing to a pit being dug at this point to bury rubbish, but the base remained. The fifth was found as it fell in a south-westerly direction, and round the base was a patch of tile flooring. The sixth had been removed, but the base was found bedded in another cross wall. Of the seventh, eighth, and ninth columns only their bases were left. That of the ninth was also bedded in a cross wall, beyond which all evidence of the range ceased except for the fragments of the west wall already named. It is uncertain if all the cross walls are of monastic date, though there was no direct evidence that any post-Suppression alterations had been made in this part of the building. Unfortunately in all cases the western parts of the cross walls had been grubbed up, so that no remains existed of the doors of communication that must have been there, and which would have indicated the dates of their erection.

The use of these long sub-vaults under Cistercian dorters has never been satisfactorily explained, though Mr. Hope many years ago suggested, as a result of argument by exhaustion, that they were for the use of the novices. At Clairvaux this building was certainly for that purpose in 1517, for in the account of the Queen of Sicily's visit there in that year,[a] after having been shown the buildings round the great cloister:

> Ce faict, ladicte dame fust menée en logis des novisses.
>
> La novisserie est une grande salle de pière de taille voulsée, et au bout y a cheminée ou les novisses estudient leur Psaultier et autres choses.
>
> Au costé dextre sont les selles privées sur l'eaue.
>
> Conséquement est le dortoir desdicts novisses, voulsé comme ladicte novisserie, où y a plusieurs licts; et au bout la chambre de leur maistre, fête de menuiserie, où il y a une fenestre, par laquel il voit tout ce que font lesdicts novisses.
>
> Après est l'anfermerie desdicts novisses, à laquelle l'on vat par une petite gallerie où il y a une belle fontaine, tirant icelle gallerie d'ung costé ez chambres où l'on mect les novisses malades, qui sont du nombre de trois: deux basses et une haulte, et ont

[a] Didron, *Annales Archéologiques* (1845), iii. 231.

les retraictz lesdictes chambres bien acoustrées, et à l'autre bout de ladicte gallerie est ung beau jardin pour eulx esbattre, et passe la rivière entre ledict logis et le jardin pour vyder lesdicts retraictz.

As the dorter subvault at Clairvaux was certainly used for the novices, with their infirmary under the great rere-dorter of the monks, it is only reasonable to suppose, considering the uniformity of Cistercian planning and the similar character of these buildings in all cases, that this was the general use.

THE DORTER.[a]

The *dormitorium* or dorter, the sleeping place of the convent, extended from the transept of the church over the whole of the buildings of the eastern range, and was approached by a flight of steps from the cloister for use by day and had another into the church for the use of those attending the night offices.

At Stanley the dorter must have been no less than 240 feet in length. It was paved down the middle with tiles, some of which were found bedded on the top of the fallen vaulting of the buildings beneath. No indications of either stairway were found; but the day stairs must have been against the west wall, starting from the cloister in the north-east corner, since no break occurred in the sub-vault, as would have been the case if the older arrangement of putting the stairs in the middle of the eastern range had been followed.

THE REREDORTER.

On the west side of the range a deep sinking marks the position of the main drain of the abbey, and on the opposite side are sinkings for the walls of the rere-dorter, set slightly out of square with the range, but including the track of the drain along its north side. A small fragment of the north wall was found, but all else had been grubbed up.

THE WARMING-HOUSE.

The first building on the side of the cloister opposite the church was the *calefactorium* or warming-house, but not a vestige remains of walls or fireplaces. In the middle of its area was found a small length of drain leading from the direction of the cloister, probably to take the waste water from the lavatory.

[a] The old English word "dorter," meaning a sleeping place, was used invariably by mediæval writers. It is derived from the old French *dortour* or *dortoir*, which comes from the Latin *dormitorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iii. 607, *Dortour*, *Dorter*.

THE FRATER.[a]

The *refectorium*, or frater, which is the building enumerated next after the *calefactorium* in the direction for the Sunday procession, was the dining hall of the monks. Although at first the Cistercian frater seems to have stood east and west, parallel with the church, as in Benedictine, Cluniac, and Canons' houses, it became the practice about the middle of the twelfth century, for some reason at present unknown, to place it north and south, with its end against the cloister, with the warming-house on the east and the kitchen on the west.

At Stanley the frater of course followed the later arrangement, and was 110 feet long by about 30 feet wide. A small portion of the foundation of the east wall was found as well as the lower part of the northern of the two buttresses at the north-east angle, the rest of the walls being marked by sinkings in the ground. The fragment of the buttress consisted of a deep splayed course resting on a small chamfered plinth with two courses of ashlar beneath. Above the top course was a moulded string course, of which a small fragment was found, though afterwards mislaid.

THE KITCHEN.

The kitchen in the first place adjoined the frater on the west, but was subsequently altered. As already stated, there was a court, 26 feet wide, to the west of the cloister between it and the western range. This at first was closed at the north end by a wall, in which was a large pointed arch of two members springing at 18 inches above the ground and flanked externally by buttresses with chamfered plinths. Eastward of this, in the original kitchen, was a cupboard $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 27 inches deep, with its sill only 14 inches above the ground. The jambs remained 23 inches in height, and at 17 inches was a wooden shelf, above which was a front, also of wood, let into slots in the jambs. Eastward of this cupboard was the jamb of a doorway to the kitchen from without.

The kitchen seems to have been altered at the end of the thirteenth century, at which time the wide arch into the court and the doorway just described were walled up. The west side of the first kitchen was pulled down and a new wall forming the east side of the later kitchen was built in its stead. In this wall was

[a] The old English word "frater," meaning a dining-hall, is at least as old as the thirteenth century. It has nothing to do with *frater*, a brother, but is derived from the old French *fraitur*, which comes from the Latin *refectorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iv. 515, *Frater*. The modern word "refectory" was apparently never used before the Suppression.

a fireplace, the hearth of which remained, and was 12 feet wide by 4 feet deep, formed of hard stone set on edge. Northward was a doorway of which the north jamb remained. By this alteration the kitchen, which now was 36 feet from east to west by 25 feet wide, was moved up to the western range, and a new room, on the site of the old kitchen, was formed between it and the frater. This room served partly as a serving place for the frater, and may also have been a scullery or a pastry house.[a] In its north-east angle just inside the door from the kitchen was the support for a water tank, and the lead pipe from it was found leading towards the kitchen.

Under the middle of the floor of the later kitchen was a stone drain 9 inches wide running northward and joining, close against the north wall, another drain running westward. This seemed to form an overflow to yet another drain or waste which was taken through the north wall by an arch $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide with a wooden shutter. On the north side of the kitchen and partly against the western range was a small added chamber 13 feet from east to west by 11 feet wide.

THE CELLARER'S BUILDING.

The west side of the cloister was covered by the cellarer's building, a long range occupied by the lay brothers. At Stanley, like Kirkstall, Byland, and Beaulieu, it was divided from the cloister by a court.

This building was 148 feet long by $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and had been less destroyed than the rest of the work. Its east side was in line with the west end of the church.

It was divided into two apartments, with the entry to the cloister between. This entry was $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, paved with hard stone flags at a higher level than the rest of the range, and was vaulted in two bays with moulded ribs, of which one of the apex stones was found. At either end was a doorway, the eastern of which retained the inner south jamb for two courses, together with the re-entering quoins of the adjoining angle. The north and south walls also remained to the floor level.

Southward of the entry the range was occupied by a cellar 58 feet long, divided into four bays with a row of pillars down the middle, and vaulted with square ribs having narrow chamfers. The bottom course of the northernmost pillar remained in part. It was octagonal, 34 inches across, and had no base.

[a] A similar chamber between the kitchen and frater has recently been found at Tintern.

The foundations only of the other pillars remained. At the south end in line with the pillars was a fragment of a wall 18 inches thick, stopped with a fair end $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the place of the first pillar. The east wall of the cellar remained for almost its whole length, and a fragment of the west wall was also found.

Northward of the entry the range formed a chamber 66 feet long. Of this the inner face of the west wall, a considerable part of the east, and the whole of the north wall remained. It was divided into five bays, with a row of columns down the middle, and vaulted with moulded ribs. The columns were circular, 14 inches in diameter, and the moulded bases of all but the northernmost remained in position. The chamber was roughly paved with tiles. At the second and fourth columns were cross walls, 30 inches thick, but whether of monastic date is uncertain. This chamber was used in the first place as the lay brothers' frater, and was served from the monks' kitchen. Externally the north end of the range had pilaster buttresses at the angles and one in the middle, but all the quoins had been removed. The east wall was unbroken by buttresses of any kind, and the outside of the west wall was so fragmentary that it is impossible to say how it was treated.

THE INFIRMARY.

Eastward of the claustral buildings was the monks' infirmary, but of this only a few odd walls were found and nothing definite. The site of the great hall was indicated by the sinkings caused by its removed walls. It was placed east and west, and measured about 118 feet in length by 54 feet in width. The remaining ground from the infirmary up to the first cross ditch was doubtless the infirmary garden, and contained the sinking caused by the removed wall of a circular dovehouse 24 feet in diameter.

BUILDING MATERIALS.

The materials used in the building were for the most part found in the near neighbourhood.

The walls were of rubble of hard stone and had freestone dressings. The hard stone is forest marble of a poor quality found near Calne. The freestone was of excellent quality of Bath oolite from Hazelbury in Box parish.

The monks had a quarry there before 1241, from which doubtless the original buildings were supplied, but in that year upon the day of St. John ante Portam

Latinam "Robert Abbot of Stanley, in Wiltshire, and the convent of the same place give to the said convent (of Lacock) one part of their quarry of Haslebury being in length 76 feet and in width that which was theirs, that they may take as much stone from the place in exchange for the other quarry that the convent (of Lacock) bought of Henry Crok."[a] The exchange was doubtless due to some convenience of access or division of the lands of the two convents.

The plinths, steps, and wherever else freestone was bedded upon the rubble had the joints packed with pieces of roofing tiles.

The columns, capitals, and bases of the cloister and chapter-house were, instead of the usual Purbeck marble, made from a hard blue lias rock similar to that found at Keynsham. These were bedded with sheets of lead, which were found in connexion with the main pillars of the chapter-house.

The roofs appear to have been covered for the most part with plain flat red tiles holed for round and square pegs, two in each tile. The creasing was of the same material, but glazed, of saddle-back form, and with a scallopped cresting. A few of the ordinary stone tiles of the neighbourhood were found, but in such small quantity as to preclude the possibility of their having been used to any extent.

The floors of the principal buildings, as already noted, were laid with tiles. The chief patterns are illustrated in Plates LV. and LVI., and are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From fragments of similar tiles having been found by Mr. C. H. Talbot, of Lacock Abbey, at Nash Hill, on land formerly belonging to Stanley, where the Romans also had kilns, it is almost certain that these tiles were made there. The tiles are formed of a red clay of an even hardness, though in many cases much distorted by burning. The slip is of a good white clay that has burnt evenly with the tile, but the glaze is very inferior, having burnt generally to a dark yellow colour, and was badly applied. Some of the plain tiles were of a bright green and others were white.

The patterns were mostly of ordinary forms, though the fourteenth-century series of 8-inch tiles is remarkably fine.

VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND.

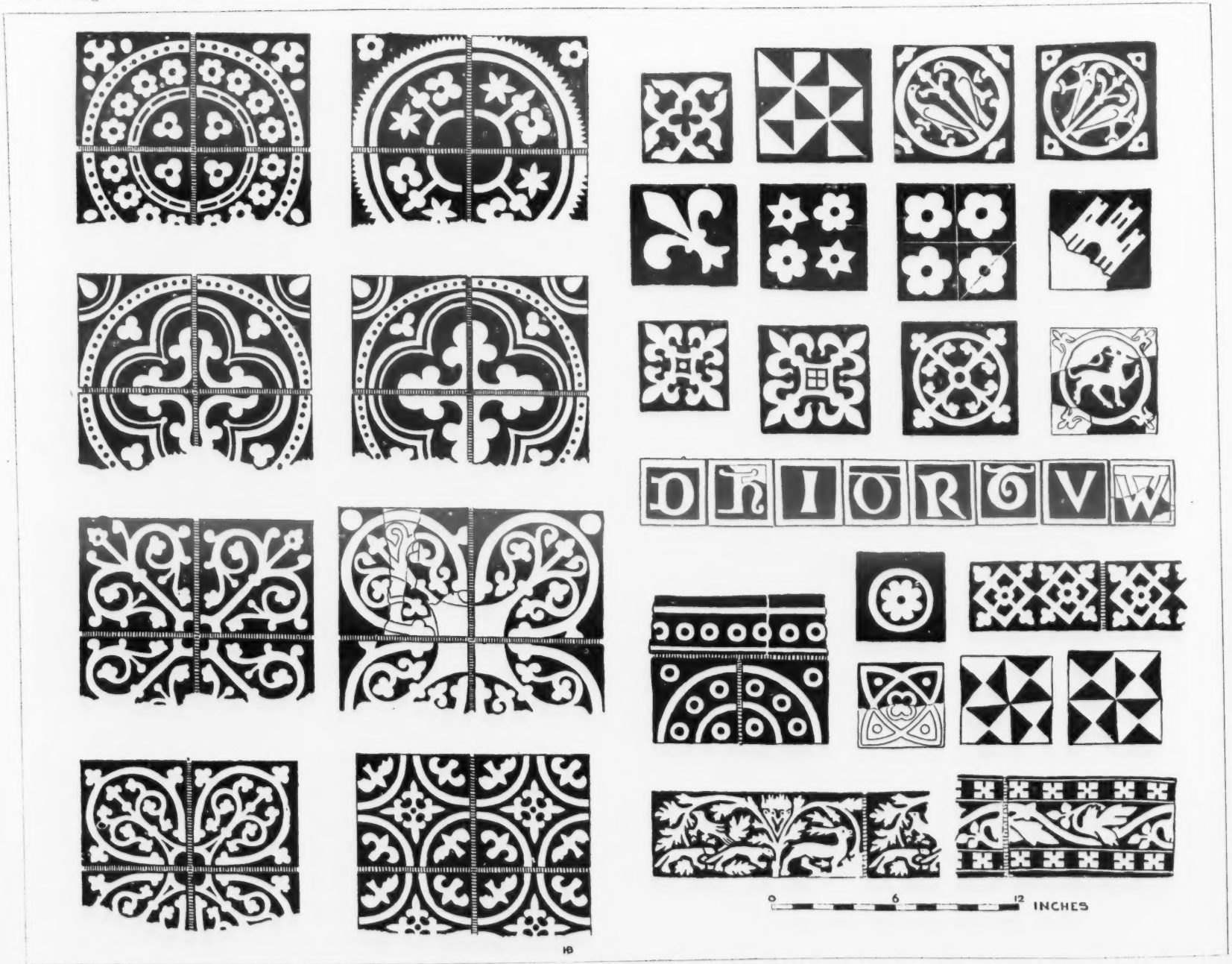
A few objects in the way of curiosities were found, of which the principal were various fragments of pottery. They occurred in large quantities near the

[a] *Lacock Cartulary*, f. 30 *b*.



PAVING TILES FOUND AT STANLEY ABBEY, WILTS.

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PAVING TILES FOUND AT STANLEY ABBEY, WILTS.

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kitchen, but the pieces were so fragmentary that in no case could anything like a perfect vessel be recovered. The majority of the pieces were of a bright green glazed ware of good character. A couple of pieces of a small jug, found in the kitchen cupboard, were of a thin hard brown ware with good glazing inside and out.

Three fragments of little lead panels of open tracery of fifteenth-century work, generally supposed to be ventilators in leaded windows, were found, with another piece of a different pattern. The patterns when perfect were $3\frac{1}{3}$ inches square, formed of two concentric circles, the middle of which was a quatrefoil, and the space between the rings was filled with radiating panels having cinquefoiled heads. (Fig. 8.) On two of the fragments the original fixing remained.

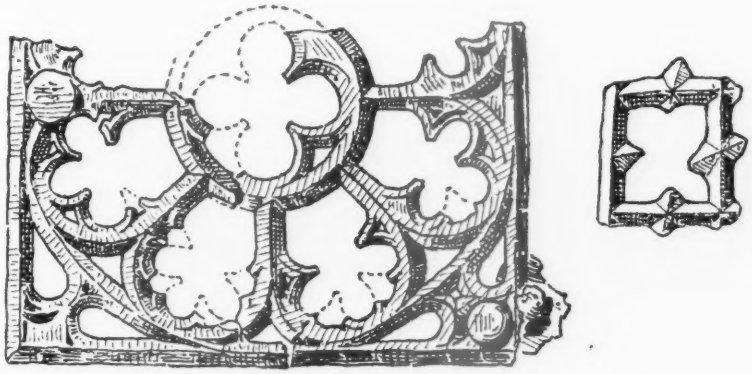


Fig. 8. Fragments of pierced lead panels found at Stanley Abbey. (¼.)

It consisted of a rivet with rounded head, and a small piece of the material to which it was fixed, apparently a thin sheet of iron. This goes against the supposition that these lead panels, which have been found in other places, were ventilating quarries in lead glazing, since iron could not have occurred in that position.

A fragment of leading from a painted window was found, which shows that the monks of Stanley as elsewhere had before the Suppression broken the rule against coloured glass.

Another object found was a bronze brooch (Fig. 9) consisting of a ring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, having a pointed tongue notched where it rested on the ring and bossed at the end where it is fastened to the ring by a hook.

A few iron nails, much corroded, were found, and also a door key $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, and two smaller ones.

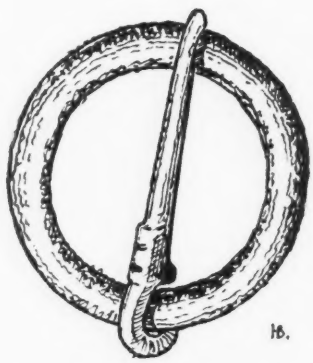


Fig. 9. Bronze buckle found at Stanley Abbey. ($\frac{1}{1}$.)

These objects, with a shilling of Queen Elizabeth and the usual halfpenny and tobacco pipe, were the only curiosities found on the site.

DITCH

MONKS' FRATER

NOVICES

MONKS' LODGING

DORTER OVER

RERE-DORTER

DRAIN

DOVE HOUSE

KITCHEN

FIRE

WARMING HOUSE

Dorter Stairs

LAY-BROTHERS' FRATER

LAY-BROTHERS' DORTER

ENTRY

CELLAR

COURT

CLOISTER

PARLOUR

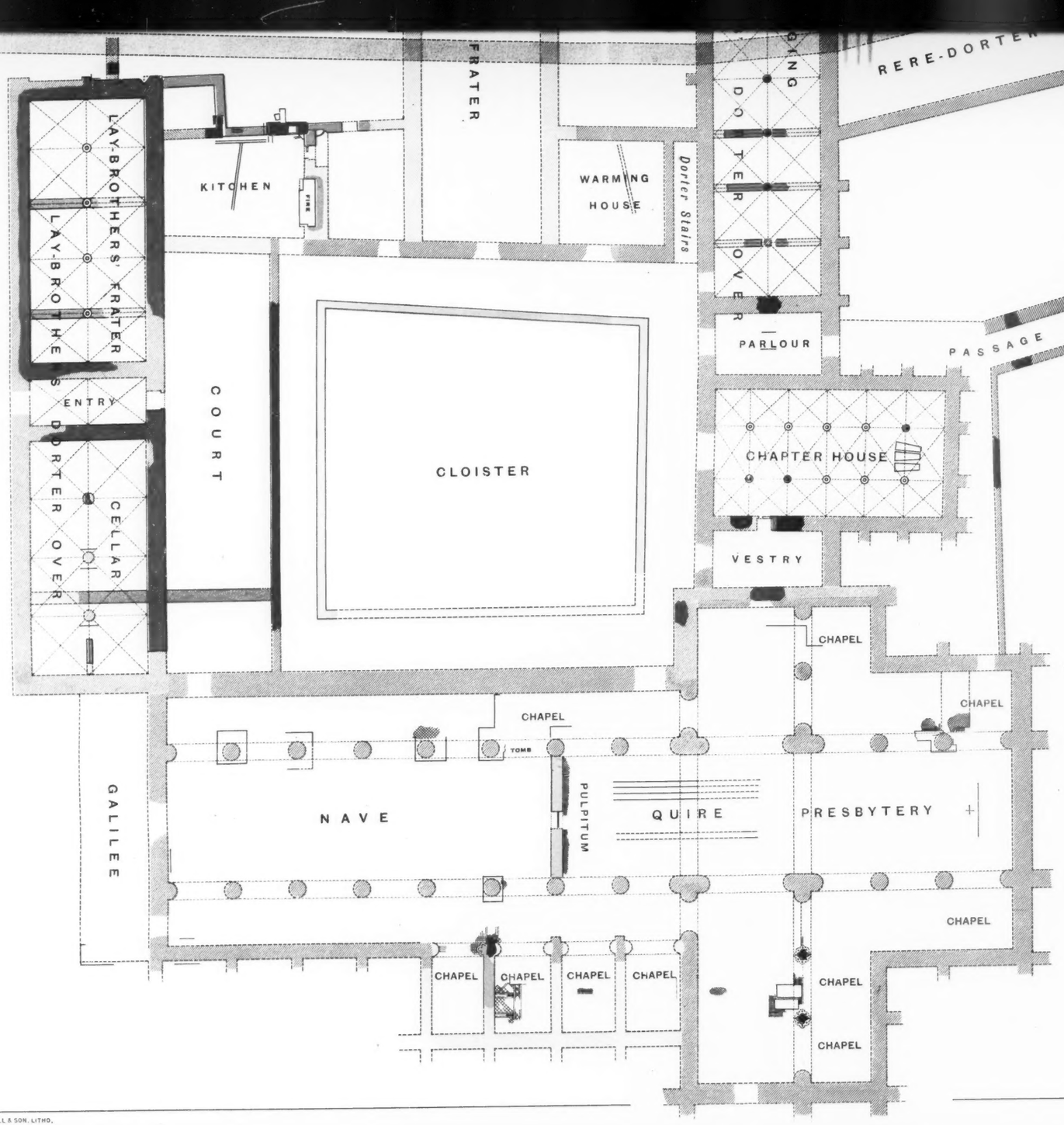
CHAPTER HOUSE

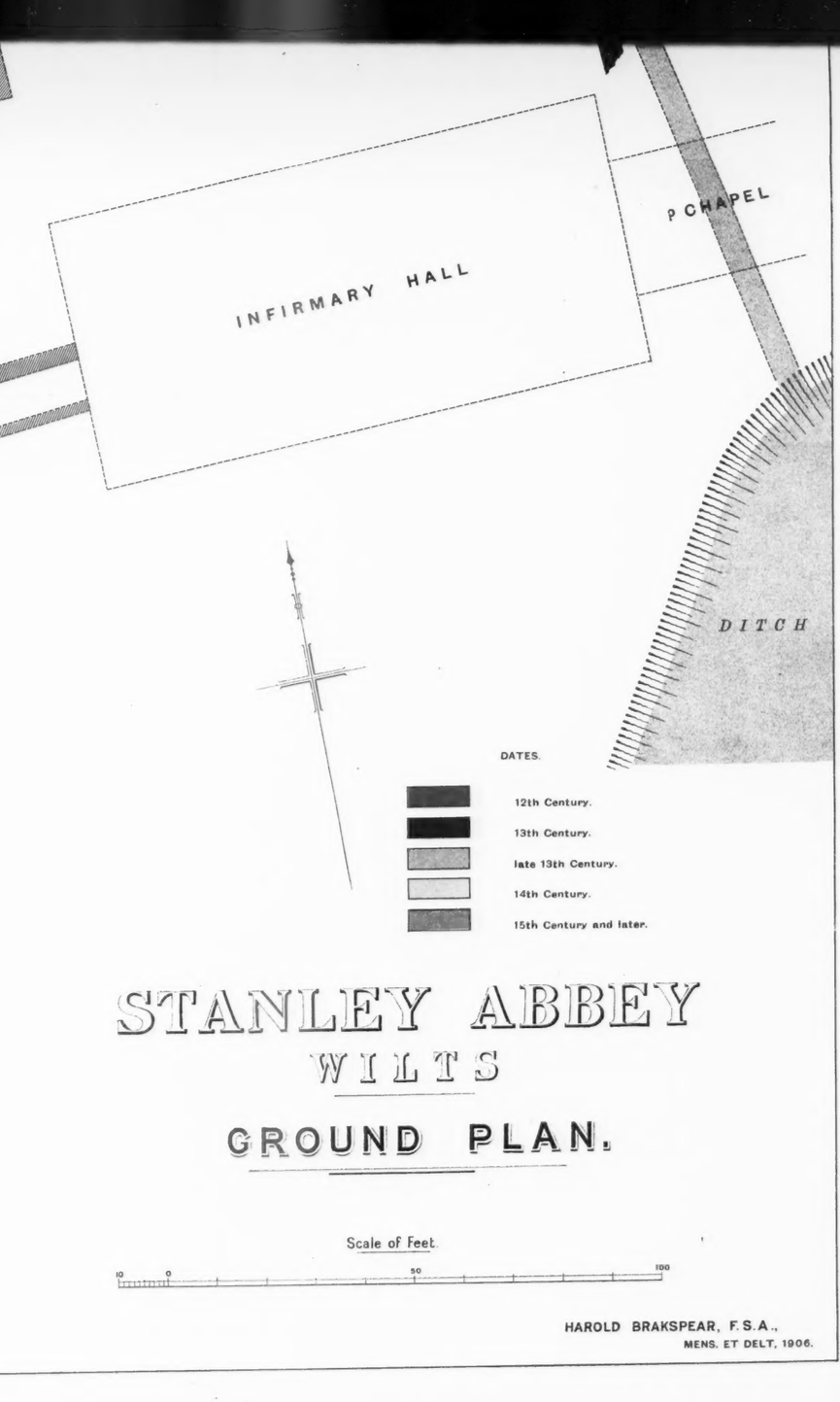
PASSAGE

INFIRMARY HALL

CHAPEL

DITCH





STANLEY ABBEY
WILTS
GROUND PLAN.

Scale of Feet.

10 0 50 100

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.,
MENS. ET DELT, 1906.

C.F. KELL & SON, LITHO.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1907.

XXII.—*On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster.* *By* W. H. St. John Hope, *Esq., M.A.* *With a note on the Westminster tradition of identification by the* Very Rev. Joseph Armitage Robinson, *D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster.*

Read 31st January, 1907.

There used to be exhibited in the Abbey Church of Westminster, distinct from the later and better known "Waxworks," a remarkable series of figures of deceased royal and noble personages, that came to be known as "the Ragged Regiment," from the condition to which most of them had been reduced by course of time.

They were the survivors of a custom, now fallen into disuse, of carrying upon the coffin in the funeral procession a representation or "picture" of the dead king or queen, arrayed in apparel befitting his or her dignity, and with the face and hands modelled in wax or carved in wood, and painted to the life.

Some little time ago these Westminster figures were taken out of the cupboard in Abbot Islip's upper chapel, in which they had for a long time been hidden away, in order that they might be photographed by our Fellow, Sir Benjamin Stone. Before replacing them it was thought desirable that they should be examined and reported on, and application was accordingly made to the Dean and Chapter to allow them to be exhibited at a meeting of the Society. As this was deemed unadvisable owing to the dilapidated state of the figures, a Special Committee, consisting of the members of the Executive Committee, together with Viscount Dillon, Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., Sir Richard Holmes, and Mr. Lionel H. Cust, was appointed to examine and report upon them.

By the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter every facility was given to the Committee, which paid several visits to Westminster and made a careful investigation of the figures. A series of descriptive notes of them were also drawn up, with some interesting extracts relating to them from the public records, for which the Committee was indebted to Lord Dillon.

The original idea was that the results of the Committee's labours should be embodied in a Report to the Council, the drawing up of which was deputed to

Mr. Micklethwaite and your Assistant Secretary, but the lamented death of the former has necessitated a modification of the first scheme, of which the paper we have the honour of laying before you is the outcome.

The question as to when the custom of carrying such figures began in England can best be answered by reviewing the circumstances of the death and burial, first of our kings and queens, and then of those of their consorts; and inasmuch as the present abbey church of Westminster was founded by King Edward the Confessor, whose body still rests within it, the inquiry may fitly begin with him.

King Edward died at Westminster on 5th January, 1065-6, and was buried the following day on the Feast of the Epiphany in the newly hallowed abbey church of St. Peter before the high altar. No better or earlier authority can be cited as to the king's death and burial than the famous stitchwork of Bayeux. This shows us, first, the king on his death-bed, with the inscription

ꝺIC ꝼADWARDVS RꝼX IN LECTO ALLOQUITVR FIDELES:

secondly, his dead body being laid out under the superintendence of Archbishop Stigand, with the inscription

ꝼT ꝺIC DꝼFVNCTVS ꝼST:

and thirdly, the king's body borne on a bier and covered by a pall with the explanatory legend

ꝺIC PORTATVR : CORPVS : EADWARDI : RꝼGIS : AD : ꝼCCLꝼSIAM : STI PꝼTRI APL'I.

The nearly contemporary Life of King Edward among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum [a] simply says of the funeral:

> Parantur illa funebria regio, ut decebat, sumptu et honore, et cum omnium infinito mœrore.[b]

The dead king was certainly buried in royal apparel, for the inventory of the vestry of the abbey taken in 1388 specifies three copes which were made out of certain cloths removed from the king's coffin in 1163:

> Item tres cape Sancti Edwardi in quibus fuerat sepultus unde prima glaucei coloris cum talentis. Secunda rubea cum lunis. Tercia cum aquilis.[c]

Concerning the burial of King Edward's successor, Harold, after his death

[a] MS. 526.

[b] *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series 3), 434.

[c] *Archaeologia*, lii. 257.

on the battlefield near Hastings, there are two accounts: the one, that his body was wrapped in a purple cloth and carried to the Conqueror's camp by the sea, where it was honourably buried on the shore by William Malet under a stone with his name and title;[a] the other that the corpse was taken to Waltham, and laid to rest in the minster which Harold had built there.[b] For each of these

[a] 573 "Heraldi corpus collegit dilaceratum,
Collectum texit sindone purpurea;
Detulit et secum repetens sua castra marina,
Expleat ut solitas funeris exequias.
Heraldi mater, nimio constricta dolore,
Misit adusque Ducem, postulat et precibus,
Orbatæ miseræ natis tribus, et viduatæ,
580 Pro tribus uni[u]s reddat ut ossa sibi;
Si placet, aut corpus puro præponderet auro.
Sed Dux iratus prorsus utrumque negat:
Jurans quod potius præsentis littora portus
Illi committet aggere sub lapidum.
Ergo velut fuerat testatus, rupis in alto
Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi.
Extemplo quidam, partim Normannus et Anglus,
Compater Heraldi, jussa libentur agit:
Corpus enim Regis cito sustulit et sepelivit,
590 Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo:
Per mandata Ducis, Rex hic Heralde quiescis
Ut custos maneas litoris et pelagi."
Guy of Amiens, *De Bello Normannico.*

"Heraldus quibusdam signis est, non facie, recognitus, et in castra ducis delatus, ac ad tumulandum prope littus maris, quod diu cum armis servaverat, Guillelmo agnomine Maleto victoris jussu traditur."
Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. iii. (ed. Prevost, 1840), ii. 151.

[b] "Ipse carens omni decore quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra Ducis delatus, qui tumulandum cum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, non matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti. Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem insepulti remanerent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit. Nos tibi, Heralde, non insultamus, sed cum pio victore tuam ruinam lach[r]ymato miseramur et plangimus te. Vicisti digno te proventu, ad meritum tuum et in cruore jacuisti, et in littoreo tumulo jaces, et posthumæ generationi tam Anglorum quam Normannorum abominabilis eris."—William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum*, in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), 204.

Li Reis Heraut fu emportez 14093
E à Varham fu enterrez
Maiz jo ne sai ki l'emporte
Ne jo ne sui ki l'enterra.
Wace, *Roman de Rou.*

§ "Ille, ubi perfecta victoria potitus est, suos sepeliendos mirifice curavit; hostibus quoque si qui vellent, idem exequendi licentiam præbuit. Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset; acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam, ex proprio constructam in honore sanctæ Crucis, canonicis impleverat."—William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iii. (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series 90) ii. 306, 307.

stories there is such good evidence that probably both are right, and the burial on the beach may well have been followed by a later translation to Waltham. Of this second burial there are no further details than the statement of the Waltham chronicler, that the body was borne thither *cum magno honore.*[a]

On the death of William the Conqueror, which took place at Rouen on 9th September, 1087, the nobles and royal officers who had kept watch over the dying king rode away and left his dead body to its fate. Their servants thereupon despoiled the royal chamber of all they could, arms, vessels, clothes and linen, and all the furniture, leaving the king's body almost naked on the floor, where it lay for a whole day. The archbishop of Rouen ordered the body to be borne to Caen and buried in the church of St. Stephen, which William had founded.

After sundry untoward events this was done, and it is clear from the very detailed account of the burial given by Orderic that the king's body was borne upon a bier and thrust into a stone coffin which was too small for it, with results that even the cloud of incense about the grave failed to mitigate.[b]

The king's grave was opened in 1522 to gratify the curiosity of a cardinal, an archbishop, and a Roman bishop, "when the body was found still to all appearance in the condition in which it had been buried in the tomb." It was again opened, this time to be utterly destroyed, by the Calvinists in 1562, and the contents are thus described by an eye-witness, M. Charles de Bourgueville, Sieur de Bras:

Les ossemens de ce Roy, qui furent trouvez dedans son Tombeau, estoient couverts d'un Candal ou Taffetas rouge, d'estaint, comme la couleur en estoit apparente. Et estoyent

[a] The anonymous Waltham chronicler, a canon of the abbey who wrote about 1180, describes how two of the canons of Harold's college sought the body of Harold on the battlefield, and eventually found it by the aid of the king's mistress, Edith Swanneshals:

"Quam cum adduxisset Osegodus, et inter strages mortuorum pluribus indiciis ipsa corpus regis Haroldi designasset, aptatum feretro, multis heroum Normanniæ comitatus honorem corpori exhibentibus, usque ad Pontem Belli qui nunc dicitur, ab ipsis fratribus, et multa supervenientium copiositate Anglorum, qui audierant eorum imminens excidium, quia numquam fuit Anglis cognata Normannorum societas, cum magno honore corpus Waltham deductum sepelierunt, ubi usque hodie . . . . pro certo quiescit Walthamiæ." W. Stubbs, *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey* (Oxford and London, 1861), 30.

[b] "Expleta missa, cum jam sarcofagum in terra locatum esset, sed corpus adhuc in feretro jaceret, magnus Gislebertus, Ebroicensis episcopus, in pulpitum ascendit, et prolixam locutionem de magnificentia defuncti principis eloquenter protelavit . . . . Porro, dum corpus in sarcofagum mitteretur, et violenter, quia vas per imprudentiam cæmentariorum breve structum erat, complicare-

encores inherantes à la teste, les Maschoires, et plusieurs dents, et les autres ossements, tant des jambes, cuisses, que des bras, fort longs: lesquels ossemẽtz je fis bailler à Dom frere Michel de Cemalle, l'un des Religieux, et Bailly de ladite Abbaye, par un nommé François de Gron, marchand du Bourg l'Abbé, l'un de ces desmollisseurs presence de Domp Gilles le Mercier, et d'un autre nommé Radul, et quelques autres Religieux, etc.[a]

Of the death or murder of King William II. (Rufus) in the New Forest, on 2nd August, 1100, all that is certainly known is told in the short statement of the English Chronicle:

and þaer æfter on morgen æfter hlam mæsse dæge weard se cyng Willelm on huntnoðe fram his anan men mid anre fla of sceoten.[b]

"His own men" quickly dispersed, and William of Malmesbury says that a few rustics carried the body, laid in a wagon, to Winchester, with the blood dripping in a wavy line all the way.[c] Orderic adds that a multitude of clerks, monks, citizens, and others met the king's corpse, and for reverence of the royal dignity buried it quickly in the Old Minster of St. Peter.[d] But the clergy, bearing in mind the king's sordid life and fearful end, thought him unworthy of absolution, so no bells were sounded nor the office for the dead said over him.

The so-called tomb of the king now in the quire of Winchester, a recent opening of which is described in our *Archaeologia*,[e] is beyond question that of bishop Henry de Blois, who was buried in the middle of the presbytery, where the tomb had stood undisturbed until 1868. The king's tomb, whatever it was, was crushed by the fall of the steeple in 1107, and all that remains of his bones now rests in one of the relic chests on the north side of the presbytery.

King Henry I. died in the castle of Lions on 1st December, 1135, and on

tur, pinguissimus venter crepuit, et intolerabilis fœtor circum astantes personas et reliquum vulgus implevit. Fumus thuris, aliorumque aromatum, de thuribulis copiose ascendebat; sed teterrimum putorem excludere non prævalebat. Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exequias perficere, et actutum sua cum pavore mappalia repetere." Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. vii. (Ed. A. le Prevost, Paris, 1845), iii. 251-254.

[a] Charles de Bourgueville, sieur du lieu, de Bras, et de Brucourt, *Les Recherches et Antiquitez de la Ville et Université de Caen* (Caen, 1588), 171, 172.

[b] Ed. Earle and Plummer (Oxford, 1892), i. 235.

[c] "Pauci rusticanorum cadaver, in rheda caballaria compositum, Wintoniam in episcopatum devexere, cruore undatim per totam viam stillante." William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iv. (Rolls Series 90), ii. 379.

[d] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10 (ed. A. le Prevost), iv. 89.

[e] Vol. xlii. 309-321.

the following day, according to Orderic,[a] his body was carried to Rouen, attended by an escort of 20,000 men, and received into the metropolitan church of Our Lady. There at night, "in a certain recess of the great church," says William of Malmesbury, the body was disemboweled and roughly embalmed, and then taken on to Caen, where it lay for several weeks in the abbey church of St. Stephen waiting for a fair wind to bring it to England. This came soon after Christmas, and the royal corpse was then brought over in a ship and buried in the abbey church of Reading.

William of Malmesbury[b] gives no further details than the disemboweling, and the burial of the entrails in the church of St. Mary de Pratis, near Rouen. Orderic says the gross body of the king was opened by a skilful butcher and preserved with fragrant balsam.

A far more detailed account of the treatment of the king's corpse is given by Henry of Huntingdon, which had better be given in the forcible language of the original :[c]

Corpus autem regis Henrici adhuc insepultum erat in Normannia. Rex namque Henricus prima die Decembris obierat; cujus corpus allatum est Rothomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi consepulta sunt. Reliquum autem corpus cultellis circumquaque dissecatum et multo sale aspersum coriis taurinis reconditum est, causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset, mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est.

After the removal of the body to St. Stephen's church at Caen the archdeacon says :

quamvis multo sale repletum esset et multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor et horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, et vasis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore fatiscentibus abjiciebatur.

This gruesome account of the imperfect attempt to embalm King Henry's body is not without interest in the present inquiry, as showing, first that the corpse was, as in King Edward's case, carried uncoffined on a bier, and secondly that it was not thought necessary to expose the face, since in this instance the body was completely encased in bulls' hides, and, it is presumed, further covered by a pall or hersecloth.

[a] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, x. § 19 (ed. A. le Prevost), v. 51.

[b] William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella* (Rolls Series 90), ii. 537.

[c] *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 74), 256, 257.

King Stephen ended his turbulent reign on 25th October, 1154, in the priory of St. Martin at Dover, whence his body was carried first to Canterbury, and then to Faversham, where it was buried by the side of his wife and his son in the church of the monastery of the Holy Saviour which he had founded.

No details of his funeral seem to have been recorded by any of the historians of his time, and the exact spot where he was buried is also unknown.

King Henry II. died at Chinon on 6th July, 1189.

According to the chronicle known as that of Benedict of Peterborough:[a]

> On the morrow of his death, when he was carried to be buried clothed in royal apparel, wearing a golden crown on his head, and having gloves on his hands and a golden ring on his finger, a sceptre in his hand, footgear woven with gold, and spurs on his feet, girt with a sword, he lay having his face uncovered.

On hearing of the king's death, his son Count Richard hastened to meet the corpse, but on his approach the blood gushed from the nostrils, as if the father's spirit were indignant at his coming. The weeping son nevertheless accompanied the corpse to Fontevraud, where it was buried, "juxta magnificentiam regiam," says William of Newburgh.

The apparently novel fact of the king's body lying on the bier invested with the royal ornaments and with the face uncovered was also thought worthy of record by Matthew Paris,[b] and there can be no doubt whatever that the effigy still preserved at Fontevraud actually represents the dead king as he was carried to his burial; the only difference being that the sword wherewith he is said to have been girded is laid by his side upon the bier. The robes in which he is shown arrayed are those that were put upon him at his coronation.

It may be of interest also to refer to the accounts of the burial of the younger King Henry, eldest son of King Henry II., who was crowned in his father's lifetime, but died at Martel on 11th June, 1183.

The Chronicle of Benedict says that as soon as he was dead, his servants took out his bowels and his brain, and after sprinkling the body with much salt,

[a] "In crastino autem obitus illius, cum portaretur ad sepeliendum vestitus regio apparatu, gestans coronam auream in capite, et habens chirothecas [in] manus et annulum aureum in digito, et sceptrum in manu, et calceamenta auro texta, et calcaria in pedibus, cinctus gladio, jacebat habens vultum discoopertum." *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series 49), ii. 71.

[b] *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 344.

wrapped it in lead and bulls' hides, so that they might carry it to Rouen, where young Henry had desired to be buried. On its way thither the royal corpse came to Le Mans, where the bishop and people insisted on keeping it, and honourably buried it in the metropolitan church of St. Julian. Owing, however, to a quarrel between the people of Rouen and those of Le Mans about the place of burial, the body was taken up, and by command of King Henry finally buried in the church of Our Lady at Rouen on 22nd July.[a]

Much the same account, including that of the rude embalming, is given by Roger of Howden.[b]

Another contemporary chronicler, Ralph de Diceto, the dean of St. Paul's, though recording the young king's death, says nothing about the embalming, but gives the further interesting information that the body of the king lay upon a bier, carefully vested in the linen vestments anointed with cream which he had at his consecration, and so was carried upon the shoulders of his companions to Le Mans.[c] Matthew Paris also thought it worth while to record the same fact about the linen vestments.[d]

The younger King Henry is the first who is stated to have been buried in lead.[e]

King Richard I. died at Chaluz, in Limousin, on 6th April, 1199, of the effects of an arrow wound received some twelve days before. By his own wish his body was buried at his father's feet at Fontevraud, his "unconquerable heart" (as Matthew Paris calls it) at Rouen, and his bowels at Chaluz as a gift to the Pictavians. No account of the funeral seems to have been chronicled, but the king's body was no doubt treated as he ordered, and finally buried at Fontevraud.

The effigy there preserved represents, like that of his father, the royal corpse laid out upon a bier, with the crown and coronation ornaments in which he was carried to his burial; and it differs in a decided way from the effigy discovered

[a] *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series 49), i. 301, 303, 304.

[b] *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden* (Rolls Series 51), ii. 280.

[c] "Corpus regis, quas habuit in sua consecratione lineis vestibus crismate delibutis diligentius involutum, in libitina reponitur, et impositum humeris commilitonum suorum per vicos, per castella, per civitates, concurrentibus undique populis, deportatur, quousque Cenomannis intraret, et in choro beati Juliani deponeretur." Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarium* (Rolls Series 68), ii. 20.

[d] *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 319.

[e] The Archdeacon of Wells says he was buried at Rouen *in loculo stanneo.* Thomas Agnellus, *De morte et sepultura Henrici Regis Junioris* (Rolls Series 66), 272.

under the pavement at Rouen in 1838,[a] with the leaden coffer and a silver plate inscribed:

+ ħIC : IПCЄT : COR : RICARDI : RЄGIS : AПGLORVM :

which represents the king alive, with his feet resting against a lion. That Richard was actually buried in his coronation robes is proved by an entry in the *Annals of Winchester*:

> Scitu quidem dignum est quod dictus rex sepultus est cum eadem corona et cæteris insignibus regalibus, quibus præcedenti quinto anno coronatus et infulatus fuerat apud Wintoniam.[b]

The reference here is to the king's *second* crowning in 1194.

King John ended his stormy reign in Newark Castle on 19th October, 1216, and according to Roger of Wendover his body adorned in royal fashion was carried to Worcester and honourably buried in the cathedral church there by the bishop of the place. This was in accordance with the king's will, which directs that his body be buried in the church of St. Mary and St. Wulstan of Worcester. Matthew Paris says in addition that the abbot of Croxton, a very skilful physician who had attended the king in his last illness, made an anatomy of the body, that it might be the more decently carried, and having copiously sprinkled the viscera with salt, transported them to his own house (*i.e.* Croxton Abbey), and there honourably buried them. The Coggeshall chronicler states that the king's "disemboweled body" was carried to Worcester, but does not say what became of the internal parts.

The vigorous English effigy of the king, in Purbeck marble, now disfigured by the coating of gold-leaf applied by the Office of Works in 1873, represents him in his coronation vestments: a tunic, a girded dalmatic, and mantle, with the crown on his head, jewelled gloves on his hands, and the buskins, sandals, and spurs on his feet. In his right hand he has the remains of the sceptre and in the left a naked sword. On either side of the head is a bishop with a censer, perhaps St. Wulstan and St. Oswald, and beneath the feet a couchant lion. The neck-band and cuffs of the dalmatic, together with the crown, gloves, belt, and sword, and the mitres, etc. of the bishops, have sockets for the imitation jewels with which they were adorned.

In July, 1797, the king's tomb and coffin were opened and examined. From an account published shortly after by Mr. Valentine Green, "the dress in which the body of the king was found appears also to have been similar to that in which

[a] *Archaeologia*, xxix. 202-216, and plates xx, xxi.

[b] *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), ii. 71.

his figure is represented on the tomb, excepting the gloves on its hands and the crown on its head, which on the skull in the coffin was found to be the celebrated monk's cowl, in which he is recorded to be buried, as a passport through the regions of purgatory."[a]

The contents of the coffin were only superficially examined, but the body was certainly clothed as on the effigy, and remains of the buskins, etc. were left upon the feet. Down the left side, in a leather scabbard, was a sword which had been grasped by the left hand. There can be no doubt therefore that the effigy represents the king in the royal fashion in which he was carried to his burial.

The only contemporary writer who seems to have left any detailed account of the burial of King Henry III. is the canon of Oseney, Thomas Wykes. After noting the death of the king, which took place at Westminster on Wednesday, the 16th November, 1272, he continues:

On the following Sunday, namely on the feast of the most blessed king and martyr Edmund, he was buried with the honour that was due in that very noble church of Westminster which with sumptuous and incomparable work he had built from the foundations, the great men of the kingdom being at the expense of the accustomed rites; indeed his body, adorned with the most precious robes and the royal crown, as was seemly, in the opinion of those taking part, when it was borne to the tomb in a portable coffin by the more noble persons of the kingdom chosen for this duty, shone out with greater splendour of glory when dead than it had before appeared when living; because it happened, by a wonderful but notable accident, that in the same place in which the most blessed king and confessor Edward had been buried, and rested for many years, before his relics were translated to the shrine, the body of King Henry, who was wont while living to love St. Edward before all the saints and to venerate him with a fuller devotion, not ignobly placed, was consigned to its earthly sepulchre."[b]

[a] Valentine Green, *An account of the discovery of the body of King John, in the cathedral church of Worcester, July 17th*, 1797 (London and Worcester, 1797), 4.

[b] "Dominica proxima sequente, videlicet in festo beatissimi regis et martyris Edmundi, in nobilissima basilica Westmonasterii, quam opere sumptuoso et incomparabili a fundamentis extruxerat, regni magnatibus exequias debitas impendentibus, cum ea qua decuit honorificentia tumulatus: sane corpus ipsius pretiosissimis indumentis et diademate regio, prout decuit, adornatum, omni assistentium judicio, cum a nobilioribus regni ad hoc officium præelectis in locello portatili deferretur ad tumulum, ampliori splendore decoris effulgebat mortuum, quam prius dum vixerat appareret; siquidem eventu miro sed notabili contigit, quod in eodem loco quo beatissimus rex et confessor Edwardus sepultus extiterat, et annis plurimis, priusquam ipsius reliquiæ translatæ fuissent in scrinium requievit, corpus regis Henrici, qui eundem Sanctum Edwardum dum vixit præ cunctis sanctis diligere consuevit et ampliori devotione venerari, non ignobiliter collocatum, humanæ traditum est sepulturæ." *Chronicon Thomae Wykes* in *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), iv. 252.

In other words, King Henry was buried before the high altar in the same grave in which the Confessor's body had been laid in 1065. This was in accordance with the arrangement the king had made so long before as 1230, by a charter now among the Abbey archives.

In connexion with Wykes's account of the funeral several points arise. In the first place he mentions what was clearly a new departure, that the king's body was borne to the grave in a coffin, *in locello portatili*. That *locellus* implies a receptacle of some kind and not an open bier is shown by Wykes's previous reference to the translation by King Henry of the body of the Confessor in 1269, "because he could no longer endure his venerable relics lying *locello quodam humili*." But if King Henry's corpse was laid in a coffin, how could it be seen to be adorned with precious robes and the royal crown?

There is no need to question the statement of the chronicler, since the body of King Henry actually lies at this moment in the wooden coffin in which he was buried, in the marble tomb to which it was afterwards removed by his son. This was fully proved in November, 1871, when the tomb was opened in the presence of the late Dean Stanley and several other Fellows of this Society (all now dead) while the bronze effigy had been removed to be cleaned.[a]

The explanation of the difficulty may perhaps be found in an account on the Patent Roll 4 Edward I. under date 20th January, 1275-6, of various sums paid on the king's behalf while he was yet abroad. Among the items there entered are:

Item pro trescentis libris Cere ad faciendam unam ymaginem pro nobis sex libras et duodecim solidos precij Centum et quadraginta quatuor solidorum quodlibet Centenarum. [= £6 12s.]

Item magistro Roberto de Beverlaco pro factura dicte ymaginis sexaginta sex solidos et octo denarios sterlingorum.[b] [= 66s. 8d.]

Now it is not easy to see for what purpose an image involving the use of 300 lbs. of wax could have been made during King Edward's absence, but it seems reasonable to suppose, although the fact is not stated, that it was for the funeral procession of King Henry. If that were so, King Henry's was the first royal funeral in this country in which the corpse was withdrawn from public gaze, and represented merely by an image arrayed in the royal ornaments.

[a] See the paper by the late Dean Stanley, "On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II. and Henry III. in Westminster Abbey," in *Archaeologia*, xlv. 317-322.

[b] Patent Roll 4 Edward I. [95], m. 32. The price of the wax should be 44s. a hundred lbs. and not as erroneously entered by the scribe.

King Henry's body was probably embalmed in some way, for the *Annales Londonienses* aver that at its translation into the new tomb in 1290 it was 'integrum cum barba prolixa,"[a] and in accordance with his wish his heart was taken out to be buried in the abbey church of Fontevraud. It remained, however, at Westminster for nineteen years, until December, 1291, when it was formally handed over to the Abbess of Fontevraud who happened then to be in England.[b]

King Edward I. died at Burgh-on-Sands on Friday, 7th July, 1307.

The body was embalmed in some way, closely enveloped in waxed cloth, and conveyed by slow stages to the abbey church of Waltham, where it remained from 4th August until the latter end of October.

The fact of the embalming is recorded in the contemporary rhyming chronicle of Peter Langtoft, the canon of Bridlington:

> Maintenant après sa mort estait publye,
> Translatez est le corps par barnez e par clergie
> A Waltham près de Loundres, sa demene abbeye,
> Quatre mais enters sollempnement servye.
> Baumez juste sur bere.[c]

On the removal of the body from Waltham it rested one night in the church of the Holy Trinity in London, the next in St. Paul's, and on the 27th in the abbey church of Westminster, where on the morrow, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, it was buried behind the high altar to the north of St. Edward's shrine at the head of the tomb of King Henry III.

[a] *Annales Londonienses* (Rolls Series 76), i. 98.

[b] De corde Regis Henrici, liberato Abbatissæ Fontis Ebroldi, ad sepeliendum in Monasterio suo.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Quia pro certo intelleximus quod celebris memorie Dominus Henricus quondam Rex Anglie pater noster ipso dudum existente apud Monasterium Fontis Ebroldi cor suum post ejus decessum eidem Monasterio promisit. Et dilecta nobis in Christo Abbatissa Monasterii predicti nuper in Angliam accedens cor illud sibi juxta promissionem predictam petiit liberari. Dilectus nobis in Christo Walterus Abbas Westmonasterii cor predictum integrum in presencia venerabilium patrum A. Dunelmensis et R. Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcoporum et dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum Edmundi fratris nostri et Willelmi de Valentia avunculi nostri et aliorum fidelium nostrorum plurimorum die Lune proximo ante festum beate Lucie virginis anno Regni nostri vicesimo in ecclesia Westmonasterii predicte Abbatisse de voluntate et precepto nostro liberavit ad predictum Monasterium Fontis Ebroldi deferendum et sepeliendum in eodem. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud London tertio die Decembris.

Patent Roll 20 Edward I. m. 28. [Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1727), ii. 533.]

[c] Rolls Series 47, ii. 380, 382.

The several accounts of King Edward's funeral, beyond stating that it was conducted with all due ceremony, give no details of interest, and none makes any reference to the appearance of the coffin or to any image being carried outside it. It should, however, be noted that Robert of Bourn in his translation of Peter Langtoft's chronicle has :

> Fro Waltham beforsaid to Westmynster þei him brouht,
> Biside his fadere is laid in a toumbe wele wrouht.
> Of marble is þe stone, & putreied þer he lies.[a]

The French original, however, merely says :

> En près de son linage ore est le corps sevelye,
> A Westmouster, en toumbe de marble ben polye.[b]

On 2nd May, 1774, the tomb of the king was opened and examined in the presence of the Dean and two of the Prebendaries and certain Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. From the detailed account published in *Archaeologia*[c] it appears that the king's body rests within a Purbeck marble coffin, arrayed in the coronation ornaments, with the crown and the two sceptres. The body was disturbed as little as possible, but "its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted."[d] The object of the investigation in question was to test the truth of an oft-repeated statement that the wax wrappings of the king's body had been constantly renewed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in accordance with the yearly warrants that occur from 1339 downwards. Even so recent a work as the Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera* states more than once that the order is for the renewing of "the wax which covers the body." But the warrants themselves invariably describe it as *ceram circa corpus*. As a matter of fact therefore the wax was not provided for anything within the coffin, which had certainly remained inviolate from 1272 until 1774, as the account of its contents proves, but for the numerous wax lights that were burnt around the tomb on every successive anniversary of King Edward's death; and this is the conclusion arrived at by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in his paper in *Archaeologia*. The wax moreover had nothing to do with any funeral effigy that may have been laid upon the king's tomb.

[a] Ed. Hearne, ii. 341.
[b] Rolls Series 47, ii. 382.
[c] *Archaeologia*, iii. 376-413.
[d] *Ibid.* 381.

Sir Joseph Ayloffe thus concludes his very interesting account:

> I have already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of king Edward's tomb, the dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done either to the royal body, or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him during the time the coffin continued open: so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering-stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of terrice before the dean retired from the chapel.[a]

Whatever may have been the cause of the death of King Edward II. in Berkeley Castle on the 21st September, 1327, there can be no doubt whatever that he was buried publicly with proper solemnity, and with all the honour due to his exalted rank, in the abbey church of St. Peter at Gloucester. This interesting fact was brought to the notice of the Society in 1886 by Mr. Stuart Moore, in a paper on "Documents relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II.,"[b] but as the details of the funeral were beyond the scope of his paper he only briefly refers to them. The king's body was disemboweled and embalmed, but not taken to Gloucester until 21st October, and apparently it was not actually buried until 20th December. There was thus ample time for the elaborate preparations recorded in the wardrobe accounts of Thomas of Ousefleet (Useflete).[c]

It would take too long now to rehearse all these, which can later on appear in print, and it must suffice to quote only those that bear directly on this paper. Of these the most important is that which proves that a wooden effigy of the king was placed upon his coffin:

[a] *Ibid.* 413. This plain and straightforward account is thus paraphrased by a recent and still-living writer: "After having satisfied themselves as to the state of the body, the cerements, and the stature, the learned representatives of the Society of Antiquaries of that day, under a puerile pretence of preserving the royal remains from future desecration, barbarously embedded body, vestures, crown, and sceptre in pitch. . . . . After this the coffin and tomb were again closed. This time the top slab being cemented on to the sides. The Dean remained throughout the whole investigation and reclosing, to see that no disrespectful act, nor any damage should occur to the body of Edward, *which he embedded in pitch*." J. C. Wall, *The Tombs of the Kings of England* (London, 1891), 265, 266.

[b] *Archaeologia*, l. 215-226.

[c] P. R. O. Accounts, etc. (Exchequer, K.R.), 383 3.

Item cuidam Magistro cindenti et formanti quamdam ymaginem de ligno ad similitudinem dicti domini Regis E[dwardi] deffuncti ex convencione in grosso, xl^{s}.

Item in una Corona de Cupro pro eadem ymagine empta cum factura et deauracione ejusdem, vij^{s} viij^{d}.

A sum of (apparently) 4s. 3d. was also paid:

Pro consutura vestimentorum pro corpore ejusdem Regis factorum in quibus sepeliebatur. simul cum uno coverchief Alemayñ et iij. quarterijs de [panno lineo ?] pro uno auriculari inde faciendo ad ponendum sub capite ejusdem Regis, emptis de Waltero Chapman.

In another account[a] Thomas of Ousefleet reckons

de uno mantello, j tunicula, j dalmaticula, j pari Cirotecarum, j zona, j pari caligarum, j pari sotularium. j pari calcarium receptis de liberatura dominorum Johannis Darcy Militis Willelmi de Zouche et Nicholai de Falle clerici H. episcopi Lincolñ tunc Thesaurarii Anglie de Thesauro Regis pro sepultura Regis Edwardi patris Regis hujus et que idem Rex pater utebatur die Coronacionis sue.

Et de j tunica. j camisia. j pillio. et j tena receptis de eisdem militibus et clerico. In quibus idem Rex pater fuit unctus die Coronacionis sue.

Idem computat in expensis factis super corpus predicti Regis patris defuncti apud Gloucestriam dicto die sepulture et super idem corpus dimissis j par cirotecarum. j tunicam. j camisiam et j tenam, etc.

From this it is clear that, like the younger King Henry in 1183, King Edward II. was buried in the linen coif (*tena*), the sleeveless shirt (*camisia*), the tunic (*tunica*), and the gloves which he wore at his anointing. Owing probably to the rigidity of the embalmed body the tunic and shirt had to be slit open and sewn together again. The other coronation ornaments, viz. the tunic, dalmatic, girdle, and mantle, and the buskins, sandals, and spurs, and the cap of estate, together with another crown of silver-gilt, a sceptre, a regal, two fleurons of silver-gilt, and a ring of silver-gilt with a great doublet, were apparently used to adorn the wooden image in the likeness of the king, since they were afterwards returned to the officers of the great wardrobe who issued them for the funeral.

King Edward III. died at Sheen on 21st June, 1377.

No detailed description of his funeral seems to have been chronicled, but it is evident from the expenses set out in the Wardrobe Account[b] that it was carried out with all the customary ceremony. Among these expenses are several which bear directly upon the subject of this paper.

[a] P. R. O. Wardrobe Accounts, Enrolments of Exchequer, L.T.R. Roll 3, m. 7.

[b] P. R. O. "Compotus Ricardi de Beverlei," Accounts, etc. (Exchequer K.R.), Bundle 398/9.

Immediately after the king's death his body was embalmed, and the large sum of £21 was paid:

Rogero Chaundeler civi Londoñ pro labore suo et pro diversis custubus per ipsum factis ad custodiendum corpus Regis a putrefacione cum balsamo et aliis unguentis et oleis.

A further sum of £22 4s. 11d. was paid:

Stephano Hadley pro factura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem Regis uno Sceptro una pila una cruce cum crucifixo argentea deaurata et aliis diversis custubus per ipsum factis circa preparacionem corporis ejusdem domini Regis ante diem sepulture.

What the "divers costs" were for is a matter of conjecture, but probably for the coffin, etc. There can, however, be little doubt that the "image in likeness of a king" was that which was borne upon the coffin in its passage from Sheen to London. This seems to have taken place at night, for £27 15s. 4d. were paid

pauperibus nigris tunicis vestitis portantibus torcheos accensos circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis inter Shene et Westmonasterium per tres dies de Elemosina ejusdem domini Regis.

And the large sum of £227 15s. 11½d. was spent

In precio vij^{M} lb. cere expenditis in ^{M}vij^{c}. torches xv. cereis magnis xij. morteriis accensis circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis inter Shene et Westmonasterium per tres dies precium libre vj^{d} ob.

The body seems first to have been taken to St. Paul's, for £11 were paid

Johanni Pope et Willelmo Campion candelariis Londoñ pro una hercia erecta circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis in ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli Londoñ quarto die Julij ex certa convencione secum facta cum cariagio ejusdem hercie.

On arrival at Westminster the coffin and the "image in likeness of a king" were placed within a most magnificent herse, set up, no doubt, as Abbot Islip's was, in the middle of the presbytery. For this £59 16s. 8d. were paid

Willelmo Hanele pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro factura unius hercie erecta circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis in ecclesia conventuali beati Petri Westmonasterii die sepulture ejusdem domini Regis cum barers et closettis ibidem factis.

This day of the king's burial was the 5th of July.

On the Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 19 Richard II. (1395), is an entry that has for some time been taken to refer to the well-known portrait of King Richard II. which hangs in the presbytery of the abbey church. It is for a payment of £20:

Dompno Petro Sacriste ecclesie beati Petri Westmonasterii In denariis sibi liberatis



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF KING EDWARD III.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

per manus Johannis Haxey in persolucionem xx. li. quas Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit tam pro pictura cooperture supra Tumbam Anne nuper Regine Anglie infra dictam ecclesiam humate existentem quam pro remocione unius tumbe prope tumbam ejusdem Regine ac eciam pro pictura ejusdem tumbe remote et *pro pictura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem unius Regis contrafacte in choro ecclesie predicte* per breve de privato sigillo inter mandatos de hoc termino.[a]

From the close similarity in the wording, there can be little if any doubt that the "counterfeit image in the likeness of a king" which was painted in 1395 is identical with the "image in likeness of a king" made in 1377, and therefore that it represented King Edward III. and not Richard II. Like that for Edward's father it was probably of wood, and there is still preserved at Westminster (Plate LVIII.) what may be the veritable figure made by Stephen Hadley.

The funeral of a king who had formally renounced the Crown, as Richard II. did on 29th September, 1399, was not likely to be carried out with the pomp and ceremony due to a king-regnant, especially when the unhappy prince died in prison.

The chroniclers of the time are agreed that Richard died of starvation, or was murdered, in the castle of Pontefract, on 14th February, 1399-1400, and that his body was conveyed to London through all the most notable places in order that it might be seen of men.[b] Edward Hall says that Richard's body was "embalmed and seared and covered with lead al save his face (to the entent that all men might perceive that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe)." Thomas of Otterbourne says the corpse was borne all the way with the face bare "from the lowest part of the forehead to the throat."[c]

[a] Issue Roll (Pells), Mich 19 Richard II.

[b] Ricardus, quondam Rex Angliæ, cum audisset hæc infortunia, mente consternatus semetipsum extinxit inedia voluntaria, ut fertur, clausitque diem extremum apud castrum de Ponte Fracto, die Sancti Valentini. Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima quæ interjacent a dicto castello usque Londonias, ubi contigit pernoctare, monstratum est post Officium Mortuorum, et in crastino post Missam peractam. Cumque in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis celebratæ fuissent exequiæ, Rege præsente et Londiniarum civibus, confestim corpus reportari jubetur ad Langley, tumulandum in ecclesia Fratrum Prædicatorum; perfeceruntque ibidem supremum officium Episcopus Cestrensis, Abbas Sancti Albani, et Abbas de Waltham, sine magnatum præsentia, sine populari turba; nec erat qui eos invitaret ad prandium post laborem.—*Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana* (Roll Series 28 i.), ii. 245, 246.

[c] Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima, quæ interjacent, a Pontefracto usque London deportatum fuit et ostensum. ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scilicet ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur. deinde delatum London ad ecclesiam S. Pauli, etc.—*Thomæ Otterbourne Chronica Regum Angliæ*, ed. Hearne (Oxford, 1732), i. 229.

As the considerable sum of £80 was spent solely on bringing the corpse to London it must have been attended with some degree of state.

On its arrival in London it rested for the night in the cathedral church of St. Paul, where it was shown to the people after the office for the dead, and again on the morrow after mass. John Harding, who saw it lying in state there, confirms its being "lapped in lede." [a]

Richard's own wish was to be buried at Westminster, where he had already set up the marble tomb with its gilded bronze figures and enrichments under which he now lies, but the new king, Henry of Lancaster, willed otherwise, and ordered the body to be taken to King's Langley, where it was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers without the presence of the peers or of any crowd of folk.

On the accession of Henry V., who had been treated kindly by him in his youth, the body of Richard was taken up and brought with great pomp and ceremony to Westminster, and laid in his own tomb. By a strange irony of fate the banners and guitons of arms that had garnished the herse of Henry IV. were borrowed from the Prior and Convent of Canterbury to do honour to King Richard on the day of his burial at Westminster.[b]

[a] John Harding's Chronicle says:

In March nexte after, kyng Richarde then was dede
Fro Poumfrete brought with great solempnitee
Men sayd forhungered he was & lapped in lede
At Poules his masse was done and dirige
In hers royal, semely to royalte
The kyng & lordes, clothes of golde there offerde
Some. viii. some. ix. upon his hers were proferde.

At Westmynster then did they so the same
When trust he should there have buryed bene
In at that mynster lyke a prince of name
In his owne tombe, together with the quene
Anne, that afore his fyrst wyfe had bene
But then the kyng, him fast to Langley sent
There in the Freers to be buryed secretement.

(ed. Grafton, London, 1543), f. C.xcix.

[b] "Priori et Conventui ecclesie Christi Cantuar̃ In denariis sibi liberatis in persolucionem x. li. quas dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit Habend. de dono suo pro diversis vexillis ab eis mutatis superpondendis circa herceam ordinatam et positam infra ecclesiam beati Petri Westmonasterii pro exequiis domini Ricardi nuper Regis Anglie de ordinacione domini Regis jam retro tumulati ibidem per breve, etc. . . . . x. li." Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V. (No. 246).

King Henry IV. died on the 20th March, 1412-13, in the great chamber of the abbot's house at Westminster, called Jerusalem Chamber.

Mr. W. H. Wylie, in his *History of England under Henry the Fourth*,[a] gives a circumstantial description of the embalming, cering, and arraying of the king's body against its lying in state at Westminster; of its being stripped, lapped in lead, placed in a wooden coffin, and conveyed first by barge to Gravesend, and thence by road to Canterbury, where it was buried. But Mr. Wylie gives no authorities, and the vivid picture and pageant described by him seem to be for the most part his own invention.

The king was buried at Canterbury, in accordance with his will, on the north side of the shrine of St. Thomas. The grave was opened in 1832,[b] when the body was found encased in lead, within a rough outer coffin of wood. Various references point to his funeral having been one of great magnificence, and, as had now become customary, there was probably a representation of the dead king carried in the procession, but the details have yet to be unearthed from the wardrobe or other accounts in the Public Record Office.

King Henry V. died in France, at Bois de Vincennes, on 31st August, 1422. The body was embalmed preparatory to its conveyance to England, but so much honour was paid to the dead king's memory that the men of Paris and of Rouen offered large sums of money for his body to be buried in France, and such slow progress could be made by the funeral procession that it did not reach London until 11th November.

In accordance with his will King Henry V. was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, between the shrine of St. Edward and the Lady Chapel east of it, the altar of the relics being moved to make way for him.

Thomas of Walsingham, after describing the honours paid to King Henry's memory in France, and the bringing of the body over to England, says:

> The equipment of the dead king, if it would please you to know, was as follows: There was placed upon the chest in which his body was, a certain image very like in stature and face to the dead king, arrayed in a long and ample purple mantle, furred with ermine, a sceptre in one hand and a round gold ball with a cross infixed in the other; with a gold crown on the head over the royal cap, and the royal sandals on his feet. And in such wise he was raised on a chariot that he might be seen of all, that by this means

[a] Vol. iv. 111-113.

[b] *Archaeologia*, xxvi. 440-445.

mourning and grief might grow, and his friends and subjects might the more kindly beseech the Lord on his soul's behalf.[a]

The contemporary French chronicler, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, gives another account:

Et là fut menée en noble appareil la Royne d'Angleterre, qui de la mort de son feu mary riens ne sçavoit: et apres que les seigneurs du sang Royal l'eurent mis sur un chariot, que menoient quatre grans chevaulx, et avoient fait sa resemblance, et representation de cuyr bouilly painct moult gentillement, portant en son chief couronne d'or moult precieuse, et tenoit en sa main dextre le sceptre ou verge Royalle, et en sa main senestre avoit une pomme d'or, et gisoit en un lict sur le chariot dessusdit le visage vers le ciel.[b]

Combining the two accounts, it appears that the figure borne upon the king's coffin was of boiled leather, moulded into shape and painted, vested in the parliament robes, with the cap of estate and over it (as was proper) the crown upon the head; the two sceptres, the one with the dove, the other the ball-shaped one with the cross, in the hands; and the royal buskins and sandals upon the feet.

What became of this figure is not known.

The tragic death, or more likely murder, of King Henry VI. in the Tower of London on 21st May, 1471, took place under circumstances which debarred the unfortunate monarch from a funeral befitting his dignity. It is nevertheless clear from the account of the expenses on the Issue Roll that his body received decent treatment and that it was buried with all due reverence and solemnity.

John Warkworth in his Chronicle, after stating that Henry was put to death in the Tower, says:

And one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme; and in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede newe and fresche; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchesey abbey in a bote, and buried there in oure Lady chapelle.[c]

Edward Hall also says:

The ded corps of Kyng Henry, with bills and gleves pompeously, (yf you call that a

[a] Cujus Regis mortui apparatus si scire libeat, talis erat. Superposita namque fuerat cistæ, in qua corpus ejus habebatur, quædam imago staturæ et faciei Regis mortui simillima, chlamyde purpurea satis longa et larga, cum furrura de ermyn induta, sceptrum in una manu, et pila rotunda aurea, cum cruce infixa, in altera; corona aurea in capite, super capellum regium, et sandaliis regiis in pedibus, impositis. Et taliter elevatur in curru, ut a singulis videri potuisset, ut per hoc mœror et dolor accresceret, et ejus amici et subditi pro ejus anima Dominum tenerius exorarent.—*Thomas Walsingham Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 28 i.), ii. 345, 346.

[b] *Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet* (Paris, 1596), i. 325 *b*.

[c] Ed. Halliwell, Camden Society 10 (London, 1839) 21.

funerall pompe) was conveighed from the tower, to the church of sainct Paule, and there layed on a beere, where it lay the space of an whole daye: and the next day, wythout Priestes or Clarcke, Torche or Taper, syngyng or saiyng, it was conveighed to the Monastery of Chertesey, beyng distant from London . xv. Mile, and there was buryed, but after he was removed to Windsore, and there in a new vawte newly intumilate.[a]

The account on the Issue Roll begins with a payment of £15 3s. 6½d. to Hugh Brice: (i.) "for wax, linen cloth, spices, and other ordinary expenses by him appointed and spent about the burial of the said Henry of Windsor," which seems to imply that the king's body was embalmed and enveloped in cerecloth as was usual; and (ii.) "for wages of rewards of divers men carrying torches for the Tower to St. Pauls, and thence to Chertsey."

Master Richard Martyn was also paid £18 3s. 3d., in two sums:

(i.) of £9 10s. 11d. for 28 ells of linen cloth of Holland and for expenses both within the Tower at the death of the said Henry and at Chertsey on the day of his burial; also for rewards given to divers soldiers of Calais watching about the body, and for the hire of barges with masters and sailors rowing by the Thames to Chertsey; and

(ii.) of £8 12s. 4d. for sums paid to the four Orders of Friars in the City of London and to the Brethren of the Holy Cross there and in other works of charity, viz. to the Carmelites 20s., to the Austin Friars 20s., to the Friars Minors 20s., to the Friars Preachers for celebrating obsequies and masses 40s., and to the Brethren of St. Cross 10s.; and for the obsequies and saying of masses at Chertsey on the day of the burial of the said Henry 52s. 3d.[b]

The total expenses were only £33 6s. 8½d.

[a] *The Unison of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548). The prosperous reigne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, fo. xxxiiij.

[b] "Hugoni Brice In denariis sibi liberatis per manum propriam pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis tam pro Cera tela linea speciebus et alijs ordinarijs expensis per ipsum appositis et expenditis circa sepulturam dicti Henrici de Windesore qui infra Turrim Londoñ diem suum clausit extremum. Ac pro vadijs et regardis diversorum hominum portancium Tortos a Turri predicto usque ecclesiam Cathedralem Sancti Pauli London. et abinde usque Chertesey cum corpore presente per breve predictum . . . . . xv.li. iij.s. vj.d.ob.

Magistro Ricardo Martyn In denariis sibi liberatis ad vices videlicet una vice per manum propriam ix.li. xs. xjd. pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis pro xxviij ulnis tele lince de Holandia et expensis factis tam infra Turrim predictum ad ultimum vale dicti Henrici quam apud Chertesey in die sepulture ejusdem. Ac pro regardis datis diversis soldariis Cales vigilantibus circa corpus et pro conductu Bargearum cum Magistris et Nautis remigantibus per quam Thamiĉ usque Chertesey predictam et alia vice viij^{li} xi^{s} iiij^{d} pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis iiij^{or} ordinibus fratrum infra Civitatem London. et fratribus sancte Crucis in eadem et in alijs operibus Caritatis videlicet Fratribus Carmeł xxs. Fratribus Augustiñ xxs. Fratribus Minoribus xxs. Fratribus Predicatoribus pro obsequiis et missis celebrandis xls. et dictis Fratribus Sancte Crucis xs. Ac pro obsequijs et missis dicendis apud Chirtesey predictam in die sepulture dicti Henrici lij^{s} iij^{d} per breve predictum . . . . . xviij^{li} iij^{s} iij^{d}." Issue Roll (Pells), Easter, 11 Edward IV. No. 505.

There is no mention of any funeral effigy, and it is most unlikely that one was carried in the procession by land or water.

With the death of King Edward IV. we enter upon a new source of information in the shape of the official accounts of the funeral ceremonies preserved in the College of Arms or in the Public Record Office, and these are often accompanied by details of the expenses of the funeral itself.

The account of King Edward's funeral is among those at the Heralds' College, and another version of it was printed in the first volume of *Archaeologia* so long ago as 1770.

The king died in the Palace of Westminster on 5th April, 1483, and his almost naked body lay exposed on a board for ten or twelve hours that all the spiritual and temporal peers then in London, and the Mayor of London and his brethren, might see it. It was then embalmed, cered, etc. and brought into the chapel for the offices of the dead, and there lay until 17th April, when it was conveyed to the abbey church hard by, "having upon the corpse a rich and a large black cloth of gold with a cross of white cloth of gold and above that a rich canopy of cloth imperial frenged with gold and blue silk." On arrival in the church the coffin was laid within a worthy herse,

and in y^t^ herce above y^e^ corps was upon the cloth of golde abovesaid a personage lyke to the symilitude of y^e^ Kinge in habit Royall crowned w^t^ a crown of his heed, holding in one hand a scepter & in the other hand a ball of sylver & gylt w^t^ a cross paty.

The service at Westminster ended, "the corps with the personage as above" was conveyed in a chariot covered with black velvet first to Charing Cross and then on to Syon,

where at the cherche dore the bushops sensed hym, and y^e^ corps w^t^ the Image as before was borne into the quere of y^e^ same churche, and y^er^ y^e^ bushop of Duresme dyd y^e^ service.

And on the morow in lyke order as above was conveyd to y^e^ chariet & from thence to Wyndesor . . . . and so proceeded to y^e^ new cherche wher in was ordered a m^r^velous well wroght herce & furth w^th^ dirge, etc. etc.[a]

On the following day the king was buried on the north side of the high altar. What became of the "personage" is not recorded, nor are any remains of it discoverable at Windsor.

Concerning the death of Richard III. little seems to be known beyond the fact that he was killed in the battle on Bosworth Field, and that his body was buried in

[a] Heralds' College MS. I. 11, f. 85.

the church of the Grey Friars at Leicester, "where afterwards," says Sandford, "King *Henry* caused a Monument to be erected for him, with his Picture in Alablaster, which remained till the Dissolution under Henry the Eighth, when it was pulled down and utterly defaced."[a] In the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VII. from 1491 to 1505 is a charge, under date 11th September, 1495, of £10 1s. paid "To James Keyley for King Richard tombe.[b]

A greater mystery still enshrouds the remains of the unfortunate little nephew, King Edward V., whom he is believed to have caused to be done to death with his little brother Richard, Duke of York, in the Tower two years before. Their bones are supposed to be enshrined within an urn in the abbey church of Westminster, where it was placed in 1678, but whether the contents are the relics of the unhappy boys or other animal bones is not known.

King Henry VII. died at Richmond on 21st April, 1509, at the early age of fifty-two, and according to a MS. in the Heralds' College,[c]

f. 86*b*.] After þ^t^ all thinge necessary for thenterement & funerall pomp of y^e^ late kinge were sumptuously prepared and dode[d] / y^e^ corps of y^e^ said defunct was brought owt of his chamber / where he deceased into his grete chamber where he Rested iij days / & every day had dirige & was solempnely song / w^t^ a prelate mytred / & so other iij days in the hall & other iij days in y^e^ chapell w^t^ lyke service & morners gyving their attendaunce / and in every place, was a herce garnessed w^t^ banners scochines & pencelles. And on Wensday the ix^th^ day of May was the body put in a chayre / covered w^t^ blacke cloth of golde drawen w^t^ x grete coursers covered w^t^ blacke velvet garneshed w^t^ scochins of fyne golde / Over the corps was an Image or Representac̃on of y^e^ late king layd on quissions of golde aparelled in his Riche robes of astate w^t^ crowne on his hed ball & scepter in his hande environed w^t^ banners of Arms of all his Dominions, titles, genealogies / and thus the chayre beinge ordered The chapell w^t^ y^e^ prelate went praing / and all other in blacke morninge w^t^ innumerable torches proceded in good order from Richemond to London / etc. etc.

The body was first taken to St. Paul's, where it lay in state, and on the following day was conveyed to Westminster.

In Westm̃ cherche was a m'velousle curiouse grete herce of ix principalles full of lighte w^ch^ was lighted agaynst y^e^ coming of y^e^ corps / W^ch^ was taken owt of y^e^ chayre w^t^ vj lorde & set under y^e^ herce / y^e^ Representac̃on lyng upon y^e^ Coffyn on a pall of golde, etc. etc.

[a] Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England and Monarchs of Great Britain, &c.* ed. Samuel Stebbing (London, 1707), 434.

[b] Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, 105.

[c] MS. I. 11, f. 82 *b*.

[d] *Sic* for "done."

The further details of the funeral do not concern us, but the account above quoted concludes with the following:

f. 87*b*.] The Chardge of the Enterement of King Henry the viijth.

The herce cloth	xxxiiij^{li}	xviij^{s}	iiij^{d}
The palles of cloth of golde & badken	Cxxiij^{li}		xx^{d}
The canopy	xv^{li}	xvj^{s}	j^{d}
The ffurryng of y^{e} Kinge robe & ij cappes of estate		lix^{s}	iiij^{d}
The Kinge coffyn	vij^{li}	vij^{s}	x^{d}
The Kinge Pyctour	vj^{li}	xij^{s}	viij^{d}
The making of Pore mens gownes	xviij^{li}	xvj^{s}	viij^{d}
The mantellace of sylke for y^{e} robe of purple velvet		xxxij^{s}	iiij^{d}
The cloth of estate for high aulter	vj^{li}	xj^{s}	viij^{d}

A little more detail about the king's picture is afforded by another account:[a]

f. 97.] The Kynge pycture.

Item of Thomas Mountey ix yerde p^{r}pill satyn for a gown for to ley upon the same pycture at xiiij^{s} the yerde	vj^{li}	vj^{s}	
Item to Stephen Jasp for makyng of the same gown		vj^{s}	viij^{d}
Summa	vj^{li} xij^{s} viij^{d}		

But it is unfortunate that nothing is entered about the making of the picture itself.

It will be noticed that, as in the case of Henry V.'s figure, it was arrayed in the parliament robes and not the coronation ornaments.

King Henry VIII. died at Westminster at midnight on 28th January, 1546-7, and after the usual preliminaries the body lay in state in the chapel at Whitehall from 2nd to 14th February. On the latter day, about 10 o'clock in the morning, a solemn procession, which is fully described in the Heralds' College MS., from which our information is derived, set out for Windsor.[b]

f. 67] Then folowid the Charet with the Cophyn and the Corps having the Kinge picture lying uppon it made and apointed as folowith The picture was made veray like unto the Kinge Ma^{tis} person . both in stature favowre . forme and apparell . the which was laid a long uppoñ the Cophyn with twoo greate Cussyns under his head. The Crowne Emperiall of Englande of goulde sett with precious stones . and under that a night cappe of blak satten . set full of stone and golde . was uppon his heade . his shurte as it apperid abought the

[a] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 550.

[b] MS. I. 14.

coller and handes semed to be of fyune goldsmithes worke . the picture was apparrellid with Robes of Crymsyn velvet furred with mynifer powdred with armyns . the colore of the Garter with the George abought his nekk . a crymsyne satten dublett embroydered with golde . twoo braceletteꝭ of golde abought his wrestꝭ sett with stone and perle a fayre armering sworde by his side. The Septure in his right hande and the balle in the lyfte hande a payer of fynne scarlett whoses . and a payer of crymsyn velvet showes . and uppon his handes a payer of new gloves . with many ringeꝭ sett with rych stones oñ his fyngers.

On the arrival of the body at Windsor, after resting for the night at Syon,

f. 68 *b.*] the picture was furst conveyde in to the quyre by dyverse knyghtꝭ and gentilmeñ and then the Cophyn by xvj yomen w^t^ black staves in ther handꝭ . to stay the corps as nede requyred . was brought in to the herse [f. 69] made in the myddes of the quyer . wherin was provided a goodly vawght to bury the corps in and over the same vawght was layde a grate uppon the whiche did stande the said herse w^t^ the cophyn and picture and it was trymmed and apointed as it was at Westm̃ both for the places of the moreners . hangyngꝭ scocyhns and waxe . saving that the herse ther had xiij greate pillers . and weyghed by estimacion iiij^ml^ li, &c.

In the course of the usual offerings, while the body lay in state the next day (16th February), after the offering of the axe,

f. 70 *b.*] the lordes moreners brought lying uppon bothe there armes sondry peacꝭ of silke of dyverse colo^rs^ some moo some lesse according to their degreyse . and laid all the same uppon the leggꝭ of the king his picture lying uppon the herse.

At the conclusion of the offering the sermon followed, which being ended:

f. 71.] Then came in to the herse vj knyghtꝭ . and they all to gether removed the kingꝭ picture into the vestrye.

The king's coffin was then solemnly lowered into the vault, where it still lies. What became of the "king's picture" is not further recorded.[a]

The account of the funeral of King Henry VIII. so fully illustrates the custom, which had now become the rule, and so continued for more than a century afterwards, of representing the dead sovereign outside the coffin by a counterfeit presentment in carved wood or modelled wax, that it may be useful to recapitulate the various stages that led up to it.

At first, as in the case of St. Edward and King William the Conqueror, the body was carried to the grave unembalmed and covered, upon a bier.

Next comes the effort by rude embalming to preserve the corpse from decom-

[a] The accounts of the expenses of the king's funeral are in the Public Record Office (Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 551), but do not contain any mention of the "king's picture" or representation.

position in order that it may be moved to a distance, as in the case of King Henry I., but it is still borne covered upon the bier.

The funeral of King Henry II. in 1189 was the first in which the body was openly showed, arrayed in the coronation ornaments, and with the face uncovered.

This new fashion had its disadvantages unless burial quickly followed death, and in the case of Henry's son, the younger Henry, the body was embalmed and lapped in lead to enable it to be carried elsewhere.

King Henry III. was apparently the first to be borne to the grave in a coffin, with an image of wax outside, and after him this became the custom at every king's funeral, unless such circumstances as have been mentioned hindered its being done.

Of the later instances of the custom after King Henry VIII. during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is only necessary to say a few words, since the documentary evidence chiefly relates to the actual figures, or the relics of them, that have survived, and are still preserved at Westminster.

King Edward VI. died at Greenwich on 6th July, 1553, when only in his sixteenth year. His body was duly embalmed, but remained at Greenwich until the 7th August, when it was removed to Whitehall. The next day it was conveyed to Westminster, and buried in the newly-built Lady Chapel of the abbey church. All the charges of the funeral, which was a very sumptuous one, are preserved in the Public Record Office, but the only item concerned with the subject of our paper is a mention of

> the Chareott of Tymbre that Caried the Kinges Corpes withe the kinges picture from white hawle to Westminster Churche.[a]

This "picture" ought to be among those which have been preserved in the abbey church, but as no later mention of it is to be found, it was probably not taken care of after the king's funeral.

Effigies of the usual character were also carried at the funerals of both of King Edward's sisters, namely of Queen Mary in 1558 and of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and to these further reference will be made in their place.

The last of our kings for whom a funeral effigy was made was James I., but as the trunk of it has been preserved it will be more fully described in its order presently, together with the curious accounts of its making.

[a] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 552.

Meanwhile this inquiry must go back to a brief consideration of the history of another group of figures, those of the queens-consort of our sovereigns.

The position of the queens-consort throughout the history of England has been so subordinate to that of the king that we need not expect to find the same degree of etiquette observed at their funerals as in that of the sovereign. They were nevertheless buried with a considerable amount of ceremony, and the effigies at Fontevraud of Queen Eleanor, widow of King Henry II., and of Queen Isabel, the second wife of King John, represent them lying dead upon biers and arrayed in the royal robes in which they were carried to the grave. The effigy of Queen Berengaria, widow of King Richard I., at L'Espan, where she was buried about 1230, is of the usual monumental type.

The aged Queen Eleanor of Provence, widow of King Henry III., died on 24th June, 1291, in the royal monastery of Ambresbury, of which she had been an inmate for many years. As the nuns did not dare to bury her without the consent and presence of her son, King Edward I., they embalmed the body[a] and deposited it in a secret place until the king's return from Scotland, whereupon it was solemnly buried in the abbey church on 8th September in the presence of a great assemblage of ecclesiastics and nobles of the realm. The queen's heart, however, was buried in the church of the Friars Minors in London.

The first queen of Edward I., Eleanor of Castile, died at Harby, in Nottinghamshire, in 1290. The body was disemboweled and embalmed, and carried on a bier all the way to London, but from the silence on the point of eye-witnesses of the funeral procession both at Dunstable and St. Albans, at each of which places it was halted for the night, there does not seem to have been any effigy on the coffin. The queen's body was buried at Westminster, according to the *Annales Londonienses*,

ad pedes monumenti domini Henrici regis cum indumentis regalibus, corona et sceptro; et pulvis super fronte et pectore, ad modum crucis, ponebatur, et quædam candela ceræ similiter cum quadam littera.[b]

The queen's bowels, etc. were buried in the Lady Chapel of Lincoln Minster, and her heart in the church of the Friars Preachers in London.

[a] "Et quia dominus rex filius ejus tunc temporis in remotis agebat, insepulta permansit usque Nativitatem beatæ Virginis proximo sequentem, myrrha tamen et aromaticis pretiosis linita magnifice, ut decuit, et peruncta." *Annales de Waverleia* (Rolls Series 36. ii.), 409.

[b] Rolls Series 76. i. 99.

The second consort of King Edward I., the Lady Margaret of France, died on 14th February, 1317-18, and was honourably buried before the high altar of the church of the Friars Minors of London, of which she had been a great benefactor.

The details of her funeral are not yet forthcoming, nor are those of another queen, who was buried in the quire of the same Friars Minors' church, the Lady Isabel of France, the consort of Edward II., who died on 22nd August, 1358.

Queen Philippa, the Flemish consort of King Edward III., died on 15th August, 1369, and was buried, it is said, "with great pomp" in the abbey church of Westminster, but the accounts relating to her funeral have yet to be discovered.

The following interesting note occurs on the Wardrobe Account, 31 Edward III. [1356-7—1357-8]:[a]

> Recepta et Liberaciones per Ricardum de Ravenser, Thesaurarium Hospicii.
> Una tunica cum .j. mantello de Samito rubeo liniato cum sindone glauco in quibus domina Regina fuit marita
>
> Liberatura pro corpore Regine involvendo cum sepultura corporis ejusdem Regine impo[d].

Queen Anne of Bohemia, the first consort of King Richard II., died at Shene on Whitsunday (7th June), 1394. In order that the funeral might be as magnificent as possible, it was put off until 3rd August, when the body was buried with all due solemnity in the abbey church of Westminster. The full details of the funeral have yet to be unearthed from the Wardrobe or other Accounts, but there can be no doubt that an effigy was carried in the procession, for a payment of 3s. is entered on the Issue Roll (Easter, 17 R. II.):

> In denariis solutis pro batillagio et cariagio ymaginis ad similitudinem Anne nuper Regine Anglie facte videlicet de London usque Shene per consideracionem Thesaurarii et Camerariorum.

The second wife of King Richard, the Lady Isabel of France, married in 1406 Charles count of Angoulême, and was buried in the abbey of St. Laumer at Blois.

Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV., took for his first wife Mary de Bohun, younger daughter and coheir of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford,

[a] P. R. O. Accounts (Exchequer K.R.) 393/4.







FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN KATHERINE OF VALOIS, AND HEAD (¼ linear) BELIEVED TO BE THAT OF QUEEN ANNE OF BOHEMIA.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

etc. but she died in 1394, before her husband's accession. He afterwards married the Lady Joan of Navarre, who survived him, and on her death in 1437 was buried beneath the same tomb as King Henry in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

Like those of her husband, the accounts of her funeral are not at present known, so there is nothing to show whether an effigy was provided for it.

Queen Katharine of Valois, the consort of Henry V., married after his death, about 1428, a Welsh gentleman named Owen Tudor, with whom she lived in obscurity for some years. In 1436 Tudor was sent to Newgate, whereupon Queen Katharine retired to the abbey of Bermondsey, where she died on 3rd January, 1436-7. Her body lay in state in the church of St. Katherine by the Tower till 18th February, and was conveyed thence first to St. Paul's, then to Westminster Abbey, where she was buried.

Among the figures so long preserved in the Abbey is one that is traditionally attributed to Queen Katharine, but the account for its making has yet to be found.

Queen Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy consort of the unfortunate King Henry VI., died abroad in 1482, and was buried at Angers.

Queen Elizabeth Widvile, the wife of King Edward IV., died in 1492 and was buried at Windsor beside her husband. An account of her funeral is given in Arundel MS. 26, but it does not refer to any effigy as having been carried upon the coffin.

King Richard III.'s queen, the Lady Anne of Warwick, died on 16th March, 1484-5, and was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, but nothing seems to be recorded concerning her funeral.

Of the funeral of the Lady Elizabeth of York, Queen Consort of King Henry VII., a detailed account has been preserved in the Heralds' College.[a]

The queen died in the Tower on 11th February, 1502-3, and after the body had been encoffined it lay there for several days. On the eighth day the service was done by the Bishop of Bangor, on the ninth by the Bishop of Exeter, and on the tenth by the Bishop of Lincoln, after which

f. 28.] the corps was conveyd into y^e^ chayre w^ch^ was new pareled as foloeth. Furst all the baylles sydes & coffres covered w^t^ black velvet / & ov^r^ all along of a prety depnes a

[a] MS. I. 11.

cloth of black velvet w^t a crosse of cloth of sylv^r well frynged / drawen w^t vj horsses / traped w^t blak velvet & all the draught w^t the same / & when y^e corps was in the same there was ordened a holly chest over yt / wherein was a ymage or ꝑsonage lyke a quene / clothed in y^e very robes of estate of y^e quene / having her very ryche crowne on her hed her here about her shoulder / hir scepter in her right hand / & her fyngers well garneshed w^t rynge of golde & ꝑsyous stones & on every end of y^e chayre on y^e cofres kneled a gentelman hussher by all the way to Westminster.

On arrival of the procession at Westminster:

f. 30.] After y^t the corps was sensed and taken out of the chare / borne by soch persons as were apoynted / ymage and all as yt aperteyneth / w^t y^e foresaid banners of O^r Lady / and y^e greatest estate layinge y^er hande to yt was w^t the procession conveyd to the herce & then beganne dyrge after y^t an officer at armes had said for quene Elizabeth sowle, etc. etc.

On the morrow, after divers services, various "pallys" having been offered in honour of the deceased, there followed the sermon:

f. 31.] Then the Ladyes departed | after whos departyng the Image w^t the crowne & the riche robes were had to a secret place by St. Edwarde Shryne

and then the body was solemnly buried.

Like the account of the funeral of King Henry VIII., this of the burial of his mother is of interest as showing what was done with "the image."

Of the numerous wives of King Henry VIII. one was divorced, two were beheaded, one died in childbed, and two outlived him.

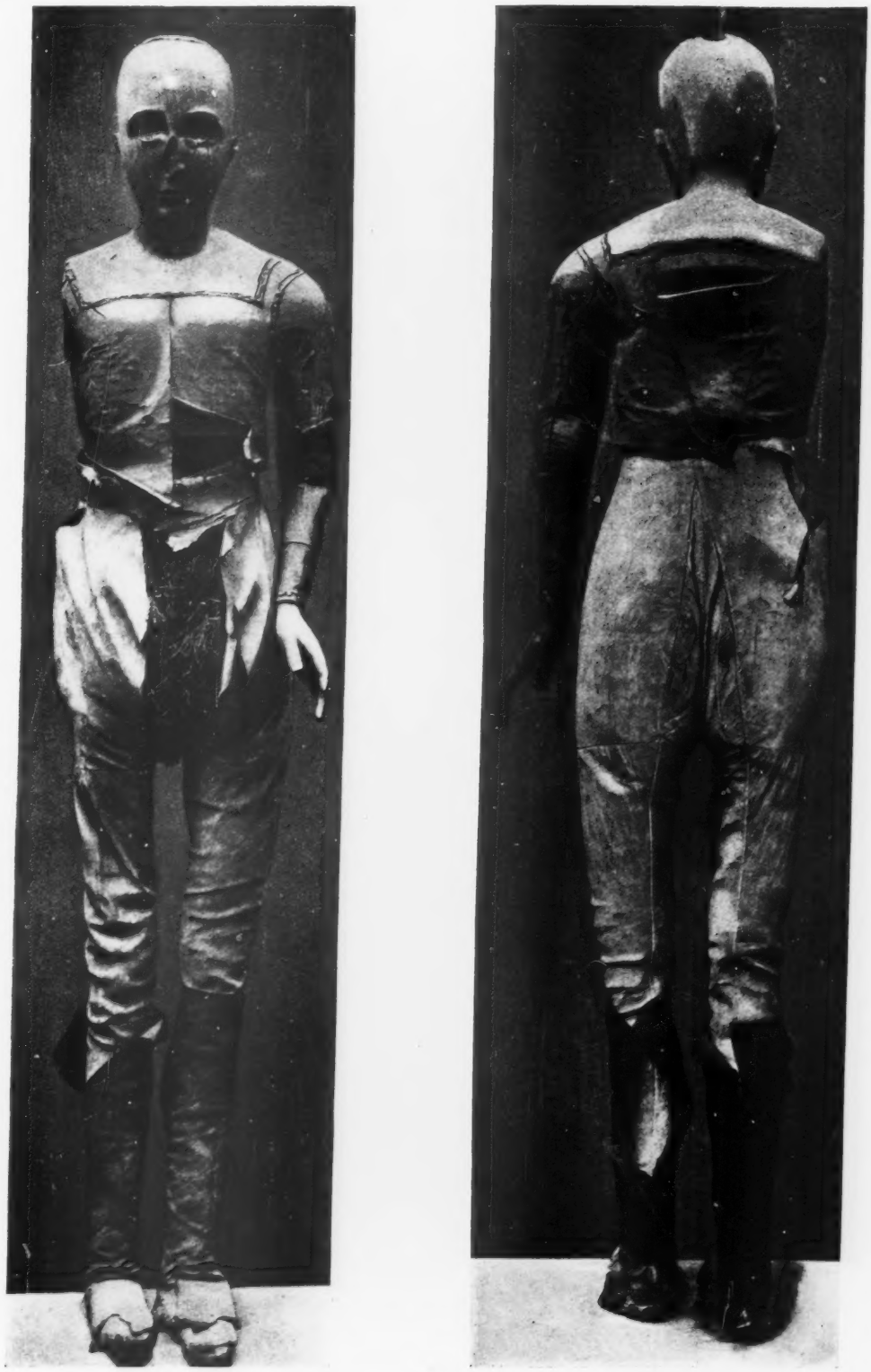
Queen Katharine of Aragon died in 1536, and in the 16th volume of *Archaeologia*[a] there is printed:

A remembrance for thenterrement of the right excellent and noble Princesse the Lady Catherin, Doughter to the right highe and mighty Prince Ferdinand late King of Castile, and late Wief to the noble and excellent prince Arthur brother to o^r Soveraign Lorde King Henry the viij^th.

The document, now in the Public Record Office, which bears this heading is in the handwriting of Thomas Wriothesley, who has included the following among the directions for the queen's funeral, which was evidently intended to be one of some state:

Item there must be provided a charet to conveye the corps from the chaple where it shall first rest to the place wher it shalbe buried the corps must be covered w^t a pall of black riche cloth of golde devided w^t a crosse of white cloth of gold and uppon the same a

[a] Vol. xvi. 22; also in *The Archæological Journal*, xi. 353-366.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH OF YORK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

cast or puffed ymage of a princesse apparailled in her Robes of estate w[t] a cronall uppon her hed in her heare w[t] ringe gloves and Juelle uppon her handes.[a]

The queen was buried in the abbey church of Peterborough, but it is doubtful from the very minute account of the funeral ceremonies contained in the Vienna archives[b] whether the "ymage" mentioned by Wriothesley was actually adopted.

The burials of Anne Bullen (1536) and Katharine Howard (1541-2) took place under circumstances that precluded pompous funerals, but that of Queen Jane Seymour, for whom King Henry seems really to have entertained some affection, was accompanied by a considerable amount of ceremonial. So much of the account of it in the Heralds' College MS.[c] as refers to the subject matter of our paper may be quoted :

It. The Corps in the chare covered w[t] a rich pall & therupon the presentacion of y[e] quenes grace in hir roobes of estate w[t] a riche crown of gold upon hir hed in hir heere as aparteynith and a sceptre in hir right hand of gold and on hir fyngars rich ringes w[t] rich stonis / and aboute hir necke richli besene w[t] gold & stonys and under y[e] hed of y[e] corps a rich pillowe of cloth of gold tissew. Hir schoys of cloth of gold w[t] hawse smocke & all o[r] Ornamentes.

Queen Jane was buried at Windsor on 12th November, 1537, having died on the 24th October.

Of the funeral of the Lady Anne of Cleves, which took place at Westminster in 1557, a very detailed account has been printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*. From this it is clear that no effigy of the deceased lady was made or used. It is also clear from the account in the Heralds' College MS.[d] that no effigy was borne at the funeral of Queen Katharine Parr at Sudeley Castle in 1548.

The next queen consort in the history of England was Anne of Denmark, the wife of King James I., at whose funeral not only was a "representation" carried, but it has fortunately been preserved, as well as the accounts for its making, which will be dealt with in their place.

Queen Henrietta Maria, the consort of King Charles I., died abroad in 1669 at her château of Colombes, near Paris, and was buried in the abbey church of

[a] *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. 101, f. 27*b*.
[b] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, x. (1536), 105.
[c] I. 14, f. 123 *b*.
[d] I. 15, ff. 98-99.

St. Denis, where, according to Sandford, a hearse with a funeral effigy was set up for her exequies. She was apparently the last of our queens to have a funeral effigy, as there are no records of any later instances.

So far as can be ascertained, it was not the custom, although there is one exception to be noticed presently, for any funeral effigies to be provided for sons or daughters of our kings and queens, and this is borne out not only by the various chronicles but by the detailed accounts in the Heralds' College of the funerals of the children of Henry VII. None such was made for the Lady Elizabeth, the king's second daughter, in 1495, nor "ffor thenterment of my lorde Edmond the kinge thirde begotten sone" in 1499, nor even for Prince Arthur, the heir to the throne, in 1502; neither was any provided for "thentierment of Prince Henry son to Kinge Henry the VIIIth," in 1509-10.

An effigy was, however, carried at the funeral of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the sister of King Henry VIII., at Bury St. Edmunds in 1533, but probably because she had sometime been the queen consort of Louis XII. of France.

It may, too, be of interest to point out, since she afterwards found burial in the abbey church of Westminster, that in the accounts of Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, for the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587,[a] there are included among the "chardges of the hearse, and other causes of herauldrie at the funerall of the Scottishe Quene":

a Chariot or choache to convey the Corpes wrapped and soldred in leade wth representac̃on of y^{e} saide scottishe Qu: from Fotheringaie to Peterborough, etc. etc. xviijli. vjs. viijd.

also for

a pyllowe of purple velvett frindged and tassell of golde for the state of the representac̃on, lxvjs. viijd.

The single pre-Restoration instance of a funeral effigy for anyone other than a king or queen is that made for Henry Prince of Wales, the son of King James I. and Queen Anne of Denmark, in 1612.

This and the accounts relating to it will be described presently.

It is time now to turn to the remains of the effigies themselves.

I. The figure which seems to be earliest in date is that of a man, 5 feet

[a] P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

10½ inches high, cut out of one piece of wood, apparently hard oak, very much hollowed out at the back. (Plate LVIII.)

The head and neck are covered with gesso, which retains signs of colour. No ears are shown. There are marks of the attachment of a beard, and the head was once covered by a wig. The arms and legs are not separated from the trunk. The hands are gone and the feet are broken.

This figure is of medieval character, but of poor quality, and is probably that made by Stephen Hadley for the funeral of King Edward III., whose name is traditionally associated with it. The attribution is supported by the strong resemblance between the face of the figure and that of the gilt-bronze effigy on the king's tomb.

With this figure is preserved the canvas foundation of a mantle, once of red velvet, of which a small piece is left. There are also the remains of a tippet of minever. The draperies, which are of special value from their rarity, so far as knowledge of their history goes back have always been attached to this figure.

II. The next earliest seems to be a head, now detached, which has been broken off a hollowed wooden trunk. (Plate LIX.) It shows the ears, which are well modelled, and is covered with gesso and painted. On either side behind the ears are the remains of carved hanging plaits of hair. On the top is fixed a large nail, and there is also a large round hole for hollowing out the head.

The head is of strongly medieval character, and its style and some resemblance to her gilt-bronze effigy make it likely that it represents Queen Anne of Bohemia, wife of King Richard II., for whose funeral "an image in the likeness of Anne, lately Queen of England," was undoubtedly made.

III. The next of the figures is that of a woman, 5 feet 4 inches in height, carved out of a single piece of wood, apparently oak, much hollowed out at the back. (Plate LIX.) The head and neck are well modelled, including the ears. Round the skull is a groove for a wig and crown. The body is shown covered by a tight-fitting dress cut square at the neck, and painted throughout a bright vermilion. The right arm is broken away at the shoulder. The left arm is slightly raised, but the hand is gone. The shoes show from under the dress and bear traces of gold and colour; they are, however, somewhat broken.

Tradition ascribes this figure, which is a fine one of the fifteenth century, to Queen Katherine of Valois, wife of King Henry V., and the costume and style agree.

IV. The next is a nearly complete figure of a woman, 5 feet 11½ inches high, of a totally different character from those just described. It consists of (*a*) a wooden head and bust with the arms as far as the elbow, and (*b*) a body formed partly of hoops, partly of a covering of leather stuffed with hay, and extending from the bust, round the lower edge of which it was nailed, to over the feet. The legs are in continuation of two long pieces of fir passing up into the bust. The head has a round peg hole on top, and a larger hole for hollowing it out. The face is carefully modelled, and painted. The bust, like the head, is hollowed, and covered with white or gold coloured satin, seamed and edged with red velvet, and cut square across the breast and back. The right arm is lost. The left forearm is suspended with a loose joint at the elbow, and like the bust, is covered with satin. The left hand is beautifully modelled. The legs are cased in dark cloth stockings, but the shoes are lost. (Plate LX.)

This figure corresponds so closely with the account of the making of the effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York, wife of King Henry VII., as to suggest the attribution to her.[a]

f. 46 *dorse*].[b] For the pikture.

Richard Gibson for ij waynscotte called Regall	ij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item for oon waynscot borde price		x^{d}
Item for ij pece of peretre tymbre price		viij^{d}
tem for ij Joyne^{r}s for half a day & an hole night & ich of them iiij^{d} the half day and viij^{d} the hole night for joyning of the waynscot toged^{r}	iij^{s}	
Item for glewe for the same worke price		iiij^{d}
Item to Mr. Lawrence for kerving of the hedde with Fedrik his mate .	xiij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item to Wechon Kerve^{r} and hans van hoof for kerving of the twoo hannde	iiij^{s}	
Item for ij Joyne^{r}s on friday at night to frame the body . . .		xvj^{d}
Item for vij small shepeskynnes for the bodye	ij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item for naylles		iij^{d}
Item for a paire of hosen for the same		x^{d}
Item for oon hole pece of Sipers price	ij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item for hire of the here	v^{s}	
Item for laying of the first pryme coler		iiij^{d}

[a] "Her image preserved in the abbey, among those curious but mangled figures of some of our princes, which were carried at their interments, and now called the ragged regiment, has much the same countenance." –Horace Walpole. *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (London, 1762), i. 51.

[b] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 550.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF KING HENRY VII.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

Item to Master Henry for painting of the Image		iiij^{s}	
Item for making of the garmentꝭ for laten naill		ij^{s}	iiij^{d}
Item to John Scot for watching in y^{e} towe^{r} a night . . .			viij^{d}
Item to ij porte^{r}s for feching of the Coffyn frome the Princꝭ warderobe			ij^{d}
Item for ij porte^{r}s to bere ye piktur̃ to ye Tower . .			iij^{d}
Item for blewe lio^{r} to bynde y^{e} figure to ye coffyn . . .			iij^{d}
Item for the lio^{r} that drewe the cofyn out of the chare price . .			vj^{d}
Item for my labo^{r} and John Englisshe labo^{r}			xv^{d}
Summa . . . lx^{s}			
William Botry for ix yerdes crymsyn Saten for a garment for the said pikture at x^{d} a yerde	iiij^{li}	x^{s}	
Item a yerde 1 qr̃ blac velvet to bordure ye same garment price the yerde x^{s}		xij^{s}	vi^{d}

Among "The holle chardges at the said Enterment / of quene Elizabeth aforesaid" are the following items:

To Rich^{d} Gybson for her pyctur makinge	iij^{li}		
To Will^{m} Bottres for ix yerdꝭ crymoysen saten / & a yerd q̃ of black velvet for garment to y^{e} said pyctur . . .	vj^{li}	ij^{s}	vj^{d} [a]

V. Of much the same date as the effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York is that which tradition has attributed to King Henry VII. (Plate LXI.)

It is a well-modelled complete figure of a man, 6 feet 1 inch high; and consists of a wooden core, padded with hay and covered with canvas, upon which the figure has been modelled in plaster. The head is finely modelled and painted. (Plate LXII.) The skull has been left bare for a wig. The body has been painted, and is now of a grey colour. The left hand, which is loose and modelled on a wire foundation, is hollowed as if to support the orb; the right hand probably held the sceptre, but is broken off and lost. The feet are broken off, but remain.

The work is Renaissance and that of a master, most likely an Italian.

The accounts for the making of this interesting figure have not yet been discovered, and the only entry we have at present is that quoted above, giving the charges for the making of the purple satin gown wherewith it was clothed.

VI. The next effigy to be noticed is also Renaissance in character, but there is some difference of opinion as to whom it can represent. (Plate LXIV.)

It is a well-modelled complete figure of a woman, 5 feet 5 inches high, all of

[a] Heralds' College MS. I. 11, f. 31*b*.

wood; the body apparently of wainscot oak and the legs of deal or pine. The head, with the ears, is modelled in gesso, but the features have been damaged. The chin is double. The surface of the trunk is left unsmoothed throughout. The arms are jointed at the shoulder by large iron screws, and the elbows attached by hinges for convenience of dressing the figure. The right hand is modelled in gesso, and though broken, evidently held a sceptre. The left forearm is loose and has lost the hand, but from the way it hung down it evidently held the orb. The legs are smoothed, and tenoned and pinned at the knees. The feet are broken.

There seems to be little doubt that this is the figure which is attributed in the early lists and descriptions to Queen Philippa, probably because its proportions seem to accord with those of the portly Flemish lady whose alabaster effigy is preserved in the abbey church. But a very superficial examination is enough to show that the figure cannot be that of a queen who died in 1369, and it has affinities of construction which link it to undoubted figures of the early part of the seventeenth century. Its Renaissance character on the other hand points to it being a work of the sixteenth century, and a simple process of elimination makes it tolerably certain that this is the "representation" which was made for the funeral of Queen Mary in 1558.

Of the charges for this there are two series in the Public Record Office. The one is among the documents relating to the Lord Chamberlain's Office,[a] and is headed:

The Interremente of the moste excellente Princesse Quene Mary whose Corpes was caried ffrome hir manoure of Saincte James unto the Abbie of Westm̃ and there solemnly Buried the xiiijth daie of December Anno 1558. The The [*sic*] Charge of the Empc̃ons Provisions and delyveries aswell ffor the herse Clothes of Estate Canapies Coveringe of Chariotte wth diverse other necessaries for the saide Buriall Herafter followinge viz.

Among the "Standerdes and Banners, Scochions, &c" payments, apparently, to Nicholaus Lisarde, Sergeant Painter:

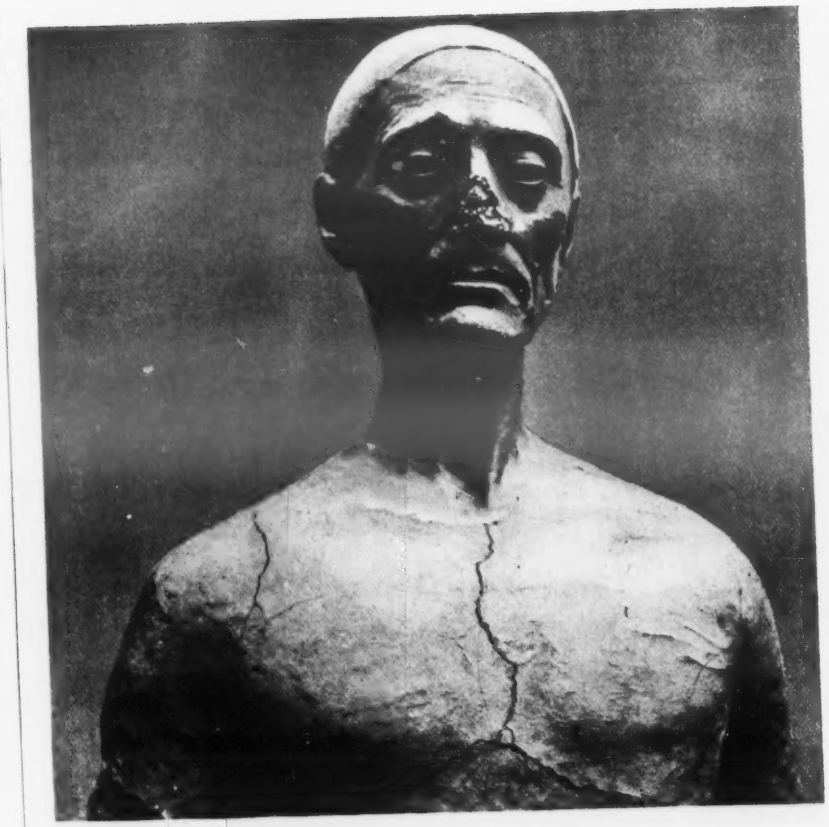
Item for the Presentac̃on Price . . . . . vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

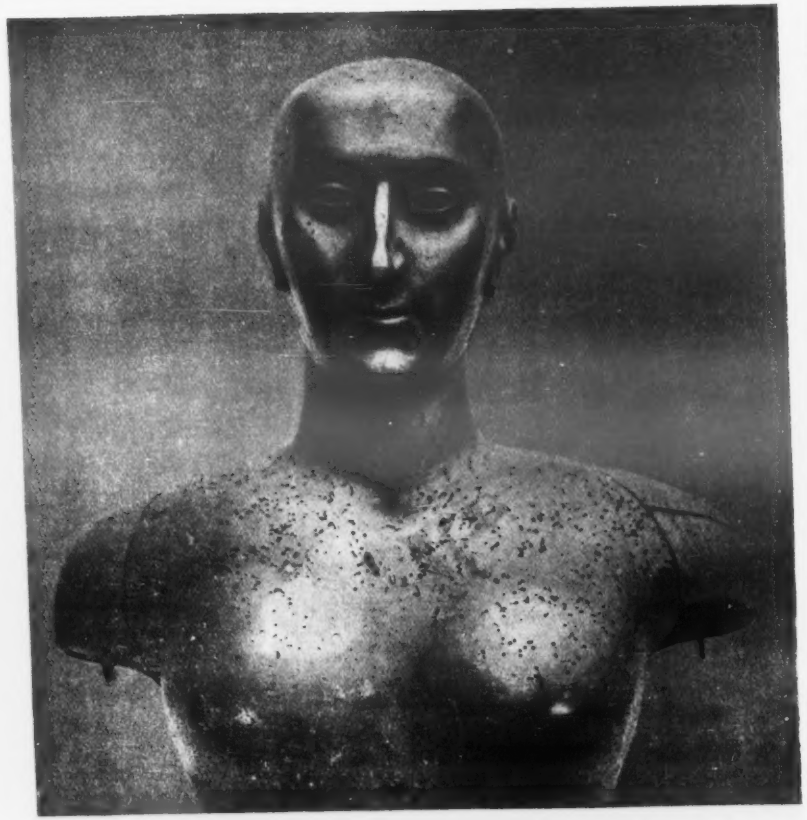
Sabatons of Clothe of golde:

Off Store in the Quenes Maiesties greate Warderobe di yarde Clothe of golde incarnate with Worke ffor one Paire of Sabatons for the Quenes picture . . . . . sine Precio

Of the same store di yarde cr satten to lyne the same. Price . . sine Precio

[a] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 553.





BUSTS (¼ linear) OF THE FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF KING HENRY VII. AND QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

Item for iij qr̃t of a yard of Cloth of gold for the Sabatons & the quoife for the same Representac̃on at l^{s} . . . . xxxvij^{s} vj^{d}

William Jones | Paied to the said William Jones hir late Maiesties tayler for making the said Robe of Satten for the Royall Representac̃on aforesaid . . . . . xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

The "roiall representacion" described so minutely in these accounts ought to be one of the series exhibited, but there are good reasons for believing that the naked trunk of it which is described by the old writers was utilized for the restoration (see *post*) of Queen Elizabeth's effigy in 1760. In the present state of this figure it is difficult to see how the upper part is constructed, but the hips are still padded with "bombast," and the legs, which were cut down in 1760 to fit them into a pair of high-heeled boots, are certainly those of an older figure.

To the effigy of Queen Elizabeth probably belong the following loose pieces, which are also preserved with the other figures:

i. A broken left foot; the toes lost.

ii. A forearm, with joint to elbow and a peg for the hand.

iii. The upper part of a woman's left arm, bent at the elbow, and covered partly with fine satin, and towards the top with thicker satin, evidently portion of a dress.

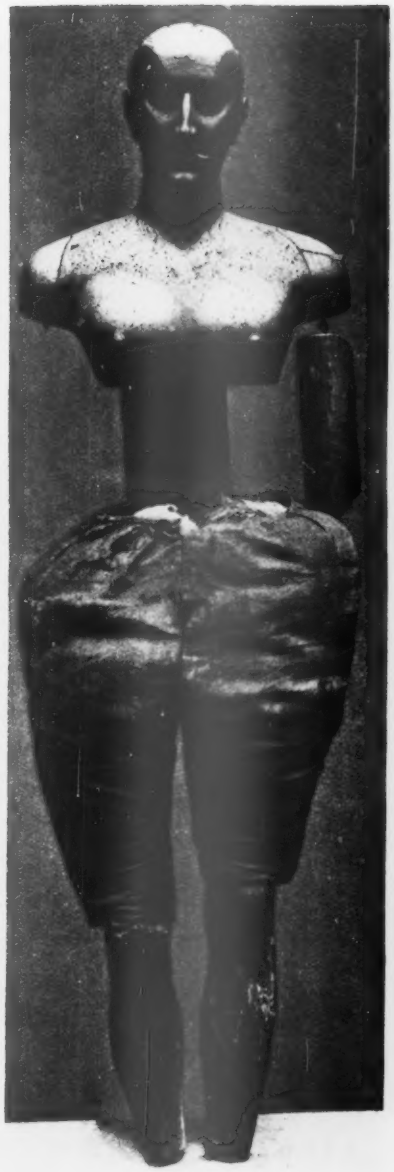
VIII. Of the next figure to be noticed all that remains is a headless and massive wooden framework of fir, with a cross-piece for the shoulders, pinned on to a vertical body post, which is jointed in the middle. (Plate LXV.) To the ends of the cross-piece are fixed iron loops and pointed screws for suspending the arms. The arms themselves are lost. The legs are stiff, but jointed on to the lower end of the body post with wooden pegs. The feet were jointed at the toes, which are broken off. From the knees downwards the legs are beautifully modelled, and covered with white silk stockings with fine clocks.

The head is at present missing.

To this figure belong some interesting remains of the robes, including the canvas foundation of a padded doublet, lined with white (?) silk, and with remains of the silk covering, now colourless, but probably once red. One of the grey linen tabs is left on the left side. The lower edge is eyeletted all round for suspending



1



3



2

FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF QUEEN MARY, OBVERSE (1) AND REVERSE (2) AND QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK (3).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

the trunk hose. The front has triangular stays with thirty-two button-holes. The sleeves are lost.

The serge or baize foundation of the trunk hose is also left, and was formerly covered with silk damask to match the doublet, and along the top are eleven brass hooks for attaching it thereto. Round the left leg are six loops and buttons for fastening it around the knee.

This seems to be identical with the figure of Henry, Prince of Wales (who died in 1612), the account for making which is preserved among the Lord Chamberlain's Records :[a]

> Worke done for the Funerall of the most
> Noble Prince Henry deceased by Richard
> Loons joyner to his Highnes.

Item for makinge the bodye of a figure for the repr̃sentation of His Highnes w^t^ several joints both in the arms legges and bodie to be moved to sundrie accions first for the Carriage in the Chariot and then for the standinge and for settinge uppe the same in the Abbye with my attendance on the same work . . . . . ix li

To Abraham Vanderdort for the face and hands of the Princes representation being very curiouslie wrought price . . . . . x li

Another set of accounts[b] gives the joiner's name more correctly as Richard Norrice :

Richard Norrice Joyner for a Coffine and representac̃on with severall Joyntes in the Armes Legges and Body . . . . . xv. li

Abraham Vanderdorte for the face and handes of the Princes representac̃on beinge very curiously wrought . . . . . x. li

IX. The next figure consists (i) of a wooden head and bust of a woman, with well-carved face (Plate LXII.), fixed on to a worm-eaten wooden post, and (ii) of a body, now loose, consisting of a canvas bag filled with tow, to which are attached the legs. These are well modelled, but much worm-eaten. (Plate LXIV.) The arms were suspended by iron loops at the shoulder and elbows, but only the upper part of the left arm is left. The feet are lost.

The body seems to have been attached to the trunk post by a large iron pin through the hips.

[a] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 555.

[b] P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

According to the late Sir George Scharf, who examined the figure when it was more perfect than now, its height was 5 feet 8 inches.

Despite the mutilated condition of this effigy there can be no reasonable doubt that it is the one made for the funeral of Queen Anne of Denmark in 1619, by the father or the son of the John Colt who made the figure of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, which probably accounts for the similarity in the wording of the two accounts. Those relating to Queen Anne's effigy are as follows: [a]

Paid to Abraham Greene Serjant Plumber for the intombinge of the Royall Body of our late Soveraigne Lady Queene deceased wth lead and soder and for travaile and attendance of himselfe and servants for certaine daies at his Ma^{tie} honor of Hampton Courte and for one greate vessell to putt in the Bowells and inwarde partes w^{ch} were sent to Westminster Abbey and for Castinge of the Armes and Crowne of the late Queene deceased and progenie and for guildinge & payntinge of the Armes Crowne and Letters and for makeing and Carveing of the Mould for the Armes Crowne and lr̃es of the same late Queene deceased and for store & workmanship preisse in gross . . . . . xx li

Paid to Maximilian Coutte Carver for makeing the representacon for Iron-worke for the Joynts for a paire of Bodyes 2 paire of draweinge hose and for bombast to fill them, for a Cheste to carry the picture to Denmarke House and for Carriage of it and for makeing a Copper plate w^{t} writeing graven uppon it to be fastened uppon the Coffin and alsoe for makeinge of a mould to mould divers shields w^{t} the Kings & Queenes Armes in them w^{ch} hath been employed about the Hearse preisse in gross . . . . . xvj li

Paied to John Derwitts for guilding and silvering a great Lyon a Unicorne and ij wild men to stand on the iiij^{or} Collumns of the hearse, the Lyon at Ls. the Unicorne and ij wild men at xxxs the peece . . vij^{l}

Item for dyvers tymes painting the Royall Representacon . . . xxx^{s}

Paid to John Smith for pforming a Roabe for the Royall Representacon . vj li

The items relating to the representation are given somewhat differently and with the names of the artists spelled more correctly in another set of accounts: [b]

Makeing the Representc̃on viz^{t} to } Maximillian Colte for makeinge the Representac̃o̅n wth Iron worke and other Chardges incident thereunto in full of xx^{li} xv^{s} vij^{d} demaunded xvj^{li}

John Smith for perfuminge [c] a Roabe used at the ffunerall for the royall representac̃o̅n vj^{li}

[a] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 556.

[b] P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

[c] *Sic* for "performing."



1



3



2

FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES (1), KING JAMES I. (2), AND GENERAL MONCK (3).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

Benjamyn Henshawe Silkeman for golde ffringes Tassells Ribbons and Silkes ymploied as followeth viz^{t} about a velvett Crimsin Cushion to lay under the Representac̃on xliv^{s} ij^{d}

John Decreete Sergeaunt Paynter for sondry sort^{s} of Painters worke by him donne viz Paintinge the Royall Representac̃on Chariott and Atcheivem^{t}s xx^{li}

X. The last of the royal funeral effigies is, like that of Henry, Prince of Wales, a headless figure of a man, 5 feet 7 inches high, of fir wood, hollowed out at the back. A wooden peg for the head is fixed in the top. (Plate LXV.) The trunk is very roughly fashioned and has a piece chopped out in front for the point of the doublet. Here and there are traces of plaster padding. The arms were hung in canvas sockets, which are left, but the arms themselves are lost. The legs have been pegged on and held in place by (? later) iron straps. They are also carefully modelled and smoothed, and were covered with two pairs of stockings, the under of wool, the outer of silk. The latter are in good order with pretty clocks and back seams. On the right leg, which is loose, only the woollen stocking remains. The feet were modelled in gesso. The shoes are lost.

Around the left leg are very faint traces of the Garter.

This figure is undoubtedly that made for the funeral of King James I. in 1625, and its curious history is fully recorded in the accounts that relate to its making:[a]

Paid to Maximilian Coult for making the body of the representacion with several joynts in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures and for setting up the same in Westminster Abbey and for his attendance there	x li	
Item for ye face and hands of the said representacion being curiously wrought	x li	
Item for the labour paines and expences of himself and his servants: and for stuff by him employed in and about the said service and his journy to Theobalds for the moulding of the King's face for ye better makeing of the premises upon special command .	xvi^{s}	viij^{d}
Item for making a representation suddenly to serve only at Denmarke house untill the funerall and for his attendance there at divers times	x li	
Item for a plate of copper with an inscription fastened upon the breast of the leaden coffin	xl^{s}	
Item for a crowne of wood and a lyon upon it for his Ma^{ts} creast .	xl^{s}	
Item for a shield with his Ma^{ts} armes a garter comptment and a Crowne upon it	xxx^{s}	

[a] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 557.

Item for a scepter and a gloabe for the Representation . . . xxvi^{s} viij^{d}
Item for making a Crowne with Divers counterfeit stonns on it . . c^{s}
Item for painting the face and hands of the last representation . . xc^{s}
Item for the makeing of a better crowne the former being broaken by the often removeing of the representation and for the guilding of the same being sett with divers stones . . . . x^{li}
Sum . . . . . lvij^{li} iii^{s} iiij^{d}

Daniel Parkes

For two Periwiggs.

Paid to Daniel Parkes for makeing of one periwigg beard and eyebrows for the body at Denmark house . . . . . x^{li}
Item for one other periwigg and other beard and eyebrowes for the body which remaines in the Abbey of Westminster . . x^{li}
Sum . . . xx^{li}

Another set of accounts[a] of King James's funeral gives the items somewhat differently, and the name of the painter who painted the face of the representation:

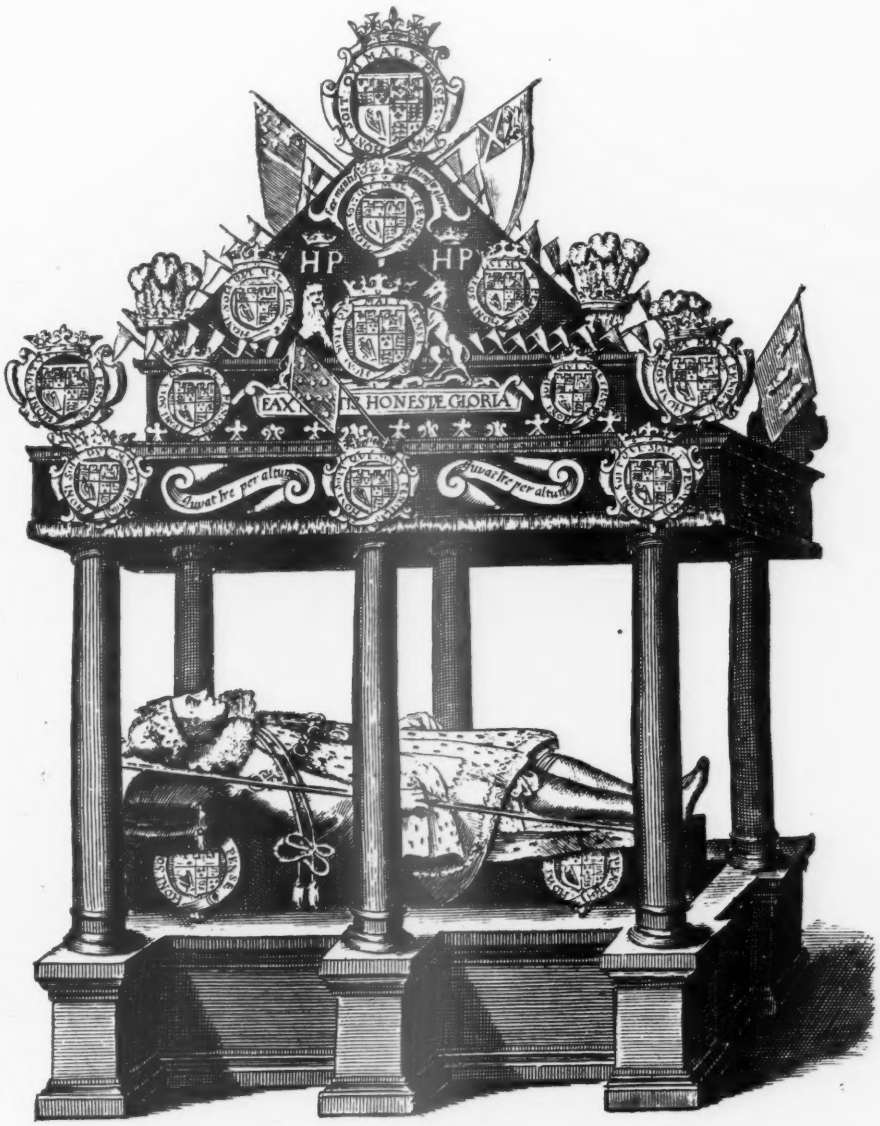
Maximilian Colte carver for makeinge the body for the Representac̃on wth severall Joynt^{e} in the Armes legges and body to be moved to severall postures, the face and handes thereof beinge curiously wroughte, wth settinge upp the same in Westminster Abbey and for another Representacon suddenly to serve at Denmarkehouse wth a plate of Copper and an Inscription fastened to the bust of the leaden coffin a Crowne of wood and a Lyon uppon it for his Ma^{tes}: Crest a sheild wth his Ma^{tes} Armes, a Garter Compertim^{t} and a Crowne uppon it, a scepter and a Gloabe a Crowne wth diverse Counterfett stones uppon it, and a better Crowne the former beinge broken wth often removeinge . . . lvij^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Danyell Parke for twoe Periwigg^{e} Beardes and eybrowes for the Bodies the one at Denmarkehouse and the other at the Abbey at westminster . . . . . xx^{li}

John Decrit Sergeaunte Painter for diverse woorkes by him donne for the saide ffunerall viz^{t}. . . . . payntinge the face of the Royall Representac̃on . . . . . xl^{s}

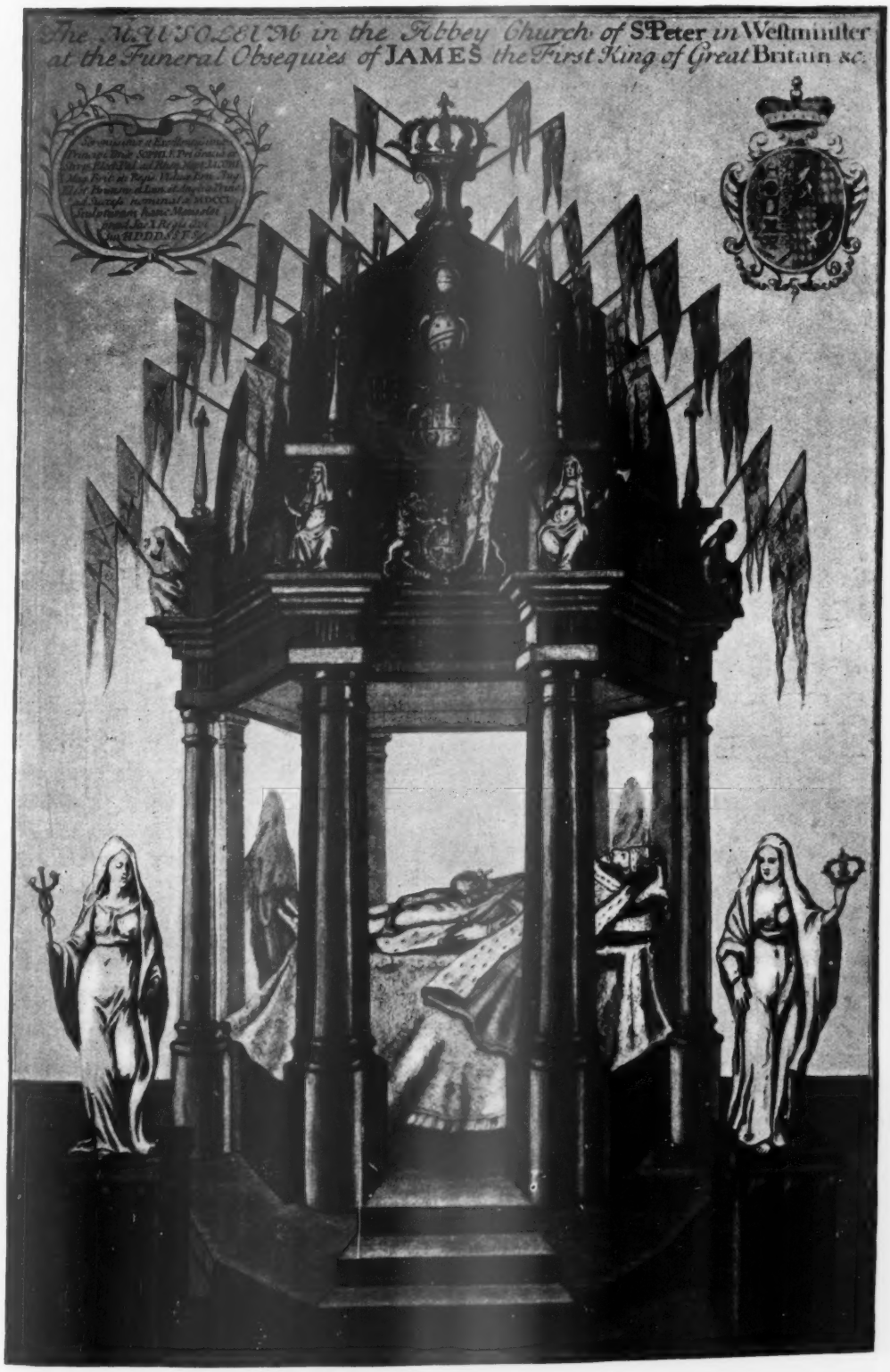
These accounts illustrate very clearly the manner in which these later royal effigies were fashioned, and the hiring of the hair explains why the heads are now bald.

[a] P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.



HERSE AND FUNERAL EFFIGY OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES. (From Sandford's *Genealogical History.*)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



HERSE OF KING JAMES I. WITH FUNERAL EFFIGY. (From Sandford's *Genealogical History.*)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

There is one other curious point to be noticed, that it is evident from Coult's bill that the effigy before us can not be that which he set up in Westminster Abbey, since that had "several joynts in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures," like the one made for Prince Henry. This on the other hand is not hinged, and it must therefore be the representation made "suddenly to serve only at Denmark house untill the funerall." Its presence at Westminster can probably be accounted for by the reason assigned for the making of a new crown, "the former being broaken by the often removeing of the representation." The first effigy was therefore probably damaged through officious persons working its "several joynts" and moving it into "several postures,"[a] and the other was brought in to replace it.

XI. In addition to the royal effigies there remains one other (Plate LXV.), that made for the state funeral of General George Monck, Earl of Torrington and Duke of Albemarle, in 1670, which has been so admirably illustrated in Sandford's published account of it.[b] (Plate LXVIII.)

Until lately this figure was composed of sticks wrapped with hay, encased in pieces of armour, which had been filled up in part with plaster of Paris. The head is still a rough block of plaster, painted black.

The figure has lately been taken to pieces and remounted at the Tower of London under the direction of Viscount Dillon. It is encased in a full suit of armour,[c] but the gauntlets are mutilated. Underneath is an old leather undress buff coat with leather ties, and now sleeveless. On the head is a gilt metal ducal coronet encircling a black cap of estate edged with dark brown fur.

To this figure probably also belong (i) an ermine cap, (ii) a wig, and (iii) a red leather belt with gilt buckles, etc.; all now loose.

The original state of the effigy is fully described in the warrant for its making issued to the Master of the King's Great Wardrobe:[d]

[a] We are indebted to Lord Dillon for this suggestion.

[b] Francis Sandford, *The Order and Ceremonies Used for, and at the Solemn Interment of The most High, Mighty and most Noble Prince GEORGE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, etc. 1670.*

[c] The armour below the knees, according to Lord Dillon, is of a date before 1566-88, and therefore at least eighty years older than the rest on the figure.

[d] P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 576. Keepe, in his *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, says of this figure: "The *Statue of the Duke of* Albemerle, in compleat Armour, with his Parliament Robes as a Mantle covering them, with the Collar of the Order of St. *George* round his neck, a Battoon in his hand, and a Coronet on his head, is likewise placed in a Press of Wainscot further to remember him" (p. 95).

A Pall of vellvett & other necessaries for y^e^ effigies of the Duke of Albemarle directed to S^r^ Edw^d^ Walker.

These are to signifie unto your Lords^pp^ his Ma^tie^ pleasure that you provide and deliver or cause to be provided and delivered unto S^r^ Edward Walker Knight Garter principall Kinge of Armes these particulars followinge for the layinge in state of his grace the duke of Albemarle at Denmarke House (viz^t^) a Pall of Velvett of eight yards longe and eight breadths lined with a sheete of ffine holland of eight breadths and eight ells long which is to be turned over the velvett halfe a yarde or more to Lye upon the Bedd when the Corps are to be Laid And thereupon the representation to be laid the bed to be Compassed about with an outward Raile about ffive ffoot distant all the Posts and railes to be Covered with Velvett and alsoe that your Lords^pp^ give order for the prepareinge of the Effigies to be in Compleate Armour azured with guilt nailes and guirt with a Girdle of Crimson of velvett with gold Lace the sword appendant thereat to have a Crosse hilt Guilt and against Chape This Representation to hold Guilt Baston of Copper in the Right hand and to be invested in a Ducall Roabe of Crimson velvett, lyned Ermines, about the Necke a Collar and George of the Order of the Garter of Copper Guilt, and under the head a Cushion of Crimson velvett with Gold ffringe and Tassells upon the head a Cap of Crimson velvett turned up with Ermine with a Ducall Cornett of Copper Gilt, about the left Legge a garter of blew velvett the buckles and Letters of Copper Gilt, A velvett Carpett to Cover a narrow table on which the Helmett Crest &c. are to stand And this with his hand for the Receipt thereof shall be your Lord^pp^ Warr^t^ Given under my Hand this Eleaventh day of January, 1669 in the 24 yeare of his Ma^tie^ Rayne

MANCHESTER.

To the Right hono^ble^ Edward Earle of Sandwitch
Master of his Ma^ties^ great Wardrobe and his Deputy there.

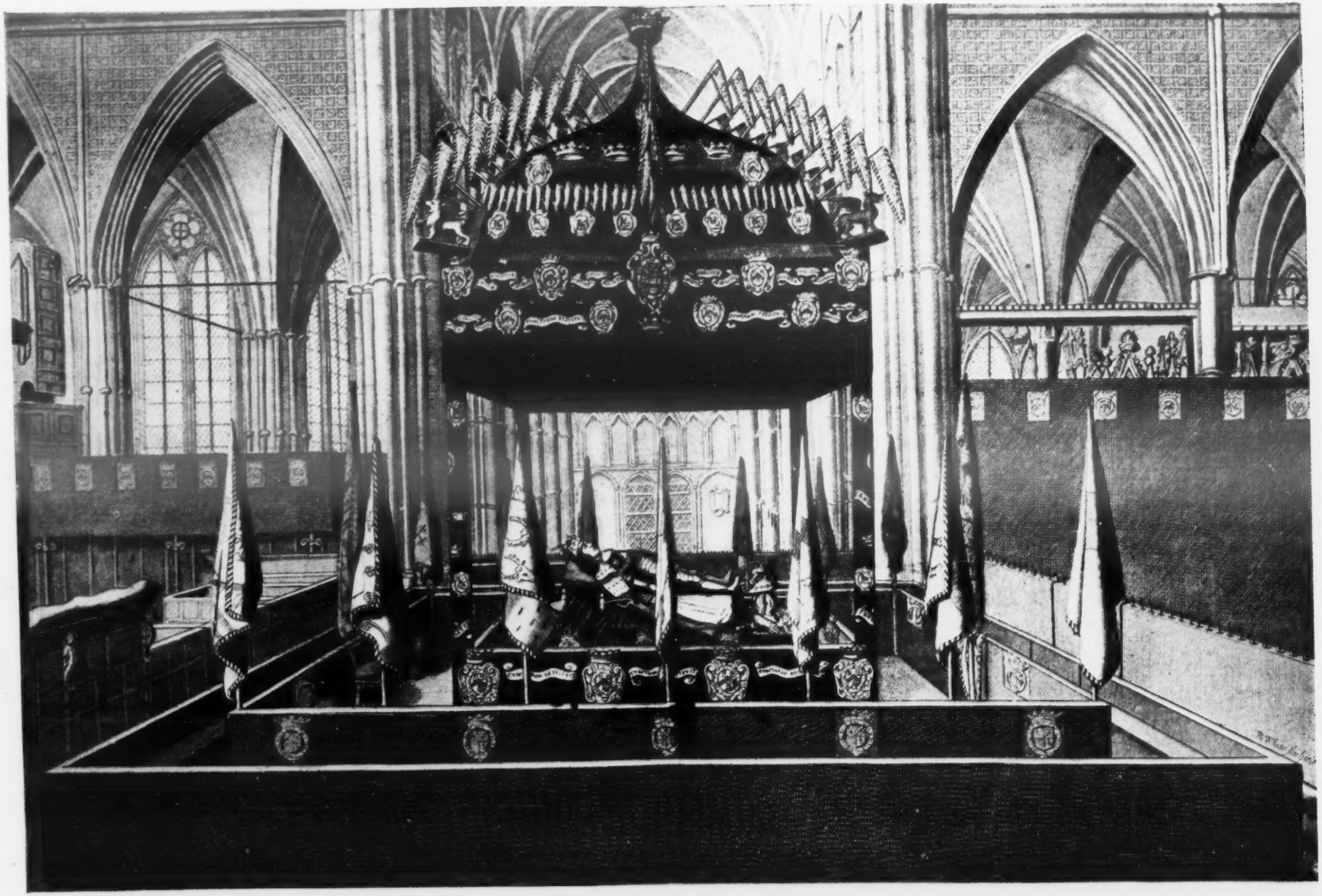
The following extracts from the appended accounts refer to the component parts of the representation :

		li	s	d
1 25^th^ of March 1670 ffor the ffunerall of the Duke of Albemarle.	Joseph Worwood Armourer Craveth Allowance as followeth viz^t^. ffor one Suite of Armour Cap-a-pe con^ed^ backe breast Helmet Poulderns Gantlets Culet Quishes, and Greaves	20	00	00

[*signed by*]

THO: TOWNESEND JUN LANCELOTT THORNTON SANDWICH,
AND: NEWPORT BULLEN REIMES.

2 March 25° 1670 ffor the ffunerall of the Duke of Albemarle.	Francis Walton Goldsmith Craves Allowances as followeth viz^t^. ffor one Coronett of Copper richly gilt in Gold Coloured and enamelled at	07	00	00
	ffor one Collar of the order of Brasse richly gilt with Colours at	09	00	00



HERSE OF GENERAL GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, 1670. (From Sandford's *Order*, etc.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

	ffor one Baston of Brasse richly gilt with gold at .	03	00	00
	ffor the George to hange on to the Collar of the Order and Buckells of Brasse gilt with gold at . .	04	00	00
		23	00	00

THO^{s} TOWNSEND JUN LANCELOT THORNTON

25 March '70 AND: NEWPORT
BULLEN REIMES
THOS. TOWNESEND Dep:

Aprill 2
1670
10
ffor a Sword of the Order.

Edward Younger Cutler Craves allowance as ffolloweth viz^{t}.

ffor one Robe sword for the ffunerall of the Duke of Albemarle at 02 00 00

THOS: TOWNSEND JUN. LANCELOTT THORNTON
BULLEN REYMES.

Aprillth 2
1670
12
ffor the Duke of Albemarles Effigies.

William Rutlish and George Pinkney Embroyderer Crave allowance as followeth viz^{t}

ffor a Garter of Pearle and Gold Buckles, and Pendant, wrought upon blewe velvett 01 09 00

Ordered to be paid.

Aprill 5th
1670
17
ffor th Duke of Albemarle.

William Broadley Joyner Craveth allowance as followeth viz^{t}

ffor a ffalse Coffin to Lay the Effigies of the Duke of Albemarle on in Somerset House 20^{s} . . 01 00 00

5 Ap: 70

THO: TOWNSEND JUN. AND: NEWPORT
BULLEN REYMES
THO: TOWNSEND Dep.

April 5
1670
26
ffor a scarfe for the effigies.

Thomas Jones silkeman Craves Allowance as followeth viz^{t}

ffor 15 oz of gold ffringe at 5^{d} p oz. . . . 03 15 00

Ordered to be paid.

Apr: th: 5
1670
26
The Duke of Albemarles Effigies.

John Bushnell Craves Allowance as followeth viz^{t}

ffor making the head and hand in wax for paintinge the same a Perriwigge of Haire to it And modellinge the whole body in Stucko and for my paines and servants and alsoe attendance in Dressinge and settinge up the same in Westminster Abbey . 35 00 0

Ordered to be paid.

27
Apr: the 7th
1670
27
ffor the Duke of Albemarles Effigies.

Joyce Hord Semstris Craveth Allowance as followeth vizt.

ffor a Lace Cravatt and Lace Cuffes at . . .	00	15	00

Ordered to be paid.

Apr: the 7th
1670
30
ffor a scarfe.
ffor sleeves for the Dukes Effigies.

Robert Clarkson Mercer Craveth Allowance as followeth vizt.

	li	s	d
ffor 2 elles $\frac{5}{8}$ of Crimson fflorence scarcenet at 11s p ell	01	08	10
ffor 1 yd $\frac{1}{2}$ of Crimson fflorence Sattin at 14s p yd .	01	01	00
	02	09	10

Ordered to be paid.

Apr: the 4th
1670
31.

John Allen his Maties Taylor Craveth Allowance as followeth vizt.

ffor an oiled shamey wastcoate and breeches for the Effigies with all furniture	01	05	00
ffor a paire of Longe Linnen Drawers to put under the breeches	00	07	00
ffor makeing a Crimson Taffatie scarfe with a gold ffringe	0	02	06

ffor the Effigies of his grace the Duke of Albemarle deceased.

ffor a Large buffe skinne	03	00	00
ffor makinge a paire of Sattin sleeves Lace with Gold lace and 4 great Buffe skirts and silke to them .	00	06	00
ffor ribbon to tye and binde the skirts . . .	00	03	00
ffor 6 ounces of Large Gold poyntinge Loope lace at 5s p ounce	01	10	00
ffor 2 Large gilded taggs to the Loopelace . .	00	08	00
ffor 7 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of gold Lace to the sleives at 6s 3d . .	02	06	10$\frac{1}{2}$
ffor three mens worke to order the Effigies . .	00	05	00
	09	13	4$\frac{1}{2}$

Ordered to be paid.

March 25th
1670
33
ffor a Cusshion to Lye under the effigies head.

Samuell Howard Mercer Craves allowance vizt

ffor 2 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Crimson 2 pile velvet at 26s p yd .	03	05	00

Ordered to be paid.

Apr. 1670 81.

Abraham Downeinge his Ma^{tis} Sergeant Skinner craves allowance as followeth viz^{t}

ffor the ffurringe a Ducall Robe and Cap of Estate for the effigies of the Duke of Albemarle . .	15	00	00
ffor makeinge a Ducall Cap of Crimson velv^{t} with a rich gold Button and for furnishinge a Ducall Robe by way of Loane for the Bedde of Estate at Somersett house	05	00	00
Sum totall	20	00	00

THO: TOWNSEND JUNR.
LANCELOT THORNTON. AND: NEWPORT.
5 May 70

Aprill 1670 82.

Bartholomew Parsons his Ma^{ties} Spurrier Craves Allowance viz^{t}.

ffor one paire of rich gilt spurs for the Effigies of the Duke of Albemarle	00	10	00

LANCELOT THORNTON. 5 May 70 AND: NEWPORT.

No. 101. April 2^{d} 1670 For y^{e} D. of Albemarles Funerall.

Phillipp Hanbury Milliner Craves allowance as followeth viz^{t}

For the Effigies. For one paire of sadd coloured hose at 5^{s} . .	00	05	00
	00	05	00

THO: TOWNSEND JUN. BULLEN REYMES.
LANC: THORNETON.

No. 103 To Tye the Effigies of the D. of Albemarle to y^{e} Charriott.

Francis Warrington shooemaker Craves allowance as followeth viz^{t}.

For 4 strapps of Neates leather Cutt through the whole Hyde	00	05	00
	00	05	00

THO: TOWNSEND JUNIO^{R}. BULLEN REYMES.
LANC^{T}: THORNETON.

It will be seen that, setting aside the problematical figure in wax for King Henry III. and the later one for General Monk, these funeral effigies divide themselves into four groups.

The first, or medieval group, consists of figures carved out of a single block of wood, and hollowed out at the back, like the figures of King Edward III. and Queen Katharine of Valois. The recorded effigy of King Edward II. was probably of this type, and that of Queen Anne of Bohemia, of which only the head is left.

The next, or early Tudor group, is represented by the rigid stuffed or padded figures of Queen Elizabeth of York and King Henry VII.

The third, which is represented only by what may be Queen Mary's figure, is a survival of the medieval type, but with the arms jointed for convenience in dressing the effigy, and the legs made of separate pieces from the trunk.

The fourth group includes the three Stuart figures of Henry Prince of Wales, Queen Anne of Denmark, and King James I., all of which consisted of jointed frameworks with modelled heads. That of Queen Elizabeth is apparently of the same type, and both hers and Queen Anne's have padded hips to support the gowns.

Lastly, it may be of interest to inquire why and how these figures have come to be preserved at all. Probably in the first instance they were kept after the funeral to lay upon the grave until a proper monument could be prepared, a work that was not usually begun, as was Richard II.'s, in the king's lifetime. But there must be a reason why some have and others have not been preserved. This is possibly due to the manner in which they were clothed.

We have seen that the early tradition was for the king to be carried to the grave and buried in his coronation ornaments, and that this was certainly done as late as 1272 in the case of King Edward I. His son King Edward II. was as certainly buried in the linen vestments he wore at his anointing, while his coronation ornaments were used to deck his wooden funeral effigy. When this had served its purpose and the ornaments been returned to store, the effigy was reduced to such a wooden trunk as that of King Edward III. before you, and perhaps discarded. How Edward III.'s effigy was arrayed we do not yet know, but if it were in his robes of estate there would not be the same reasons for stripping it after the funeral as in the case of the more sacred and more precious coronation ornaments, and so the effigy would be kept intact. This suggestion as to King Edward III.'s figure, although not confirmed by his monumental effigy, which shows the coronation ornaments, is assisted by the fact that both Richard II. and Henry IV. are shown on their tombs in their robes of estate, and

we have seen that the figure carried at Henry V.'s funeral was so adorned, as was the silver-plated effigy on his tomb. In the later funerals of Edward IV. and of the Tudor sovereigns the robes of estate became the customary apparel for the "picture" or representation.

Why the fashion of having these images was dropped, and how far and for how long it was concurrently adopted and carried on in France, are questions that, owing to the length to which this paper has already run, must be for the present deferred.

THE WESTMINSTER TRADITION OF IDENTIFICATION.

By the Very Rev. Joseph Armitage Robinson, *D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster.*

Henry Keepe in his *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (p. 133 f.), published in 1682, says that in his time the upper part of Islip's Chapel was made use of "as a repository for those *Statues of our Kings, Queens, and Princes of the Bloud Royal,* which lay on their *Cenotaphs* when their Exequies were celebrated in this Church; being here preserved in their Robes of Estate with their Royal Habiliments and other Ensigns of Majesty, in Presses of Wainscote, *viz. Edward* III., *King of* England, *and Philippa his Queen, Henry* V. *and Queen Katherine, Henry* VII. *with Elizabeth his Queen, and Henry Frederick Prince of Wales,* in one Press, with *Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Queen Anne his wife,* in the other."

Keepe says nothing as to the condition of the figures, but the fact that seven were in one press suggests that they were huddled away as no longer fit to be displayed. This is borne out by Dart's description forty years later (I. 194-5). He says that "the antientest have escap'd best," and describes Edward III. as having a robe once of crimson velvet, but now like leather; Henry V., of whose figure he says, "I can't suppose it that carried at his Funeral; for that was made of tann'd Leather, but this is of Wood, as are all the old ones." The later he says were "of Stuff having the Heads only of wood, as Queen Elizabeth, who is entirely stripped." He further names James I., but of the rest he says that they are too mangled to identify.

We may assume, then, with probability that in 1683 all the figures (with the exception of Queen Elizabeth's, which was restored in 1760) were in much the same condition as at present, and that most of them were in the very press out of which they have now been taken.

Some rhymes quoted by Stanley from *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*

(p. 88) seem to show that the same figures were in the same place under the Commonwealth in 1658:

Henry the Seventh and his fair Queen,
Edward the First[a] and his Queen;
Henry the Fifth here stands upright,
And his fair Queen was this Queen.

The noble Prince, Prince Henry,
King James's eldest son,
King James, Queen Anne, Queen Elizabeth,
And so this Chapel's done.

But I find among some newspaper cuttings collected by Dean Stanley the following verses, which appear to point to an earlier state of things:

Henry the Seventh lies here entomb'd, with his fair Queen beside him;
He was the founder o' this Chapel, Oh! may no ill betide him;
And here they stand upright in a press, with their bodies made of wax,
A globe and a wand in either hand, and their robes upon their backs.

The ballad is called "*The Tombs in Westminster Abbey*, as sung by Brother Popplewell, in the manner of chanting in a Cathedral."

We may conjecture that the royal effigies remained beside the royal tombs, or in other places of honour, until 1643. That was the year of the great havoc in which the altar over King Edward VI. was destroyed; and it is not likely that the effigies of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York which stood hard by escaped insult. We can only wonder that so much was left of the royal figures as we see to-day, and that any one thought it worth while to gather the fragments together and store them up in presses in the Islip Chapel. We may wonder again that after their disfigurement there should remain any clear tradition as to their identification.

For we are fortunate in being able to carry back this tradition to the year 1606, when on the 4th of August King James brought King Christian of Denmark to see the Abbey.[b] In our Treasurer's accounts for 1606 we have the following entry:

L libræ . . . . liberatæ magistro Decano ad faciendas stolas sive togas demissas et alia ornamenta pro statuis Regum et Reginarum in Ecclesia, in et erga adventum dominorum præpotentissimorum Regum in Ecclesiam: nempe nostri Regis Jacobi et Regis Danorum.

[a] Probably an error for "Edward the Third."

[b] The date is given by an entry in St. Margaret's Churchwardens' Accounts for that year: '1606. Item, paid the ringing when the King of Denmark came to the Abbey the 4th of August, ii^{s} vi^{d}." J. E. Smith, *A Catalogue of Westminster Records* (London, 1900), 31.

This was an advance of £50 to the Dean for dressing the effigies; but the expense was much greater. At the end of the accounts is a long and interesting note by Dean Neile, the whole of which is worth attention. It is headed "Monuments," and runs as follows:

Imprimis, seaven statues of Kinges and Queenes; viz^{t} of our late soveraigne Q. Elizabeth, of Henrie the seaventh and his Queene, Edwarde the third and his Queene, Henrie the fifth and his Queene; repayred, robed and furnished at the King's Majestie his charge	lxx^{li}		
Item, the making of the presse(s) of wainscott in the which the statues do stand		ciii^{s}	ix^{d}
Item, the Tombe of Queene Anne of Cleve finished, and a faire large marble stone laied of (*sic*) it, the charge whereof was . .	vii^{l}	iiii^{s}	vii^{d}
Item, the removing of Q. Elizabeth her bodie from under H. the viith his Tombe to the place where her monument nowe standeth: charges		xlvi^{s}	iiii^{d}
Item, the furnishing of the ii Convocacion howses for the Bishoppes and the rest of the Clergie	x^{li}	v^{s}	xi^{d}
Item, the vault in which his Majesties younge daughter the ladie Sophia her grace was buried		xxvi^{s}	iiii^{d}

I owe to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope the following interesting extract from the contemporary Order Book in the Public Record Office:

Veneris xxvij^{o} die Novembris 1607.

Deane of Westm^{r} for repairing y^{e} statues in Westm^{r} churche.

By order xxiij^{o} Martij 1606 To M^{r} Doctor Neale Deane of Westm^{r} aswell the summe of threescore twelve pound$\wp$ twelve shilling$\wp$ three pence for repayring the Statues in the churche of Westm^{r} wth robes painting and other attire, as also the summe of fiftie three pound$\wp$ sixe shilling$\wp$ eight pence due to him and others of the said Churche for the buriall of his highnes daughter the la: Sophia . per breve datum xxix^{o} Nov. 1606.[a]

cxxv^{li} xviij^{s} xj^{d}

[a] Order Book (Pells), 1607-8, f. 40.

In a smith's bill for the same year we have this item:

> For a key for a plate locke for the dore goinge into a littell roome where the queenes picture did stande.

The queen is probably Queen Elizabeth, and the little room may be that which we pass on the left as we go into the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel.

The only record of an earlier date that refers to these royal effigies is a patent granted by Dean Bill and the Chapter to William Jenkinson of

> the office of chief vergerer or vergershipp . . . . and also to have the custodie and oversight of the Tombes and monimentes and of the pictures of kinges and quenes within all the saide church remaynyng.

It is dated 28th February, 1561, and is specially interesting as preserving the old designation of the effigies as "pictures."[a]

To the seven effigies which were newly adorned for the visit of the King of Denmark in 1606 was added in 1612 the first which was not that of a king or a queen, and the first to be wilfully outraged. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, immensely popular though he had been, was robbed of his rich robes three and a half years later.[b] In 1619 Anne of Denmark, and six years later James himself came to complete the series of genuine funeral effigies of royal persons. General Monk's effigy in full armour (1670) was indeed carried in the old manner; but King Charles II. was buried without pomp, and his effigy may have been an afterthought to mark his grave, which had no other monument.[c] The figures of William and Mary and Anne are simply waxworks made for show, when the members of the choir took the fees of the Royal Chapels and desired to add to their attractions. This we learn from an order of Dean Bradford in 1727, regulating the payments of new members in compensation of the large outlay of their predecessors.

Dukes and duchesses continued the tradition for a time. James's cousin,

[a] Register E, f. 33. A similar patent was granted of a vergership on the same day to "Cutbert Hindeson."

[b] State Papers Domestic, 9th April, 1616.

[c] Charles II.'s effigy stood over his grave in 1723 (Dart, i. 151); General Monk's was at the west end of Queen Elizabeth's tomb (Keepe, 95; Dart, *ut supra*).

Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox (died 1624), together with his duchess (died 1639), stood in a press near their monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel when Keepe wrote in 1683: but in Dart's time the press was nailed up, as the figures were no longer fit to be shown.[a]

Another Duchess of Richmond, the beautiful duchess of Charles II.'s time, Frances Teresa, stood by her own request under the east window of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in a press with her favourite parrot. She died in 1702, and ordered that her effigy should be dressed in the robes which she had lately worn at the coronation of Queen Anne. A curious confusion was made by Dart and later writers between her and the Lady Mary, sister of Esme Stuart, who was never Duchess of Richmond, but became Countess of Arran, and is not buried in the Abbey.

The last duchess is the widow of Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, who died in 1743, and stands with her little boy of three years beside her. Edmund, her last surviving son and the last duke of the name, had died in 1735; his effigy is a striking one, and is alone in being in a recumbent posture.

Strange to say, this last effigy was placed in the Confessor's Chapel, where it remained until 1836, if not later.[b] The two duchesses, the one with the parrot and the other with the boy, stood in their presses in 1823 against the middle of the entrance to the north transept on the inside.[c]

On 3rd June, 1760, in preparation for the bicentenary celebration of Queen Elizabeth's foundation, a Chapter order was passed permitting the choir to make the existing effigy of the great queen. Internal evidence seems to show that the old figure served as the foundation of the new one. In 1779 came the effigy of Lord Chatham, to be followed in 1805 by Lord Nelson, both alike the outcome of commercial speculation.

Some twenty years later the system which had produced these results was abolished, and the choir were paid fixed stipends. On 26th May, 1841, at the end of Dean Ireland's time, when Lord John Thynne was sub-dean, an order was passed in Chapter for the removal of the wax effigies to the Consistory Court under the south-west tower, but no action appears to have been taken.

[a] Keepe, 102; Dart, i. 161.

[b] See the guide books, *Historical Description of Westminster Abbey*, Newbery, 1754, p. 96; Newman, 1836, p. 44.

[c] Neale and Brayley, ii. 29.

We have in conclusion to express our thanks to Viscount Dillon for his extracts from the funeral accounts, to Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, Garter Principal King of Arms, for his kindness in allowing access to the records of the royal burials in the library of the Heralds' College, and to the Special Committee for the use of their descriptive notes.

P.S.—The illustrations of the funeral effigies, except that of General Monck, which is from a photograph by Sir Benjamin Stone, M.P., F.S.A., are from photographs specially taken by Mr. Thomas J. Wright, clerk of the works at the Abbey.



STONEHENGE AS SEEN FROM A WAR BALLOON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



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Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

XXIII.—*Photographs of Stonehenge, as seen from a War Balloon. Communicated by Colonel* J. E. Capper, *R.E.*

Exhibited 6th December, 1906.

The accompanying illustrations (Plates LXIX. and LXX.) were recently taken from a war balloon by Lieut. P. H. Sharpe, R.E., and represent Stonehenge from a point of view from which that famous monument has probably never before been photographed.

The photographs give a very complete record of the stones in their present position and of the paths leading to them. They also illustrate in a remarkable and unique manner the relative positions of the stone circles and the accompanying earthworks.

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Westminster: Printed by J. B. Nichols and Sons, Parliament Mansions, Orchard Street, Victoria Street, S.W.